

BEHIND BARS: AN INVESTIGATION OF BARTENDERS IN MISSOURI-ST. LOUIS

Donna White
Department of Anthropology
University of Missouri-St. Louis

My project serves as an auto-ethnographic, person-centered interview, and survey investigation of the culture of Bartenders as seen in St. Louis. Conceptually, the project stems from a synergy of being a student of cultural anthropology and my having nearly 10 years experience working behind bars as a bartender. Anthropologically, my goal is to define the culture in comparison to others. There are ten domains of culture that I have been investigated. Unlimited to classic anthropological aspects of culture such as kinship, territory, economics and politics, there is investigation of sex patterns and drug and alcohol addiction. The project's theoretical framework is a dynamic blend that echoes the work of Emile Durkeim, Ruth Benedict, Georg Simmel, Margaret Mead, Geyla Frank, and Victor Turner. Literary contributions on bar and restaurant culture include the work of James P. Spradley and George Orwell. Additionally data is collected from five interviews of women who have each been behind bars for more than ten years from 25 surveys of bartenders in the biz from five to ten years. This thesis paints an anthropologically vivid picture, coupled with the support of statistical information of the lives/occupation of these people. From the standpoint of the customer, these bartenders appear to be having a good time, "getting wasted", and making money. It is all a facade, a performance. There is much more to this culture than making gin and tonics, emptying ashtrays, and telling good jokes. In this project, I document and explain what really happens behind bars. Ultimately the culture of bartender demonstrates A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's theory of Structural Functionalism (1952).

Bars, cocktail lounges, and taverns are the places where we, as a society, go for celebration, relaxation, and socialization. These establishments are where our society marks the milestones of life. For rights of passage such as the twenty-first birthday, it is customary to "get annihilated" via a "pubcrawl" and bachelors and bachelorettes alike celebrate their "last night of freedom" in the same fashion. The refined piano bar offers ambiance and class for the group of female friends found "knocking back" dirty martini, anxiously awaiting the advances of the businessmen across the room. Recently divorced, two of the ladies, in this mix are out to see if they still have what it takes to be successful in the singles scene. In our culture, bars are where people meet people. But cocktail after cigarette and cigarette after cocktail, bar customers, even the ones known as "regulars", only see things from their side of the bar. What lurks behind the sadder, at times wiser, eyes

of the charming individual who opens your frosty bottles of brew and pours your shots of Bushmill's at your favorite corner tavern? What do you really know about the individual with whom you've spent several "happy hours" and Super Bowl Sundays? Tossing them a buck just for lighting your date's fresh Camel, the two of you-- regular and bartender-- have discussed everything from nuclear disarmament to post-modern political theory. But what experiences formed this enigmatic and magnetic person, the bartender and what are the cultural values, meanings, and norms of this person who knows my culture so well? In my opinion, bartending, a service position notorious for colorful employees, is as dynamic of a profession as any corporate or 9-5 type position out there.

Traditionally bartenders, and restaurant employees are looked down upon in society. They are perceived as individuals who are not capable of obtaining and/or maintaining a "real" or "decent" means of employment. To my knowledge, no one has ever studied the culture of bartenders, and this no doubt, contributes to their lack of importance in our society. In my experience, no child thinks, "When I grow up, I want to be bartender." No one aspires to tend bar or work in any position in the bar/restaurant business. You just wind up there. People work as bartenders for the money as well as the social benefits. The money is in essence cold, hard, and fast, and it is addictive. Many bartenders who attempt to leave the biz are not successful at adjusting to the payment schedule found in typical 9-5 positions. Ex-bartenders lament the absence of the money, and they miss their co-workers, though relationships, like the money, are cold, hard, and fast as well. For most bartenders have a love/hate relationship associated with their work. One loves the fast, hard cash, while hating having to deal with the general public. People who make the kind of money bartenders make such as, doctors, lawyers, and bankers have secretaries to filter through their clientele. They have scheduled appointments. Bartenders have no filter from the undesirable, and she never knows whom she is about to serve. In a world full of color and drama there is much more going on behind bars than meets the drunken eye.

Through the description of bartender culture my project serves partly to expose and partly to explain the chaotic culture and the order and meaning that lies beneath. The culture of bartenders could never be fully understood by one who had not lived the life. Having walked in the exact shoes, I chose auto-ethnography as a core component of this project. Having nearly ten years of experience behind bars, I have served my share of bloody marys and cosmopolitans to the gamut of people for the gamut of occasions. Bartenders, however, form a culture that even to its members is immense, hyperdynamic, and imperfectly understood. Consequently, instead of trusting completely my own experiences, person-centered interviews, questionnaire re-

Search and literature are essential to this study.

Origin of Modern Bartending

The exact date of the first mixed drink is a matter of pure speculation. However, in the early 1900s, bartenders poured mostly beer and whiskey. People usually had their whiskey straight, and on occasion, to double the effect they, would mix it with a beer. Mixed drinks did not gain wide acceptance or popularity until The Prohibition in 1922. The age of bathtub gin and bootleg whiskey really started things rolling. The illegal liquor, due to methods of fabrication, was so harsh tasting that it had to be mixed with sweet juices and other heavily flavored liquids to make it more palatable. Mixed drinks such as Tom Collins and Whiskey Sours were introduced to the masses of illegal drinkers. By the end of The Prohibition, a new style of drinking had emerged. There were still those who liked their liquor straight, but there were many others who liked the mixing of liquor with soft drinks, fruit juices, and cream. During the 1940s, women became more emancipated - working in war plants, while raising a family. It became more and more acceptable for women to have a drink. The 1950s brought the era of a new generation of drinkers. Vodka became all the rage and bartenders began mixing it with every imaginable beverage. Most everyone who drank alcohol was consuming the height in liquor fashion, screwdrivers and bloody marys. The lighter more sweet taste for cocktails had staying power as the 1970s brought on the Harvey Wallbanger. Along with the popularity of drinking these colorful sweet cocktails grew the popularity of bartending, as a profession. Someone needed to do all the mixing and inventing of new cocktails. In the 1940s, the average bartender knew how to mix about 25 drinks. Today bartenders on average know 150 cocktail recipes. (Broom 1998).

Hypothetical Framework

By nature of this project, an auto-ethnographic investigation, my hypothesis was difficult to design because writing about one's personal perceptions of one's own culture creates special challenges with respect to researcher bias and external verification of results. The goal of the ethnographer is to study, portray, and explain culture. My goal is to establish bartenders as a distinctive cultural group, that when anthropologically investigated, will yield useful knowledge and patterns for understanding the culture in comparison to others.

Research Problem

The central problem of this research is to establish an initial outline of bartender culture and propose a theoretical perspective to explain the behaviors described. I will rely heavily on my 10 years of bartending for much of the data and perspective in this study. To validate the results of the auto ethnography, however, this research also makes extensive use of key informant interviews and of a 50-question survey. I argue that auto-ethnographic claims always need independent verification, and a working hypothesis holds that the auto-ethnographic claims about bartender culture are accurate. This claim is tested by the results of formal interviews and a questionnaire; the questions of which are derived from presumed auto-ethnographic knowledge. If verified, this will lend credence to the information and perspectives from my auto-ethnographic knowledge of bartender culture.

Literature Review

Initially, I was disappointed and overwhelmed by the lack of ethnographical study in the area of bartenders. There is very little, if any information. What exists is that of ethnographic work completed during the 50's, 60's, and early 70's. The fact that there is so little research on bartenders serves as reason for doing this research, which will help fill the void. Bartenders have been making a living bartending generation after generation. Some people have raised families, and paid for college, while many have barely managed to keep their heads above water and survive. Being a highly unique and visible means of subsistence, it puzzles me as to why no one has ethnographically explored what really does occur behind bars. With nothing specific on bartenders available, what follows is a review of research and writing of those who have worked, to some extent, with the culture of bartenders.

The Cocktail Waitress

Spradley's ethnography of cocktail waitress (1972) is important, because it addresses several aspects of bar culture. This ethnography, though significant, does not portray all that goes on behind bars. It was however, the only piece I found that addresses bar culture from an anthropological standpoint. I found it very interesting and it has aided in the developmental stages of this project. Though a bit outdated, it worked as an accurate portrayal of the plight of cocktail servers. Written by James P. Spradley, it serves as an excellent model of participant observation research method. After reading this book, I had a much better grasp, on a theoretical level, of division of labor,

joking relationship, social structure and social network, as well as territorial concepts. As an observer, Spradley picked up on some very valid issues in this culture. He clearly defines the culture and makes it conceptually less difficult for the reader, who is an outsider to the culture, to understand the culture. His chapter on the joking relationship served as a model of how to investigate this broad and unruly cultural domain in my project. I also used his references for ideas of where to search for more literature sources for the project. Especially useful is Spradley's formulation of the joking relationship. Spradley writes,

"The subject matter of joking relationships, as many of the foregoing examples show centers on insults made in jest, direct references to sexual behavior, comments about anatomical features with sexual meanings, and related topics normally taboo for conversations between men and women. "

You Owe Yourself a Drunk

This book, also by Spradley is a portrayal of the homeless, alcoholics, tramps, the dregs of society, so to speak, people He calls "Urban Nomads." Basically this ethnography covers all aspects of these people's marginal, difficult, often miserable lives. He deals out narration after narration of horror stories of jail cells and getting arrested multiple times, and he covers the disease that is alcoholism and how society handles it. Very provocative for it's time, it is an excellent source for education on alcoholism and its effects on member of our society. Spradley writes,

"When strangers meet they become friends more quickly when they have had a few drinks. Aside from the physiological effects of alcohol, drinking rituals, bottle gangs, and sharing a drink with another are powerful symbols of acceptance and comradeship among those who have known the opposite from outsiders. "

Liquor License

This ethnography of bar behavior is the other of the only two I found that will contribute greatly on the subject bar culture. Sherri Cavan does well at covering all aspects of the bar experience. It appears that perhaps Spradley's work echoes hers. The chapters cover, bar sociability, behavior settings, ritual and ceremony, and spatial properties. Her chapter on ritual and ceremony intrigued me. Similar to Spradley, she paints an accurate picture of bar culture. Though the book focused on the customers, it is good to see yet another perspective on this subject. Cavan wrote, "Treating-the presentation of gift

drinks to another--is perhaps the most general of bar rituals, although there are a variety of ceremonial forms and meanings associated with it."

Blue-Collar Aristocrats

The focus of this ethnography by E.B. LeMasters is the role of the "tavern" in American society. Much of the book focuses on the people who live and work as blue collar in our society. The tavern is called The Oasis and is typical of small town taverns. The author discovers through his research that intimacy is important to the patrons of the tavern. He lists three conditions that are necessary to achieve this required sense of intimacy ...

1. Long-term continuous operation by an owner who is well liked by the regulars.
2. Occupational and/or social class homogeneity in needed to produce the social cohesion.
3. Stable residential patterns are necessary to create the primary group relationships.

Down and out in Paris and London

This book, by George Orwell, is an excellent narrative documentary of his travels through out Paris and London in the late 1920s. He vividly portrays the social conditions of the plongeurs (low class workers in restaurants and hotels) in Paris and of the tramps in London. He paints this vivid picture by not only observing these people but also living amongst them in very meek conditions. It is an excellent mix of narrative and ethnographic documentary. This work serves mostly as a model of a dramatic almost metaphoric writing style. In addition he writes of the degradation and depression associated with being in the restaurant/bar business. Flavored in dark comedy, the book is well written and accurately portrays the dynamics in relationships formed through this line of work. Orwell wrote,

"Working in the sewers is unpleasant, but somebody must work in the sewers. And similarly with a plongeur's work. Some people must feed in restaurants, and so other people must swab dishes for eighty hours a week. It is the work of civilization, therefore unquestionable. "

Methodology

I selected three research methods in my fieldwork for this project. They

are participant observation, person-centered interviews, and a self-administered questionnaire. My goal is to gather as much data as possible on the culture of bartenders and their lives behind the bars. In the past, there has been little or no research in this culture. I aim to collect and use data that will define, describe, and explain bartender culture and allow me to test my working hypothesis, which states that my auto-ethnographic findings are valid. H. Russell Bernard is a leading methodologist in the field of anthropology. I used mostly his techniques to achieve my goals. Bernard writes ... "I address three key problems of anthropology: (1) the problem of reality, relativism, and truth; (2) the relationship between interpretation (including empathic verstehen) and explanation; and (3) the problem of theory construction and theoretical progress."

Participant Observation--- I chose this method to identify the central aspects, or domains of culture in bartender society. Due to the fact of my experience behind bars, I had already completed my fieldwork in this area, and this part of my methodology requires special discussion. Where my contribution as a participant was most beneficial, is in the auto-ethnographic knowledge I bring to the subject. Anthropologically, I reflected on nearly 10 years of "observation" as I singled out the ten domains of culture discussed later in the findings and analysis portion of this thesis. This project serves as a retrospective of my life behind bars and a study of culture--an auto-ethnography. Bernard wrote, "The method of participant observation includes the explicit use in behavioral analysis and recording of the information gained from participating and observing." I have chosen to use my 10 years of experience as an auto-ethnographic base of participant observation data.

Person-Centered Interview---Interviewing as a research method keeps the ethnographer from losing objectivity. Interviews also serve as a "real life" means of obtaining information about a culture through the eyes of participants in that culture. I have performed five interviews. These interviews are conducted as of life histories, the method Geyla Frank used in *Venus on Wheels*. Also, in the Feminist spirit of *Venus on Wheels*, I chose women for the interviews. I felt the informants, being women, would have similar perspectives on their experiences and in addition. In addition, having a semi-feminist orientation myself, I wanted to give "voice" to these women for having struggled, suffered and survived in the same fashion as myself for so long. This goes back to the "I know what you went through" connection, mentioned before. The informants selected each have 10 years or more of experience behind bars. They are/were considered lifers in their culture, and they have seen it all. I asked questions that were medium-structures and open ending. My sampling was snowball, in which you locate informants through other informants. Bernard writes, " Person-centered interviews engage the in-

interviewee as an "informant," that is as a knowledgeable person who can tell the anthropologist-interviewer about the culture and behavior in a particular local (1994)." Thus not only do they provide the researcher with information on the particular culture, but they provide a means to compare the other interviewees with each other to access accuracy. The questions posed cover the core concepts of bartender culture and provide information on ten domains of culture that are used to organize my project. Data from these interviews will also serve as a partial test of the working hypothesis.

Self-Administered Questionnaires---My control group is 25 anonymous bartenders, of each whom has worked behind bars 5-10 years. The questions cover all aspects of the perceptions I acquired from my years in the bartending culture. There are 50 questions in total, twenty-five are in *Yes/No* sentence format and in Likert scale format. My sampling method was convenience or grab bag. I handed out the questionnaire at six local establishments as well as to bartenders I know who are students here on campus. My goals here are: 1) to broaden the perspective of the thesis hopefully uncovering aspects of the culture not touched on with results from the other research methods and 2) these data will provide an independent means with which to test the working hypothesis. These findings will either help to validate or challenge my own auto-ethnographic findings.

Theoretical Framework

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown followed the work of Emile Durkeim in his philosophy of Functionalism. Radcliffe-Brown's method focused on the structure of social relationships, and attributes functions to institutions in terms of the contribution they make maintaining the structure. He called his method Structural Functionalism (1952). I applied this theory to demonstrate the importance of each structure in the culture of bartenders. This environment could not exist without integrity. Everyone needs everyone and everyone and needs to work harmoniously in order to achieve success in this profession. Anthropologist Geyla Frank began writing her landmark ethnography *Venus on Wheels*, in 1976. Published in 2000, the book portrays the life of Diane DeVries, a woman with neither legs nor arms. Written in feminist tones, it has made a large impact on my project. In the decision to expose myself in this project, I found Frank's approach useful. She writes, "Reflexivity, which has important precedents in ethnography, has been defined as the capacity of any system of signification to turn back upon itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself. (2) Drawing on anthropology, philosophy, psychoanalysis, narrative theory, law, and the history of medicine, it serves

as a model in my attempt to include the influences of many disciplines. Franks use of mirror phenomenon has inspired me not to only take an autoethnographic approach but to seek more in self-realization with this project being almost therapeutic in ways. She raises the question of empathy and how it affects the mindset of the anthropologist. This book successfully covers several aspects of formal anthropology including the work of Benedict, Geertz, and Malinowski, to name a few. Not only ethnographic, it is cultural biographic, as it provokes argument in many of the classic approaches in anthropological theory. Frank writes, "Anthropology's reconsideration of empathy must move beyond a narrow technical definition of the immediate intuition of a shared feeling to a wider appreciation of the mirror phenomenon in human understanding".

As stated earlier, I have chosen to explore ten dynamic domains of culture in the bartending profession. These ten aspects were chosen from my own participant observation of nearly 10 years behind bars. It is in defining these that the project will contain my most significant auto-ethnographic contributions. Geyla Frank in *Venus on Wheels*, utilized the Verstehen approach in social science; She writes ...

As proposed by the philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey, it is an effort to understand the meaning of the events by reconstructing their historical context, including the subjective viewpoint of the individuals who took part. Dilthey argued, that a true philosophy of life and the human studies should be based on the broadest possible knowledge including psychology, history, economics, philology, literary criticism comparative religion and jurisprudence. (76)

The concept of "holism" is central to anthropology assuming that we get "big picture", and Ruth Benedict's use of this concept is compelling (1934). Understanding the culture of bartenders, especially behind the bar, relies on every nuance of the culture. One must, as Benedict insisted, study a culture in its entirety to understand it, while at the same time remain open to the possibility new information and change. Benedict closes her book, *Patterns of Culture* with, "We shall arrive then at a more realistic social faith, accepting as grounds of hope and as new bases for tolerance the coexisting and equally valid patterns of life which mankind has created for itself from the raw materials of existence."

In addition the ten cultural domains, are very descriptive and will work to portray the culture accurately. I formed the questions for the person-to person interviews found later in the analysis and findings section of this project from these autobiographically defined aspects. These domains range from traditional cultural concepts such as kinship and territory to a few that I have adapted to better suit the nature of this project.

Emile Durkeim's theory in social facts heavily influenced my ideas about how to define and represent my auto-ethnographic findings and how form there to structure interview and survey questions. His method was to deal with what he called social facts, that is, a domain of phenomena beyond and external to the sphere of purely individual action. These social facts included what he later called collective representations, and they were to be considered 'as things', and to be explained only in relation to other social facts, never to individual representations. In short, drawing from Frank, and through her Dilthey, as well as Durkeim, the domains I chose to explore, on a whole, are inter-connective and will work to define, represent, and support my findings on bartenders as a culture.

Cultural Domain Analysis

Kinship

There is a strong element of kinship in the bar environment, and this domain is a good starting point for exploration. The bonds formed in a bar are not the classic bonds of family or kin stemming from blood relation. They are between individuals who would otherwise exist as strangers. I will focus on two relationships: bartender-regular and bartender-bartender, both of which can be described as fictive kin. Other examples of fictive relationships found in social systems are the concepts known as "Godparents" and in the Japanese custom of oyako-kankei or oyabun-kobun, where two people become "blood brothers."

The relationship that I wish to focus on first is that of the bartender and the regular, meaning a customer who frequents an establishment regularly. They visit the bar often enough to be on a first name bases with the bartender as well as other customers. Many of them are perceived as alcoholic, and television programs such as Cheers have portrayed this social system. Everyone knows everyone's name ... and personal business. The role of bartender becomes one of friend and family, in the sense of fictive kin. One of my five informants, Geri, had this to say, "There is a sense of family or membership with the regulars". Bartenders are the people with whom the regulars celebrate many holidays. Pearl another informant, felt as if she was almost too close to the regulars. She complained that sometimes the regulars told her more than she wanted to know (see appendix I). She also felt that she had to be nice, as we all do with family during the Holidays. She further explained, "I did send Christmas cards, though."

I recall celebrating my own birthday in addition to the birthdays of the

regulars at my bar, including spending New Years Eve with these people. Relationships are formed when people come together almost everyday and socialize. Pearl explained it simply,

" People sometimes just need someone to talk to." These relationships are different from other professionally related bonds, such as those found in 9-5 office settings. The environment is unique in that it promotes relaxation, conversation and the consumption of a control substance, alcohol. Bartenders are known for being psychologists in this environment as well. The regulars feel comfort in telling bartenders almost anything. They divulge information that under usual conditions would be shared with a spouse, close friend, or relative. As a bartender, I have been told some shocking truths about people's lives and most of whom I will never know again. At times, the information was more than I needed or even wanted to know, but still I listen, offered advice, and smiled because they were paying my salary. As Pearl explained, it can go beyond the relationship of money, "If they come in once or three times a week, you start to form more of a friendship."

The relationships that form between bartender and bartender create bonds between people who would never cross each other's path except for the fact that they work together. Bartenders become each others "drinking buddies" when no one else is awake at 3am, when the shift is over. You spend a large amount of time with these people, and they become kin. "I like working in a bar because it's fun. I get to see my friends", said Sammi, my third informant. In our culture professionals in general spend more time at work than anywhere else outside of the home, but bartenders are with coworkers more than their own family and friends. In the bar business, there is not a traditional forty-hour workweek, such as found in most jobs. When there is money to be made, bartenders are there, and this is often. Sometimes this means working longer than forty hours each week. Bar management suffers the most. It is common to pull 60-80 hour workweeks to assure the appropriate dollar numbers are made and that things run properly and smoothly. Evenings, weekends, and holidays are times usually reserved to spend time with friends and family. Bartenders are scheduled during these times and often shifts during holidays and such are the longest and render the most in economic gain. These conditions support the concept of making family amongst the co-workers. Colleen, the fourth informant said, "We [bartenders and bar kin] would party on Sundays because it was the only day off There was usually a bar-b-que or something."

Humans need family, the most basic unit of social structure, and everyone has a need to belong. Most establishments are open on holidays, and usually one spends times with biological family or friends, not co-workers, but not

for bartenders. Most bars can function without cocktail servers, and usually on big holidays the owners and management are nowhere to be found. The bar can open and function with at least one bartender, and it usually does on holidays when the rest of the world is enjoying a day off or a three-day weekend. So the bartender spends her holidays with regulars and co-workers, where she gets acquainted and forms bonds with co-workers during simple everyday tasks, such as side work; the preparation of the establishment for service. The things one can learn about another while cutting lemons, stocking beer, folding napkins, filling ketchup, are many. The work is very hard and employees rely on each other for moral support. After a bad night, it is customary to have a few beers and get over it with these friends/family/coworkers. Colleen put it this way, "There's a replacement of family there because you spend all the holidays at work." These are the people who will do anything for you because they "know what you are going through." Financial loans, babysitting, and transportation become common grounds of reciprocity.

Drugs & Alcohol

This is a classic and controversial topic in which I explored with a spin. As a child I recall my Mother arguing with my Aunt about how bad the bar business was. My mother, like many people of her generation with strong military up bringing, believed bars were places of inherent evil and that a "real" job was 9-5 preferable with the government. She never accepted bartending as a "real" job for my Aunt or myself. She believed one would have to be alcoholic to want to work in bars. She hated alcohol due to my Father's loss battles with the disease alcoholism. Even though I never developed into an alcoholic and was capable of buying her very nice Christmas gifts she never approved of my profession for nearly 10 years.

Now, I am not saying that there is no drug or alcohol abuse. Drug and alcohol abuse exist at epidemic levels. Informant Colleen (appendix I) claimed that everyone who works in a bar has some issues with addiction. She said, "Everyone has their vice be it marijuana or they smoke cigarettes." I found this industry to be inundated with alcoholics and drug addicts. I have worked side by side with all of them. I had the opportunity of saving a few past general managers' positions as I saved them from the embarrassment of having cocaine residue on their noses and lips. Twice in nearly 10 years, I have had to call ambulances in hopes of saving co-workers from any more damage to their brains due to "over doing it." The cultural norm is to have at least one vice. Informant 2 shared her frustration with trying to quit smoking. She explained, "I had even quit smoking when I had my twins and went right back

to it bartending." A vice of some nature seems necessary, for the business is so rough on the soul. The business will cause you to hate people in general. I remember suffering from many of the symptoms associated with Social Anxiety Disorder. Bartenders and their co-workers "party" after a shift to forget the rough spots of the night. Relieved to be finished, they "drink it off". Informant Geri explained "Every Friday after hours we have a few beers at the bar. There's nothing else open."

At the other end of the spectrum, bartenders are the first to buy a round of drink for everyone to celebrate a big money night. It is ritual to buy drinks on these nights just to send the good energy around. People who work in this line of business know the value of teamwork. Bartenders, cocktail servers and bar backs all depend on one another to pull off a big night. An example of this concept is the fact cocktail servers need the bartender to make their drinks. They also reap the benefits of having bar backs. The bar backs maintain the stock behind the bar, washes the millions of incoming dirty glasses, and even takes care of nasty jobs like taking out trash and checking on the bathrooms.

A major influence in this practice is the fact that the bar environment is highly rooted in Holism. The concept of Holism basically supports that cultures are "functionally integrated wholes". The idea is that everything in our culture is somehow related or dependent on itself. One cannot exist without the other. This concept is similar to that found in the Asian philosophies of Yin and Yang.

Other occasions for this form of self-medication include celebrate a big money night, or to just calm down, relieve stress. People in this business abuse alcohol and drugs most often to stop "feeling" pain. They want to numb themselves to certain realities and overall, just feel better. The concept of self-medication is what comes into play here. Informant 2, Pearl said, "Alcohol was accessible. It was an easy painkiller." Drugs and alcohol are as much a part of the bar scene as cocktail napkins, tables, and customers. However, I do not believe working in the company of a particular control substance, be it alcohol or any other could alone cause a person to abuse or become addicted. In other words, I do not see alcoholism as a work-related hazard for bartenders.

Sexual Behavior

Bars are notorious for "picking up" people. A "pick up" mentality is found in bars in general. Informant Pearl explained, "Bars are just randy places." Bartenders are the most notorious for their sexual behavior. Bartenders are known for being "Don Juans or Juanas". Cocktail servers are known as being flirtatious and constantly accused of being hired mainly on their looks or bra size. Many establishments in my past have had no shame

in hiring only attractive staff. The environment of a bar evokes, stimulates, and provokes "hornyness". After a few drinks, everyone feels sexier and more outgoing. Music, lighting, and other contributors to the ambiance help create environments where chaos is sprung.

Anthropologist Margaret Mead, in *Coming of Age in Samoa*, (1961) observed the role of the Soa found in Samoan courtship ritual and described it as an ambassador to the men who aids them in the gathering of lovers. She wrote, "It is his task to sing his friends praise, counteract the girl's fears and objections, and finally appoint a rendezvous." Bartenders are always playing the role of the "ambassador." It is very common to be asked, "Will you send that blond a drink on me?" or "Do you know anything about that guy in the blue sweater?"

Mead goes on to describe what she calls Formal Sex Relations, one of which she labels a Clandestine Love Affair. This is when lovers meet in private purely for sexual reasons. There is no emotion or romance involved. She wrote, "Under the palm trees" is conventionalized designation of this type of intrigue in formal sex relations (222). Many sexual relationships start in bars. I recall watching couple after couple pay their tabs and leave together. Often these people were total strangers in the beginning of the evening and now they plan to be lovers.

Bartenders are "supposed" to be charming and alluring. A good bartender will work to keep a customer drinking at their bar. Informant 5, Diane, believed, "Girls like to flirt with the bartender because of the whole Tom Cruise Cocktail fantasy." On the flip side, Informant 3, Sammi found, "Men think just because you're behind the bar, you're looking for a date too." Though I've had my share of advances from customers, the sex lives of my excoworkers are where the chaos mostly existed. Informant 1, Geri, shared, "There's not five minutes that goes by without some kind of a sexual statement or pass".

Everyone slept with everybody, especially after the after hours gatherings. I recall acting as a mediator for a married couple's "bizarre love triangle". The couple worked at the bar together. He was bartender and she cocktailled. They each took only one night off a week separately. One faithful night when he was off, she hooked up with our bar back and the rest is ... not appropriate for me to make my point. Promiscuity is like a virus in the bar environment. Informant 4, Colleen, stated, "I've been hit on by customers as I watched customers hit on customers." With everyone getting drunk together after hours most evenings no wonder. Bi-sexuality and homosexuality are equally common in sex acts. Furthermore it is customary to "kiss and tell". Everyone knows who's doing whatever with whomever. Being a bartender is sometimes a glamorous position.

There's always the opportunity for sex and adventure. Furthermore, it makes for hot gossip. People in this business thrive on inter-staff gossip. People in our society tend to be less inhibited in their sexuality when alcohol and a seductive environment call for it. Informant 2, Pearl, explained, "People tend to act ways in bars that they would not act in other places." People in bars they portray a sense of freedom and confidence; they feel sexy and desirable. People believe promiscuity is bad because of cultural conditioning. In, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1961) Mead wrote, "From their familiarity with the reverberations which accompany sex excitement comes this recognition of the essential impersonality of sex attraction which we may well envy them; from the too slight, too casual practice comes the disregard of personality which seems to us unlovely."

The Joking Relationship

For this cultural domain, I drew from the work of James P. Spradley in his ethnography of cocktail servers, *Cocktail Waitress*. I found it more than suitable for this project in light of the fact that bartenders are viewed by some to be "smart asses" or "wise guys". Spradley observed in his research the relationships between the bartenders and the cocktail waitresses as having four basic characteristics. The characteristics of the joking relationship were that they simultaneously were restricted to certain participants, restricted to certain settings, involved ritual insults and sexual topics and usually occurred in a public setting. One of the many aspects of Edwards Sapir's theories in language assumes that jargon and banter in a society promotes a sense of "social solidarity". An interesting and accurate aspect presented through the work of Sapir, I have found support of this theory in my travels as well. Spradley found that it took his informants about three months to get acclimated to the joking relationship level of things.

I believe it is an initiation custom in bar culture. With nearly ten years of experiences behind bars, I've had my share of joking relationships. The messages tossed back and forth over the bar in a routine transaction between a bartender and a cocktail waitress in this ethnography and as in my personal experiences are nothing less than cruel at one point and at times pornographic at others. Dirty jokes and glances are common rituals in the bar societies. Getting back to holism, here is a prime example of how important it is for two staff members to find a means of getting along. The night must go on. It must function. The essence of the joking relationship is in its function. You may literally hate that co-worker. Nonetheless the night must go on. This aspect of joking relationships is where I focused in my person-to-person interviews. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's take on joking relationships is most appropriate

What is meant by the term "joking relationship" is a relationship between two people in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances, required to tease or to make fun of the other, who, in turn, is required to take no offense. It is a peculiar combination of friendliness and antagonism.

Structure and Function in Primitive Society (1965:90-91)

As a bartender, one is forced to muster up the energy to tolerate egos and un-welcomed advances from the regular customers as well. Informants Geri and Pearl had very similar responses, "Being a smart ass cuts the ice if you're bothered buy a rude customer. You make the other person the but of the joke." and "If you're good at it you're making the joke at the guy's expense and he does not know it. Everyone else does though"

Territory

The concept of territory is to give meaning to space and to define the places of our lives, large and small. Behind bars territory is a major source of distress for all members of a staff. Each territory has significant value to the staff members. These territories have meanings that only the members of the culture treasure. In the bar environment, these territories have specific meaning. The best station behind the bar signifies power and prestige. These bartenders ring high sales and do have large following. The same is true for the cocktail servers. In bars, cocktail servers are never allowed behind the bar. It is literally taboo for the server to go behind the bar. Edward Hall's hidden dimension of space argues space communicates certain needs and expectations in a culture. Space functions as a place to be. I believe people have a need to "feel at home". Moreover, this space is something to have control over. Informant 5, Diane, shared, "The cocktail servers should never be behind the bar." The bar culture, as I recall, is highly territorial. I myself have quit jobs over stations or territories. Other territorial taboos include stealing a regular customer or their tab, leaving someone else's territory unlike it was found, and of course lifting tips from a co-worker or the establishment. The territorial aspects I focused on for this project are the set up of the well, positioning of workstations, and the splitting of customers and tips behind bars. Informant 3, Sammi, shared, "I don't like anyone behind the bar because I'm responsible for the register."

Performance

In the book from Ritual to Theatre, Victor Turner theorizes the art of per-

formance. I choose this "performance theory" to theorize what I identify as a performance behind bars. The actual theory was interpreted and modified with an interesting twist. I believe this modification better describes or at least breaks the theory into layman's terms. I believe this modification opens up the theory, therefore making it easier to understand. Tuner wrote, "For me anthropology of performance is an essential part of the anthropology of experience. In a sense, every type of cultural performance, including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry, is explanation and explication of life itself. "Meaning" is squeezed out of an event, which has either been directly experienced by the dramatist or poet, or cries out for penetrative, imaginative understanding (Verstehen). An experience is itself a process, which "presses out" to an "expression" which completes it. A performance then is the proper finale of an experience."

As a student of anthropology, I thought it would be interesting to retheorize this theory. My performance theory is based on my perception of being behind bars and it being similar to acting in a play or drama. In my assessment, bartending has a stage face and that bartenders perform accordingly. Informant Pearl said, "There were times that I put on a persona that surely was not me." Complete with costume and make-up, I recall many instances of not really wanting to be behind the bar but needing to slap on fresh lipstick and a smile to perform in hopes of paying the rent. The bar is your stage and you are the center of attention. Informant 4, Colleen agreed, "You're on stage behind the bar. It's like acting." Good stage presence was always moneymaker. Informant Geri explained, "You need to have a rapport with people because that's how you make your money." Funny jokes and breathtaking bar tricks serve as stage props. Style and finesse were always positive attributes to the show.

Psychological Issues

As with any culture exploring the psychological issues that exist is advantageous in gaining insight of the group's nuances. Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture* (1934), wrote, "Cultural interpretations of behavior need never deny that a physiological element is also involved." My approach here is not clinical as one might assume. I identified a few issues that I have had psychologically behind bars and compared those to my informants. My goal here was not to bog the project down with pages and pages of psychological terms and information, but to merely touch on the major issues. I aim to portray the mindset of bartenders, not psychoanalyze them. Leaving the bar business is difficult for many. The money isn't always the reason. The highly socialized lifestyle is additive as well. Informant 1, Geri, responded, "I call it my "paid social hour. It gives me the opportunity to socialize." Many bartenders get bored in other lines of work. There is just not enough

excitement. "I've tried nursing homes and department stores and I always come back," responded Informant 3, Sammi.

Being slammed is one of my worse memories. Murphy's Law usually prevailed in these instances. The source of the problem most often is a result of being hit. These were times when a group of 25 would come in during a pub-crawl or maybe just a tour bus full of anxious 21 year olds needing trays of shots. Nevertheless there was never enough glasses or never enough ice. Usually the beer kegs start to give out and there's one around to go to the basement to change them. Utter chaos would be an accurate description. Informant 1, Geri, agreed, "Being slammed is awful. It's a very traumatic experience." Informant 2, Pearl drew this conclusion, "There are two kinds of people. Successful bartenders thrive on being slammed and knew how to work your way out of it. You just buckle down, slam it out, and do what you have to do. The cooler heads always prevail."

Another aspect of exploration is that of being desperate. People who work in this profession are usually very desperate for money. Once again to state that bartending is not the aspiration of many. You just wind up there. It was very nerve-racking to have your well being literally in the hands and wallets of others. The mentality then becomes, "just get through tonight", as you suffer at all cost to keep the shift and bring home the cash. You put up with a lot of degradation just to bring home the cash. I am positive that I suffer to this day from some sort of "abused child or wife syndrome" as a direct result of bartending in horrific circumstances.

Another issue is the concept of being "shell-shocked". Time has past and even now I hate going into bars. Everything about a bar causes me to reflect on some of the worst and best time of my life. Informant 5, Diane, claimed to not go to bars when she's not working (appendix I).

Economics

Ah ... the money. The money is the main reason why an individual may chose bartending a means of subsistence. In most establishments a bartender's hourly salary ranges \$5-8 per hour. In addition there are the tips. Informant 5 did not care for the ambiguity in means of subsistence. She explained, "I hated not knowing how the money would be." Some nights when you least expect it you have a big night and other nights, like Fridays you would make \$50.00. I recall never having to actually cash my payroll check. because I lived off my tips. Bartenders make excellent money. When you are good, you do very well in this profession. Good signifies high sales and a huge regulars following. Once again, not aiming to load the project down with classic economic terms and information, I aim to portray to merely show

how nice the money is and what the spending habits of bartenders are. Besides the obvious paying of living cost such as rent, auto insurance, and weekly manicures (most female bartenders can afford to invest in having beautiful hands), I have traveled to Mexico, Canada, and Europe. One Summer I was able to afford going shopping everyday. One day I would only spend \$30.00 on CDs and candles and other days close to \$500.00 on clothes and shoes. I justified it all because I knew I had to look good for work and I also knew there would be an opportunity to recover my losses later that night at work. Sociologist, Georg Simmel in *The Philosophy of Money* (1900) wrote, "The rapid circulation of money induces habits of spending and acquisition. It makes quantity of money psychologically less significant and valuable." I have made excellent money in this industry and have done so without a college degree. Informant 5, Diane shared, "I think people in New Orleans supposedly make 50 grand bartending at Hard Rock." Needless to say, the money is the reason you justify such awful work.

Politics

Every social structure is packed with politics. My goal with this cultural aspect is to portray the very dysfunctional political systems associated with bartending. Political organization is the means a society uses to maintain social order and reduce social disorder. (Haviland P.334) There is a massive assortment of political issues in the bar environment. The politics in bars are as shady as the politics in our government. There are laws that are followed whenever and however it is convenient for the oppressor. For this project the oppressor is the owner or management of a bar. Everyone is not treated equally in bar society. The bartenders are usually more respected. The owners trust them to run the business and watch over employees in their absence. Informant 3, Sammi, claimed, "I've written \$3000.00 checks for beer deliveries." Seniority based decisions are prevalent in most bar societies. However a major amount of conflict arises when that is not the case. Informant 4, Colleen, stated, "If you're new and don't get the station you deserve, there's hell to pay." There is a prevalence of favoritism, nepotism, sexism, and racism. Informant 5, Diane, complained, "I've been shifted from a good night to a bad night before because the owner has a new girlfriend who wants my night. She knows nothing and can't make good drinks." Similar to people in our society, bartenders in bar society, deal with the discrimination and degradation because they need to survive. Being a Black Female, I am still this shocked that I was even remotely successful in this business. Politics (included territorial issues) in general are what drove me out of the bar business. Seedy politics are what drives most bartenders over the edge.

Art

Here, I explored the aspects of art in the culture of bartenders because art not only expresses creativity, but the emotional dynamics of a culture. Anthropologist William H. Haviland, wrote, " Because art, like any aspect of culture, is inextricably intertwined with everything else people do, it affords us glimpses into other aspects of peoples' lives, including their values and worldview. (1999)"

The verbal art of folklore is present in the concept of the infamous Bloody Mary cocktail. Every bartender assumes they make the best bloody marys. The goal is to be known for your recipe. Making and drinking bloody marys can be fun. The folklore in the recipes is the focus however. Every recipe is different and not one exists in its original version. They are passed from bartender to bartender and rarely written on paper or measured exactly. Informant 5, Diane, served a spicier recipe. Informant 3, Sammi, serves hers in a glass rimmed with celery salt. Mythically, bloody marys are believed to cure a hang over. Informant 2, Pearl, explained, "There's that "hair of the dog" theory, but what you're really doing is just getting drunk all over again."

Bloody marys have traditionally been served as a morning drink, especially during Sunday brunches. The original bloody mary recipe has had its share of changes. It originated in the United States during the 1940s and was made with gin instead of vodka. Vodka became the spine of this colorful cocktail in the 1950s. The perfect bloody mary, like the perfect martini, is a matter of individual taste. Bloody marys are said to be a meal in a glass. They all have the basic vodka and tomato juice base. The tricky part then becomes what gets mixed in. This is where all the rivalry starts to build.

There is an art to garnishing cocktails in general. I attended a formal school of bartending and this was evident in how I garnished my cocktails. Formal training allowed for flag (a type of garnish) classes as well classes that taught students how to warm cognacs over an open flame at the bar. Ironically, most cocktails do not call for elaborate decor. When a customer ordered a fru-fru (a fruity sweet drink) cocktail, such as Strawberry Daiquiri or a Mai Tai, it was an opportunity to show off my skills. I called these cocktails "vacation cocktails. Most garnishes are made from fruit and they usually attribute to the flavor of the cocktail. Other garnishes do little for the flavor, but -are appealing to the eye. -This style garnishing as we Has the cocktails ale-" prevalent in cruise ships and vacation resorts.

As seen in the rebirth of the fashionable martini, customers are ordering these drinks not only for their potency, but also for the appeal to the eye. Like a great tie or handbag, these cocktails look good "on" the customer. To add

to the fashion, bartenders everywhere are inventing martinis that are bright and fun in color. The Cosmopolitan (bright maroon), the apple martini (bright green), and the blue martini are some of the most requested cocktails. Bartenders worldwide participate in tournaments that test their practical skills, such as taste and speed, but for their artistry as well. The layered Red, White, & Blue Martini came from a tournament winner who created it on a slow Fourth of July evening at work. Layered drinks involve knowing the density of the liquors, a spoon to break the fall of the liquor, and of course, a steady hand.

Another aspect of art, music, is an important element in the bar environment. Every bar has music and bartenders are usually the "gate-keeper" of the music selection in bars. Some bars have live bands and others have disc jockeys that contribute music to the environment. Music is vital in bar society because it expresses the style of the bar and the people who visit it. A dance club/bar environment spins music appropriate for dancing while a tavern/bar has music as background or ambiance. In regards to the function of music in bar society, Haviland wrote ...

"Whether the song's content is didactic, satirical, inspirational, religious, political, or purely emotional, the important thing is that the formless has been given form and that feelings hard to express in words alone are communicated in a symbolic and memorable way that can be repeated and shared." (1999)

Findings & Analysis

The following are the most significant questions and responses from the questionnaire. My control group was 25 anonymous bartenders, of each whom has worked behind bars 5-10 years. The questions cover all aspects of the perceptions I acquired from my years in the bartending culture. There were 50 questions in total, twenty-five are in *Yes/No* sentence format and in Likert scale format. These findings helped to validate my own autoethnographic findings. In addition, there is supportive comparison in the responses from the five informant interviews. I asked the informants to describe how they perceived the 10 cultural domains in the bar environment.

Kinship

I have taken part in relationships beyond the professional level with regular

customers.

Yes = 80%

My regular customers share very intimate aspects of their lives with me.

Yes = 88%

Regular customers share a sense of "family" with me and other customers.

Yes = 76%

I have celebrated my birthday amongst staff and customers.

Agree = 86%

Customers and co-workers know much about my private life.

Agree = 76%

Informant Responses

- You have a certain relationship with them, a close relationship with them.
- I found myself getting involved in people's lives without really wanting to.
- If they come in once or three times a week, you start to form more of a friendship.
- I've belonged to golf clubs and even gone to see movies with regulars.
- I think the regulars come in because they are lonely and looking for someone to talk to.

As the data demonstrates, There are bonds formed in the bar environment. It should be noted that these types of relationships progress in bars were conversation and sitting are the norms. These types bars are not dance/bars or bars that frequently have live bands perform. This environment allows for such to occur. Bartenders and regulars need to have time for "getting to know" each other. Loud music could not be an element in this equation because it would destroy the delivery of the communication messages. Presently, I am in contact with less than five of my past co-workers and not one of my past regulars. This reality is largely self-chosen, however, during the height of our relationships, I believed I would know them for life. Some of my fondest memories, of these relationships, are the good times that occurred outside of the bar. These relations had a function in my life at the time. The regulars left extra large tips and a few of them became friends, as did my coworkers. Friends and family are a "perk" in the bartending profession and a strong cultural structure in this social system.

Drugs & Alcohol

I smoke more now than I did before I became a bartender.

Yes = 68%

I use more drugs or alcohol now than prior to working as a bartender.

Yes = 56%

I have performed my occupational duties in the past under the influence of drug or alcohol.

Yes = 64%

After hours I use drugs or alcohol to relax after work.

Yes = 68%

Informant Responses

- In my travels, bartenders were more into drugs instead of alcohol. They like things that kept them peppy and up.
- There have been plenty of nights that I've gotten hammered behind the bar.
- In a given night it's common to have at least three drinks because the customers buy them for you.
- Usually on Friday or Saturday, when we were "in the weeds", they would be setting up shot on the bar all night long.
- I don't drink at work. I don't feel morally right cutting someone off when I'm under the influence myself.

The goal here, as stated earlier was to portray or expose aspect of the bartender culture.

As the data shows, there are significant amounts of drugs and alcohol being used in this culture. Any individual who is attempting to recover from addiction be it; drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, would fail in this environment. It is laden in temptation and stress. Peer pressure plays a large roll here as well. There is acculturation with new staff members and new social groups form. The after hours occasions are when the co-workers really make there bonds. Much of the inter-staff sexual behavior occurs at this time as well. These bonds could be formed simply by alcohol and drug preference. I explored alcoholism as an occupational hazard of bartending and the results were inconclusive (Appendix F). Drugs and alcohol function as a structure in this society. Partly because it is simply present behind bars and partly as a form of self-medication. Self-medication is a classic sign of abuse; moreover, it is a classic tendency in our society as a whole.

Sexual Behavior

I have taken part in relationships of a romantic/sexual nature with customers.

No=52%

Promiscuity is prevalent in the bar environments.

Yes = 92%

Bars are viewed as "meat markets" or "pick up joints."

Yes = 84%

Informant Responses

- There's not five minutes that goes by without some kind of a sexual statement or pass.
- Men think just because you're behind the bar, you're looking for a date too.
- Alcohol acts as an aphrodisiac and it breaks down people's inhibitions.
- People in a bar tend to be looser. Especially when they get a few cocktails in them.
- Being a bartender is sometimes a glamour position. There's always the opportunity.

Bars are places where people go to relax in general. For many people, bars are where one goes to socialize. As the data shows, there is a ramped amount of sexual behavior in this environment. Sex functions as a moneymaker in this environment. People go to bars to find someone to "get to know." Bars have a natural element of promiscuity. Many bars are frequently purely due to the caliber of clientele it attracts. As the data shows, this environment, especially when mixed a control substance such as alcohol, is highly sexual.

Also, the bartender becomes the target of these efforts. Sex functions in the bartender culture as it does in our society as a whole. From behind the bar, it is most interesting to watch people in conversation and flirtation.

Joking Relationship

Bartenders a known for being quick witted or "smart asses."

Yes = 92%

There is an overabundance of sexual jokes or themes.

Absolutely Agree = 48%

Informant Responses

- Being a smart-ass cuts the ice if you're bothered by a rude customer. You make the other person the butt of the joke.
- You take your frustrations out in a way so that they don't even know you're insulting them.
- You have to not piss off the customers enough so that give you a good tip.
- Everyone around you is trying to get drunk and you feel defensive.
- I don't like being called "hey you". I'm usually a bitch after that.

Bartenders are known for being witty. From behind the bar, it's you against them. As the data shows, bartenders feel it is their duty to put people in their places. In such a stressful environment, full of chaos, bartenders need a means to protect themselves. There is no tolerance for antagonism. The joking relationship functions as a defense mechanism in this environment.

Territory

Every bartender has a specific manner in which the bar must be set for work.

Yes = 96%

Informant Responses

- There was always a war between the day bartenders and night bartenders about how to set the bar.
- Cocktail servers need to respect their place. You're there to help them make money.
- It's very mine, mine, mine. It's intense.
- I never wanted to work in the service station. It's for the new bartender.
- You don't want anybody coming behind the bar. It's a no-no.

As the data demonstrates, the bar environment is full of territorial issues. Some territories are physical, while others are mental and financial. As stated earlier, territory issues are in abundance in this environment. Bartenders are prone to leave an establishment over territorial issues. It is the number one reason why bartenders and cocktail servers do not work harmoniously. Territory function as a symbol of prestige as well as its usually function in culture in this environment.

Performance

Bartending and starring in a play are synonymous.

Yes = 60%

I care about my physical appearance because it affects the money I make.

Yes = 92%

Informant Responses

- People on the outside think you are relaxed but you can be very tense.
- There is always telling jokes, and doing tricks with fire, it's a show you put together by time you walk in.
- I have clothes that I would not wear anywhere else.
- The more charming and attractive I was, the more money I would make.
- You remember the experience of the shift, not the money you made.

Performance is a large aspect of the occupational duties of bartenders. One's style and finesse accounts for the amount money made. Being behind the bar is like being on a stage. Appearance plays a large roll in the salary of bartenders and therefore it is high on the list of priorities. Dealing with the public, provokes performance, especially on days when "acting" is required. The performance functions as a vehicle for money and a good night.

Psychological Issues

I have had anxiety- based nightmares about being "slammed" due to being a bartender.

Yes =64%

Desperately, I have dealt with unbearable work related situations to keep employment.

Yes = 92%

Informant Responses

- || Being slammed is awful. It's a very traumatic experience.
- || People in the bar business for a long time have lives that are chaotic. They are addicted to chaos.
- You get addicted to the money, the cash, and the lifestyle and just don't know how to live nine-to-five life.

- If you don't do it well and don't like what you do, you won't make any money.
- Having to do twenty things at once for 6 whole hours puts on a lot of stress.

This data clearly demonstrates psychological based issues. My goal here was not to psychoanalyze, but to portray or expose.

Economics

I can afford to buy things that I would not be able to in other lines of work.

Yes = 88%

I make excellent money as a bartender.

Yes = 96%.

I come to work for purely financial gain.

Absolutely Agree = 68%

Informant Responses

- It's nice to have a big chunk of cash when you're done for the night.
- I most I ever rang on a register was 4,500.00 in one night. After tip out. I walked with 17% of that.
- You make it so fast and spend it so fast; you have no idea what you with it.
- You have to manage the money or it becomes a problem.
- Bartenders travel more than any other person.

Bartenders make excellent money. The money losses it's monetary value and becomes mere pieces of paper, tools, with which extra to shop and travel. The large amount of money is initially the attraction to the bartending profession. As the data shows, the money can become a problem because it is so plentiful. Money functions here as it does in other cultures, as a means of subsistence. Money is why people go to work and for bartenders, they bring it home every night in cash.

Politics

Management trusts bartenders with money more than servers.

Absolutely Agree = 44%

Cocktail servers and bartenders rarely get along.

Agree = 44%

I can run bars better than the average person who usually runs bars.

Yes = 92%

Bartenders are more respected amongst management than servers.

Yes = 72%

Informant Responses

- Most bartenders probably would run their own business.
- There was constantly competition between the bartenders.
- I think most bar owners have bars so they can have somewhere to go and drink free.
- If you're new and don't get the station you deserve, there's hell to pay.
- I've been shifted from a good night to a bad night before because the owner has a new girlfriend who wants my night. She knows nothing and can't make good drinks.

This data clearly demonstrates politically based issues. My goal here was to portray or expose some of the mentality behind the politics. Politics, as with most occupations, can make or break a cultural structure. The function of politics in bartender culture exists as it does in a society in general.

Art

I attended bartending-school or formal training.

No=52%

Every bartender makes good cocktails.

No=88%

I make the best bloody mary mix.

Yes = 88%

Informant Responses

- People like bloody marys spicy.

- Make them look pretty.
- The best recipes are the classic one's with Tabasco and V8 instead of plain tomato juice.
- My theory is that you know if a bartender drinks bloody marys by the way that he makes them.
- I don't think anything cures a hangover but maybe some water and some sleep.

The data portrays the artistic and jovial aspects of the folklore in Bloody Mary cocktails. According to my informants, Bloody Marys are a matter of personal taste and they are not a cure the hangover. (Appendix D) There is an element of "ego" or pride involved in having a good recipe.

Conclusion

My results are conclusive, I found most of my perceptions about the culture of bartenders to be accurate, and I can conclude that the working hypothesis stands. My auto-ethnographic knowledge is largely confirmed by both the person-centered interviews and the survey results. I was most impressed with the responses from the informants, as they gave life to my own understanding, as well as opening new doors on the creative process involved in representing and explaining the culture. When Informants 1 and 2 had the same response to the Joking Relationships in bars, I was amazed, but more importantly, it validated my perceptions of bartender culture. The same is true for the statistical results form the survey, which numerically confirm the auto-ethnographic data and insights.

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown made the organic analogy (the function of the individual structure) central to his theory of Functionalism. He defined functional unity as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency (1952). In short, all structures present in a culture are there for a specific purpose. This purpose is to function in unity or harmoniously. The bar culture is inherently full of structures. I have only investigated 10 of the structures. Bartenders function as the pillars in these structures. Considering the role of the bar in our society, I am amazed that no one has sought to explore these pillars, the bartenders.

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