

The Impact of Sexual Orientation on Consumers' Tipping Behavior

Monica Popa, Shayne Hurd

(Edwards School of Business, University of Saskatchewan, Canada)

Abstract: Despite the importance of tipping as a source of income for service providers and its pervasiveness in the daily lives of consumers, research to date has not explored whether and how tipping (or voluntary contributions in general) might be impacted by individual differences such as sexual orientation characteristics. We address this gap in the literature by forwarding a framework for understanding the relationship between sexual orientation and tipping, and empirically exploring it in two studies. In study 1, customer orders were observed to gauge the tipping behavior of heterosexual and homosexual individuals in the context of bar service. Study 2 consisted of interviews with service employees varying in sexual orientation, age, gender, and professional experience. Themes from the interviews and results from the field study indicate that straight (versus gay) individuals tend to tip more when the service provider is female, and the impact of sexual orientation on tipping is contingent on the gender and physical attractiveness of the interacting parties. A theme of relationship building was uncovered, suggesting that beyond bill size, tips are dependent on the development of one-on-one relations between the consumer and service provider.

Key words: tipping; sexual orientation; marketing; services

JEL code: M31

1. Introduction

Face-to-face public relations are particularly important in service settings, where successful interactions between frontline employees and clients are not only conducive to benefits for the firm's reputation (Dean, 2015; Mburu, 2014), but also quite directly affecting the earnings of service providers in the form of tips. Regarding factors that can play a role in tip revenues and service performance, some are under the direct control of the employee (e.g., the amount of time and attention devoted to the customer interaction, the level of enthusiasm displayed), while others are not within the employee's purview (e.g., the time of day/night when the business interaction occurs, the gender or sexual orientation of the interacting parties). The latter factors might not be controllable per se; however, they can still be managed in the public relations process in a way that maximizes organizational goals, employee objectives and customer satisfaction. The present research explores this process and offers actionable guidelines for business policy in contexts involving tipping behavior.

The study of tipping is at the cross-roads of marketing, management, human resources, economics, and social psychology, and has received research attention in all of these areas (e.g., Azar, 2007; Conlin, 2003; Lynn, Zinkhan & Harris, 1993; Whaley et al., 2013). Tipping can be defined as a form of voluntary consumer behavior which entails

Monica Popa, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Marketing, Edwards School of Business, University of Saskatchewan; research areas/interests: marketing. E-mail: popa@edwards.usask.ca.

paying a nonobligatory amount for service that has already been provided (Azar, 2007). Whether or not to leave a tip is a decision influenced by social customs, but norms provide a fair amount of latitude regarding how much should be tipped (Lynn et al., 1993). The voluntary aspect makes tipping similar to prosocial behaviors like gift giving and donating to worthy causes, while the tips' dependence on service quality and customer satisfaction anchors the act of tipping in the economic domain. Thus, theoretical bases from social sciences focused on prosocial/helping behaviors are jointly used herein with business frameworks to understand the intricacies of tipping.

The prolific research growth on the topic is attributed to the human-interest factor. The magnitude and prevalence of tipping in consumers' lives are drawing the spotlight on this behavior. Tipping is estimated to exceed \$41 billion annually in the U.S. (Azar, 2009), to take up a substantial part of the \$36 billion untaxed economy in Canada (Beeby, 2012) and to be an essential source of revenue for millions of employees in the service industries across the world (Lynn et al., 2004).

Although the general-level literature is extensive, knowledge regarding the role of individual differences in tipping is very limited; the few exceptions entail studies of gender differences (where it is highlighted that men tend to tip more than women in restaurant settings; Crusco & Wetzel, 1984; Lynn & Simons, 2000) and racial variations (where it is noted that lower tips are received by African-American service providers compared with Caucasian service providers from U.S. consumers, regardless of the consumer race). We bring an additional layer of depth to the understanding of individual differences in tipping by studying for the first time the influence of *sexual orientation*, in conjunction with factors such as gender and physical attractiveness. Furthermore, we integrate theories across disciplines to explain tipping behavior, and bridge two previously disjointed paradigms. When considering the evolution of tipping research, there are two dominant schools of thought: the first where the practice is described and studied as employee-driven, and the second with a consumer-led viewpoint (Whaley et al., 2014). We believe that the two stand-alone sides cannot accurately capture business relations in service interactions, so our studies are embracing both perspectives, providing data from the consumer level as well as the service provider level.

2. Conceptual Development

Research to date has not examined head-on the link between sexual orientation and tipping; however, a systematic scrutiny across literatures suggests that the relationship might be either positive or negative, depending on the underlying motivations for tipping. The reasons why homosexual consumers can be expected to tip more/less compared with heterosexual individuals include the need for belongingness and social acceptance, empathic motivations, concerns with protecting the in-group reputation, perceived service quality, income availability, and attraction-based mating rituals. These aspects are reviewed in turn below.

2.1 Theoretical Support for the Hypothesis that Gay (vs. Straight) Individuals Will Tip More

2.1.1 The Need to Belong: Acceptance and Social Connection Motivation

The need to feel socially connected determines attitudes and behaviors in public consumption situations (Jiang et al., 2010). The belongingness theory (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) indicates that humans have an innate drive for interpersonal bonds. Although there are cultural and individual differences in strength and intensity, the need to belong is universal (Jiang et al., 2010). People from stigmatized or discriminated social groups — e.g., those negatively stereotyped based on sexual orientation — have a stronger sense of addressing their need to belong (Carvallo & Pelham, 2006). Richman and Leary (2006) state that when the feeling of belongingness is

threatened by social rejection, individuals tend to behave in socially-enhancing ways such as being more helpful or cooperative. The need to belong triggers automatic non-conscious actions that would make people more likeable so that, in turn, they can feel more accepted. For example, women work harder on a subsequent task after being excluded and shunned from a game of ball-toss (Richman & Leary, 2009). Women's harder efforts to gain approval were based on their assumption that groups are more willing to accept hard workers. As Richman and Leary (2009) conclude based on the fundamental need for belongingness, "deficits in acceptance instigate a motive to improve one's relational value". Since tipping is a way to improve one's relational value (i.e., a form of socially desirable behavior), the overall implication is that a homosexual versus heterosexual consumer would tip more in order to feel accepted and appreciated.

2.1.2 Empathy: Helping Motivation

Tipping is more prevalent when consumers feel empathy and compassion for workers and want to show gratitude for the service received (Azar, 2005). Research suggests that historically disadvantaged groups are better able to empathize and recognize adversity, as well as detect the opportunity to behave generously. Empirical studies such as Sergeant et al.'s (2006) examination of male behavior indicate a higher level of empathy among homosexual versus heterosexual individuals. Since higher empathy is linked to increased acts of kindness and generosity (e.g., Barraza & Zak, 2009), it follows that gay consumers would tip more compared to straight consumers.

2.1.3 Concern for Group Image: Motivation to Protect the In-group Reputation

Homosexual individuals identify more strongly with their in-group based on sexual orientation (Jellison et al., 2004). Richman and Leary (2009) point out that people who are highly identified with a group (e.g., the LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender group) derive a stronger sense of self-worth from the reputation of the group, and are protective of the group's image in society. Consequently, a member's incentive to engage in image-enhancing behaviors (e.g., generous tipping) and avoid reputation-dampening behaviors (e.g., lack of tipping) can be attributed to protective mechanisms for the broader benefit of the group. Thus, tipping can be expected to be higher among homosexual versus heterosexual individuals due to attempts to build and protect the reputation of the LGBT group.

2.2 Theoretical Support for the Hypothesis that Gay (vs. Straight) Individuals Will Tip Less

The theoretical reasons to expect that gay individuals might tip less than straight consumers are primarily related to the resources available for awarding tips. Tipping prevalence is positively correlated with consumers' income (e.g., Azar, 2007), and the literature on sexual discrimination hints to the popular assumption that homosexuals have lower earnings compared with heterosexuals. However, Berg and Lien's (2002) review of studies emphasizes that empirical results are inconclusive; there are substantial variations across countries, and "there is no true generalization about the average earnings of male and female homosexuals taken together as a single bloc". Indeed, in the U.S. homosexual men were found to have earned 16% to 28% less than heterosexual men given similar demographics, but homosexual women were seen to have 13% to 27% higher incomes as compared to heterosexual women (Berg & Lien, 2002). Interestingly, Carpenter's (2008) study found a similar trend in Canada favoring lesbian earners and slightly disadvantaging gay males, but the evidence to date does not elucidate whether on average homosexuals really earn less than heterosexuals. Thus, the assumption of an income-based negative impact of sexual orientation on tipping should be used with caution.

2.3 Moderators of the Relationship between Sexual Orientation and Tipping

2.3.1 Sexual Orientation Compatibility: Similarity Motivation

Previous research on similarity has shown that people who share similar characteristics are more attracted to

each other and also more influenced by each other. In social situations, research has proven that incidental similarity increases “liking, persuasion, and cooperative behaviour between individuals” (Jiang et al., 2010). Therefore, the similarity between service provider and consumer may drive the amount of tips the employee receives. Specifically, gay (versus straight) consumers can be expected to leave higher tips if the service provider is gay (versus straight). In other words, the impact of consumers’ sexual orientation on tipping behavior would be moderated by the sexual orientation of the service provider.

2.3.2 Sexual Orientation Compatibility: Mating Rituals

The role of sexual orientation in tipping is likely contingent on the gender and physical attractiveness of the interacting parties, according to the dynamics of sexual attraction. Signaling theory and the literature on sexual selection suggest that competition for females underlies straight men’s public good contributions. Vugt and Iredale’s study (2012) found that men contributed more (i.e., placed more money in a public group fund) in the presence of an opposite sex audience, but there was no parallel effect for the women. Further, men’s public contributions went up as they rated the female more attractive. As Vugt and Iredale conclude, a public contribution is the human equivalent of a peacock’s tail. Translating these insights to the social display of generosity through tipping, it can be predicted that straight men would leave more generous tips to attractive female (versus male) employees, and that female consumers would not be influenced by the physical appearance of the employee. Indeed, a preliminary study by Lynn and Simons (2000) in the domain of restaurant tipping hints toward these trends. Yet, Lynn and Simons’s investigation did not control for sexual orientation, and presumably their findings are related to a majority straight sample. What about gay consumers? If the logic of signaling and mating rituals applies, gay males should be likely to give higher tips to attractive male employees. For homosexual female consumers, they can either leave more generous tips to attractive female employees, or follow the trend observed for heterosexual females and not be affected by the gender or attractiveness of the service provider.

To test these arguments, two studies are conducted with consumers and retail employees, exploring the impact of sexual orientation on tipping in the context of bar service.

3. Study 1

This field experiment explored actual tipping behavior following a 2 (consumer sexual orientation: gay vs. straight) x 2 (consumer gender: male vs. female) between-subjects design, with variables such as order amount and consumption time included as covariates. Observations of tipping behavior were made at a Canadian nightclub during evenings specifically catering to a homosexual clientele (gay events) and evenings organized primarily for a heterosexual audience (straight events). Using the same retail establishment with two different audiences presented the research advantage of keeping extraneous factors — especially the service atmosphere and the service providers — constant. This was important in light of prior research indicating that the retail atmosphere can play a role in tipping (Azar, 2007). We wanted to be able to clearly delineate the impact of sexual orientation from other key influences on consumers’ tipping behavior.

One hundred and twenty individual orders were unobtrusively observed by a trained experimenter who recorded the details of the service interactions and the tip amounts. Data collection was conducted with the permission of the club manager and the collaboration of the bartenders who served customers for the duration of the study. The experimenter observed the service interactions from the vantage point of the consumer area, being situated close to the point-of-purchase for a better view of the tipping jars. Data was recorded on the spot to a

smart-phone and later uploaded into an electronic data file. Variables such as gender of consumer, sexual orientation based on type of event (gay vs. straight), gender of bartender, time of order, bill size, cash register used (located left or right in the establishment), and type of product consumed were examined. Note that the bartenders in this study were predominantly females (i.e., 102 of the 120 observed orders were placed with female bartenders), so the results are mainly revealing consumer tipping behavior toward female service providers.

Data analysis was conducted using a 2 (consumer sexual orientation: straight vs. gay) x 2 (consumer gender: male vs. female) ANOVA design. The dependent variables were tip percentage and tip amount (\$). The control variables that were analyzed and did not have significant effects on tipping are not discussed further.

The results revealed a significant effect of sexual orientation ($F(1,115) = 6.14, p = .015$), indicating that straight individuals tipped more than gay individuals ($M_{\text{heterosexual}} = \$1.59, M_{\text{homosexual}} = \1.04 , see Figure 1 and Table 1). A marginal effect of gender ($F(1,115) = 3.66, p = .058$) was found, such that on average males tipped more than females ($M_{\text{male}} = \$1.50, M_{\text{female}} = \1.04). In terms of tipping as a percentage of the order, as illustrated in Figure 2 straight male consumers had the highest average tip percentage (17.54%) compared to the other consumer groups ($M_{\text{heterosexual_female}} = 15.5\%$; $M_{\text{homosexual_male}} = 13.5\%$; $M_{\text{homosexual_female}} = 6.5\%$). The means comparisons for all experimental conditions taken two at a time are presented in Table 2.

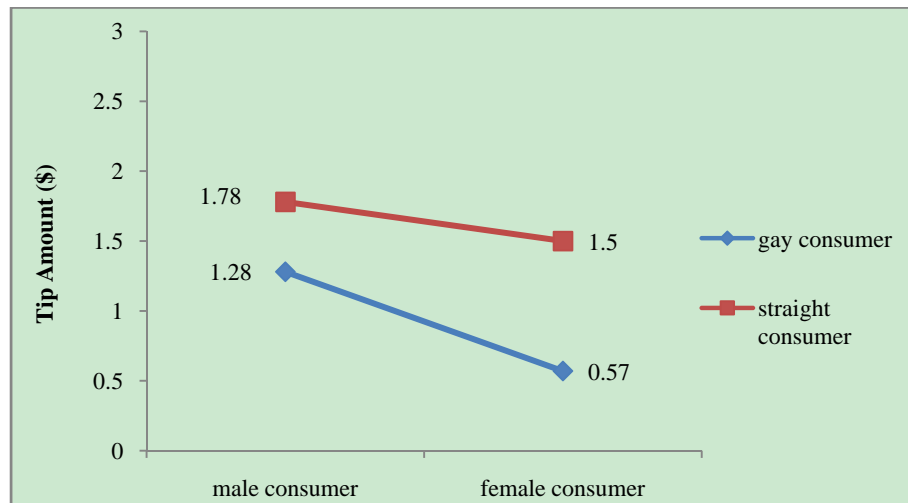


Figure 1 Tip Amount Means (\$) - Study 1

Table 1 Means and Standard Deviations for Tip Amount (\$) – Study 1

Dependent Variable: Tip Amount \$

Sexual orientation	Gender	Mean	Std.deviation	N
Straight consumer	Male consumer	1.78	1.12	24
	Female consumer	1.50	1.45	51
	Total	1.59	1.35	75
Gay consumer	Male consumer	1.28	1.39	30
	Female consumer	0.57	0.52	15
	Total	1.04	1.21	45
Total	Male consumer	1.50	1.29	54
	Female consumer	1.29	1.35	66
	Total	1.39	1.32	120

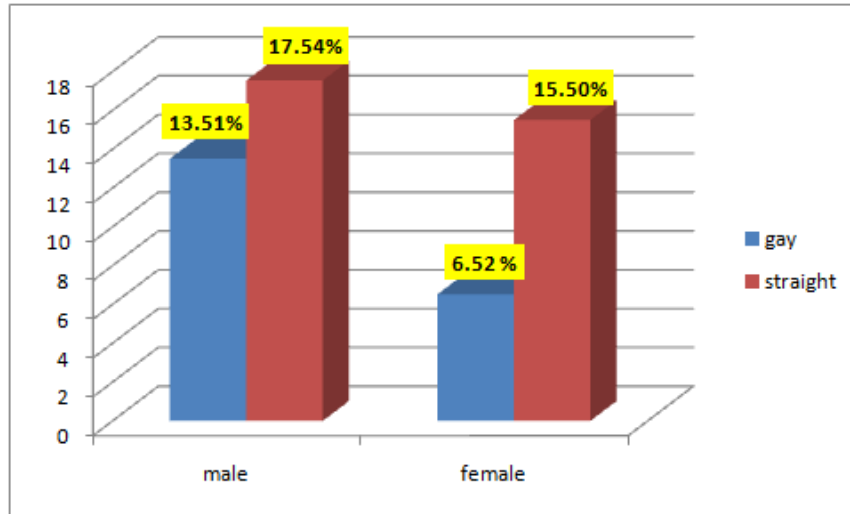


Figure 2 Tip Percentage (% of order) Averages — Study 1

Table 2 Means Comparisons (Paired Contrasts) for Tipping — Study 1

Contrast	Value of contrast	Std. error	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
1. Straight male vs.gay female	1.215	0.425	2.855	116	0.005
2. Straight female vs.gay female	0.938	0.379	2.472	116	0.015
3. gay male vs. gay female	0.717	0.409	1.754	116	0.082
4. Straight male vs.gay male	0.498	0.354	1.407	116	0.162
5. Straight male vs. straight female	0.276	0.319	0.864	116	0.389
6. Straight female vs.gay male	0.222	0.297	0.745	116	0.458

A positive effect of bill size ($F(1,115) = 11.77, p = 0.001$) indicated that tips increased as the order amount increased. The average tip amount per order across all consumers in the observed data was \$1.38. The average tip percentage (% of the order) was 14.3%.

Importantly, an ANOVA analysis with bill size as the dependent variable indicated that the order amount was not influenced by consumers' sexual orientation or gender; furthermore, the paired mean contrasts for the order amount of relevant groups (straight males, gay males, straight females, gay females) found no significant effects, highlighting that the differences in tipping were not driven by differential levels of the order price.

Given that the bartenders in this study were primarily female, the tipping results for sexual orientation and gender lend credence to the notion that the higher tips offered by heterosexual (vs. homosexual) consumers are mainly driven by straight men's attempts to impress females, as a "peacock tail" in line with evolutionary mating rituals. Interestingly, gay females do not seem to act in accordance to the same sexual attraction efforts, as their tips toward the female bartenders were substantially lower compared with other consumer groups. Also this lower tipping behavior of homosexual females does not seem to be aligned with the similarity principle dictating that females would be inclined to support other women by giving female employees a higher tip. To obtain a better understanding of tipping outcomes and processes, Study 2 offers insights from interviews with key informants - male and female bartenders varying in sexual orientation, who worked in retail establishments catering to homosexual and heterosexual clientele.

4. Study 2

Study 2 is based on data from bartenders at Canadian nightclubs. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, and the principles of Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) were used to allow insights to emerge from the data.

The six service providers were equally distributed in terms of gender. One of the gay male informants had a year of work experience with a primarily homosexual clientele except for a few rave nights in which he served a heterosexual clientele. The second homosexual bartender had four years of experience serving heterosexual and homosexual consumers. The straight male informant had one year of work experience working with both groups. Of the female bartenders, one was lesbian and had nine years of experience in the nightclub industry (six years with gay audiences and three years at a primarily straight bar). The bisexual female informant had four years of experience serving both audiences, and finally the straight female informant had seven years of bartending experience (four of them at straight bars).

Data were analyzed by means of an iterative process of examining responses to identify categories and themes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). A selection of the main insights is summarized here, accompanied by illustrative quotes.

Who tips more? The female bartenders (straight, lesbian and bisexual) and the straight male bartender indicated that in their experience straight consumers tip more. In contrast, the two gay male bartenders indicated that gay consumers tip more. All informants suggested that it is in fact a *mix of gender, sexual orientation and physical attractiveness of both parties* that ultimately seals the deal, particularly when it comes to male consumers. In the words of the straight-female bartender with seven years of experience: “Hot female [bartender], big shot male [consumer] tip very high. Hot female, mousy girl tips very low. Hot bartender, gay man that I don’t know, tips average, if not below. Gay man I know tips higher. Lesbians, they kind of just straight line it all the way through, I’ve never really had a big tipper. If I’m uppity and dancing, I’ll still make money”.

The level of energy and enthusiasm of the bartender was a recurring theme. While this is broadly consistent with research on the role of service employee performance (e.g., Whaley et al., 2013), it is intriguing that none of the bartenders mentioned the factors heralded by prior business research such as employee experience, competence, or training. This opens up the possibility that in the night scene business, aspects of human contact and personality are more important than traditional performance measures.

The female bartenders’ statements that straight (vs. gay) consumers tend to leave better tips are qualified by the acknowledgement of different patterns of patronage behavior (discussed in the next paragraph) and are importantly echoing the straight male use of tipping as a peacock tail — the effect found in Study 1 supporting the theory on public consumption behavior and sexual attraction (Vugt & Iredale, 2012; Lynn & Simons, 2000). In fact, the straight female employee explicitly pinpointed the influence when asked about rules of thumb that she uses as a bartender to determine if someone is going to be a good tipper: “Men who usually come up with women as a couple tend to tip more because they want to impress her.” Interestingly, the homosexual bartenders’ statements that in their experience gay (vs. straight) consumers tend to tip more reveal a similar pattern of sexual attraction practices for homosexual males: “I think if a gay man is ordering from me and he thinks I’m attractive, he’ll tip more”; in the words of the other gay employee: “Bartenders get really good tips because they’re attractive. [...] I could see myself tipping an attractive bartender a lot. [...] Just because well... the attraction. That would be like, I would say that because I get tipped more here [a gay bar event] because I feel as though people are attracted

to me here so they tip me better. Uhm, (pause) whereas straight people, it doesn't really matter. I would say when there isn't an attraction involved, it's based on other things like how friendly you are, how good of service you give them. But when you add attraction to the mix then those things don't really matter." This influence was also identified by the straight female bartender: "Gay men I find will tip male bartenders a little bit more or tend to go towards them a little bit more." Overall, male consumers — both straight and gay — are using tipping behavior as a signaling mechanism to impress and attract potential sexual partners. For female consumers tipping does not seem to be within the purview of impression management rituals related to attraction, for either heterosexuals or homosexuals. The straight male bartender did not point to receiving higher tips from female consumers, and the gay and bisexual female bartenders also did not indicate particularly good tips from lesbian consumers.

Different patterns of patronage behaviour for homosexuals versus heterosexuals were pointed out by multiple informants: while gay people tend to go out more often, straight people go out less but spend a larger amount on each occasion: "they blow more money and have more money to tip when they [do] go out" (bisexual bartender, 4 years experience).

As the night goes by... a significant increase in tip value occurs. Part of this increase is attributed to alcohol intake, consistent with insights from existing research (Lynn et al., 1993). However, an interesting theme of relationship-building also emerged as a key explanation: if a consumer continuously purchases drinks from the same bartender, a personal relationship is developing. Consumers "get a little more friendly with you because they've warmed up to you and you've also warmed up to them" and in return tips are better. Co-participation in the creation of fun moments ("having a good time") is an intrinsic part of the bonding.

One of the informants (gay male, four years of bartending) opened up the possibility that tipping can be predicted by consumer's individual traits such as social skills and degree to which they have an extraverted personality: "people who are more social and more talkative usually tip more". However, since this did not emerge as a theme from the other interviews, nor is it substantiated by existing theoretical accounts, we consider it an open trail for future scholarly work.

5. Practical Implications

Our studies are providing a first-hand account of the relationship between sexual orientation and tipping in public service interactions. Until the last decade, sexual orientation was considered taboo in business research (Solomon et al., 2014). This explains in part the lack of literature regarding sexual orientation's impact on tipping. Fortunately, as modern times are embracing an open and more inclusive society, while at the same time the size and business attractiveness of the LGBT consumer segment increases (e.g., Kates, 2004), it becomes apparent that studying aspects of sexual orientation is a necessary attempt for a richer understanding of the world we live in.

Debunking tipping processes adds value to economic relations from a number of different perspectives. As emphasized by Azar (2007) and Whaley (2013), knowledge of tipping differences has value for business managers because it enables them to train service employees, presuming that additional earnings in tips will increase job satisfaction, lead to better retention and better service. Naturally, frontline employees themselves are the most direct beneficiaries of the present studies' insights. Based on sexual orientation and gender, service providers can now adjust employment efforts and co-ordinate shifts with other employees to serve customers in a way that maximizes service satisfaction (e.g., co-ordinate efforts such that gay male bartenders would attend to the male clientele during gay nights/events, while female bartenders would serve the heterosexual clientele being respectful

and mindful of straight men's impression-related needs). Furthermore, employees can find it useful to understand that a lower tip from lesbian consumers is not a reflection of underperforming service, but in fact might be an expression of human-relationship value, as explained in the next theoretical section.

Our findings have implications for individual consumers, since everyone is confronted with tipping decisions in daily life. Armed with knowledge about tipping mechanisms and understanding the ways in which individual characteristics predict tip expenditures, consumers can adapt their budget management, engage in active monitoring and develop more accurate spending forecasts aligned with personal goals. Further, since tips are intrinsic to contextual norms, consumers can find it interesting to learn the tipping habits of people in socio-economic groups with which they identify, and use such information as a benchmark for assessing their own behavior.

6. Theoretical Significance and Directions for Future Research

The present research raises candid and uncharted questions regarding face-to-face business relations in contexts that involve tipping. To answer the question whether gay consumers tip more than straight consumers, despite theoretical inferences supporting this prediction our empirical studies show the opposite trend: heterosexuals tip more than homosexual individuals when it comes to rewarding female service providers. This intriguing effect is primarily driven by straight males' higher tips, and can be explained with attraction signaling theories, whereby straight males are engaging in "peacock tail" behaviors to impress women.

When being served by male employees, the "peacock tail" emerges (from the interviews data) as a feature of gay male consumers who are leaving higher tips due to attraction-related considerations. Thus, both gay and straight males are using tipping as a gesture of public generosity aligned with signaling rituals.

The relatively low tipping behavior of homosexual and heterosexual women cannot be adequately captured by existing frameworks, e.g., attraction theories, in-group behavior, similarity principles, empathy, discrete emotions, or self-esteem theories. Before forwarding our own explanations on this interesting topic, we highlight the boundaries of the present enquiry.

First, the findings are based on Canadian data, so enhancing the scope with cross-national examinations is a worthy pursuit. Second, sexual orientation should cover the whole spectrum of LGBT consumers and is best conceptualized as a fluid continuous scale rather than a category-based factor; our data focuses on straight, gay and lesbian individuals, with limited responses from the bisexual segment and no coverage of the transgender community. Third, Study 1's observational sample used sexual orientation inferred from the type of events attended by consumers (gay versus straight events); the managers confirmed that the overwhelming majority of clientele was indeed homosexual/heterosexual according to context, but using self-reported measures of sexual orientation would be a welcoming extension. Finally, while Study 2 produced relevant themes for understanding the psychological processes involved in tipping, more can be explored in this area.

For example, what can explain the puzzling low tipping behavior of lesbian consumers, particularly toward female employees? We put forth three explanations to the scrutiny of scholarly pursuit. These explanations can provide meaning not only to lesbian behavior, but also to the lower tips from women in general.

First, women (vs. men) can be less inclined to view the display of public generosity through tips as a means to improve one's relational value. The assumption of lower signaling value for female tipping with regards to status-enhancement can be traced to traditional gender roles, where money affluence is more related to "the

peacock tail” for men than for women.

The second explanation is related to the economic/social expression of appreciation. Lynn et al. (2008) posited that tipping weakens social relationships. Since money is used as a medium of economic exchange (generally considered inappropriate to give cash as a gift in close social relationships), tipping can reduce the customer-employee interaction to an economic transaction. Consequently, lower tipping occurs when individuals place high value on social versus economic relationships (Lynn et al., 1993). Since women do place a higher value on social relationships (Richman & Leary, 2009), it is possible that they are focused on expressing appreciation not through tips but through non-monetary courtesy.

The third explanation is based on Lynn et al.'s (1993) observation that tipping is less prevalent in countries where consumers have low tolerance for interpersonal status and power differences. To the extent that homosexual females (or females in general) have low tolerance for status disparities, their subsided tipping behavior might be a way to level off power differences between consumers and service employees.

A final idea for future research is to examine whether tipping effects of sexual orientation exist in additional occupations where public relations are essential. For example, would tips at hotels or for taxicab services not be affected by the sexual orientation of the interacting parties, and if so, what may trigger occupational variations in tipping? Hopefully the present research will encourage scholars to add to the discourse on this interesting social phenomenon.

References:

- Azar O. H. (2005). "Who do we tip and why? An empirical investigation", *Applied Economics*, Vol. 37, No. 16, pp. 1871-1879.
- Azar O. H. (2007). "The social norm of tipping: A review", *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 380-402.
- Barraza J. A. and Paul J. Z. (2009). "Empathy toward strangers triggers oxytocin release and subsequent generosity", *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, No. 1167, pp. 182-189.
- Baumeister R. F. and Leary M. R. (1995). "The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation", *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 117, No. 3, pp. 497-497.
- Beeby D. (2012). "Wait staff hiding tips from the taxman, auditors find", *The Canadian Press*, Sunday, July 08.
- Berg N. and Lien D. (2002). "Measuring the effect of sexual orientation on income: Evidence of discrimination?", *Western Economic Association International*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 394-414.
- Carlo G. and Randall B. A. (2002). "The development of a measure of prosocial tendencies for late adolescents", *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 31, pp. 31-44.
- Carpenter C. S. (2008). "Sexual orientation, work, and income in Canada", *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, Vol. 41, No. 4, p. 1239.
- Carvallo M. and Pelham B. W. (2006). "When fiends become friends: The need to belong and perceptions of personal and group discrimination", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 90, No. 1, pp. 94-108.
- Conlin T. (2003). "The norm of restaurant tipping", *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 3, pp. 297-321.
- Corbin J. and Strauss A. (1990). "Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria", *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 3-21.
- Dean K. (2015). "Change the way training is done: Train me on what i want to know", *Journal of Business and Economics*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 356-359.
- Jellison W. A., McConnell A. R. and Gabriel S. (2004). "Implicit and explicit measures of sexual orientation attitudes: In group preferences and related behaviors and beliefs among gay and straight men", *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, pp. 629-642.
- Jiang L., Hoegg J., Dahl D. W. and Chattopadhyay A. (2010). "The persuasive role of incidental similarity on attitudes and purchase intentions in a sales context", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 778 -791.
- Kates S. M. (2004). "The dynamics of brand legitimacy: An interpretive study in the gay men's community", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 31 (September), pp. 455-464.

- Lynn M. (1997). "Tipping customs and status seeking: A crosscountry study", *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, Vol. 16, pp. 221-224.
- Lynn M., Zinkhan G. M. and Harris J. (1993). "Consumer tipping: A crosscountry study", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 20, pp. 478-488.
- Lynn M., Sturman M., Ganley C., Adams E., Douglas M. and McNeil J. (2008). "Consumer racial discrimination in tipping: A replication and extension", *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1045-1060.
- Mburu P. K. (2014). "Demographic statistics, customer satisfaction and retention: The Kenyan banking industry", *Journal of Business and Economics*, Vol. 5, No. 11, pp. 2105-2118.
- Richman L. S. and Leary M. R. (2009). "Reactions to discrimination, stigmatization, ostracism, and other forms of interpersonal rejection: A multimotive model", *Psychological Review*, Vol. 116, No. 2, pp. 365-383.
- Sergeant M. J., Dickins T. E., Davies M. and Griffiths M. D. (2006). "Aggression, empathy and sexual orientation in males", *Personality and Individual Differences*, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 475-486.
- Solomon M. R., White K. and Dahl D. (2014). *Consumer Behaviour: Buying, Having, and Being* (6th ed.), Toronto: Pearson Education Inc.,
- Vugt M. and Iredale W. (2012). "Men behaving nicely: public goods as peacock tails", *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 104, No. 1, pp. 11-25.
- Whaley J. E., Douglas A. C. and O'Neill M. A. (2013). "What's in a tip? The creation and refinement of a restaurant-tipping motivations scale: A consumer perspective", *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, Vol. 37, February, pp. 121-130.