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COMMUNITY AT WORK: WORKING WITHIN AN  
OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITY

By

John R. Baumann

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1999

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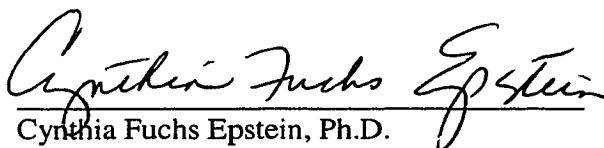
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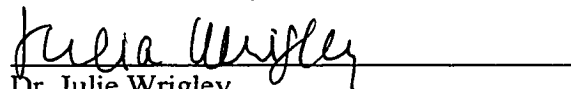
## Approval Page

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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**Abstract****COMMUNITY AT WORK: WORKING WITHIN AN  
OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITY****By****John R. Baumann****Adviser: Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Ph.D.**

This dissertation explores the experience of work and workplace community for the bar staff of the Jazz Club, where I have previously worked and conducted both participant-observation and interview-based research. My specific aim is to conduct a descriptive analysis of the Jazz Club as a workplace or local occupational community through an exploration of these workers' expressions and interpretations of the nature, meaning and social impact of their work and their workplace. In particular I examine a issues concerning the staffs' experience of the blurring of the traditional boundaries between work and non-work or leisure and the workplace as an occupational community. The central concepts informing this research include workplace or occupational community, culture, social roles, and role conflict/strain.

There are three parts to this dissertation. Part A consists of Chapters 1, 2 and 3. Chapter 1 provides a brief introduction, while Chapter 2 contains a discussion of the methods of data collection and analysis I used in the conduct of this research. In Chapter 3, I develop the conceptual framework for my analysis of the experiences of work and workplace community at the Jazz Club, which is built around the concept of an "occupational community". I both provide an overview of the concept of an occupational community as well as develop a specific analytical framework for its application to my

study of the Jazz Club. The main data and analytic sections of the dissertation make up Part B, consisting of Chapters 4 and 5. In these chapters, I pull together the concept of an occupational community and my data -- the experiences of work and community at the Jazz Club -- as revealed through my participate observation at the club and interviewing with the staff. Specifically, I explore the Jazz Club as an occupational community vis a vis “issues of social identity” (including themes of membership, friendship, involvement and self-image) and “issues of social organization of the work-place and the work”. Part C consists of a summary and conclusions, where I discuss the implications of the preceding analysis for the study of work and occupational or workplace communities.

## Acknowledgements

For almost four years during the 1980s I worked at a jazz and blues club in Boston called, hereafter, The Jazz Club. For approximately three additional years prior to taking employment at the Club, I was a “regular” customer and friend of a number of the shifting set of owners and staff. In this dissertation I examine the experience and social structure of work within the Jazz Club, utilizing the concept of an occupational community to frame and organize my understanding and analysis. This topic, however, is but one of a number of possible stories and analyses that arise from the rich social life at the Jazz Club and my experiences therein.

From initiation through completion, the process of writing this dissertation was only accomplished as a result of the special contribution of four groups of people.

The openness and generosity of the staff of the Jazz Club made this dissertation possible. For many years these individuals, both individually and collectively, have offered to me their time, thoughts, experiences and friendship. Since the early 1980s these individuals have been a part of my life, never more intensely as when we shared membership in the occupational community at the Jazz Club. Although we have moved in a variety of different directions during the intervening years, social and emotional links remain.

I thank Dr. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Dr. Charles Winick and Dr. Barry Spunt, the members of my dissertation committee, for their assistance, guidance and remarkable patience.

Since the early 1990s, I have been employed at National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. (NDRI), a behavioral science research institute with a primary

focus on substance abuse, HIV/AIDS and related social problems. NDRI has proved itself to be a stimulating, challenging, and supportive working environment composed of an exceptional group of scholars – practitioners. To my colleagues, thank you for your various levels of support, ranging from the critical reading of chapters to the continual asking of the embarrassing, yet necessary questions, such as, “How is the writing going?” and “Oh, are you still working on your dissertation?” In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Fred Streit, Executive Director/CEO, for his seven years of supervision, mentoring and friendship. His encouragement, support, and when necessary, kind-hearted threats not only provided what was necessary to complete this dissertation, but guided me into a new career in research management as well.

My greatest debt and most heartfelt appreciation go to my family. For over 13 years I have shared life’s joys and anguish with an extraordinary partner, Vicki. I thank Vicki for the daily gifts of her love, companionship, insights and challenges. Life is simply unimaginable without her. We have been joined by two remarkable daughters, Hallie and Sarah. Their unique enthusiasms, senses of humor and ways of looking at the world provide a daily dose of sunshine. Together, we have created and continue to re-create a family life rich in love, warmth, and growth.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

It's another Friday evening, and throughout the city, people are putting an end to both their workday as well as their workweek. Workplaces have been abandoned, clothes changed, moods lightened and plans confirmed: all part of the preparation for the weekend -- a time of relaxation, play, 'unseriousness' and, perhaps, chores. However, for a small group of workers at the Jazz Club, the situation is the reverse. While others are making their way home, these workers are, to the contrary, showering and dressing for work; while others dress for an evening of fun, music and entertainment, this group of workers is stocking the bar, washing glasses, wiping out dirty ashtrays, cleaning tables, setting up chairs and otherwise preparing to provide services for the fun, music and entertainment of others. By 2:30am, the club has been cleared of customers (except for a few "invited" regulars), the bar has been restocked, and the tables and chairs stacked along the walls. The staff are finishing their second or third "official" after-shift drink -- generally, however, not their second or third of the evening. By 2:45am, some of the staff have left for home; others will continue their drinking and/or cocaine use for an indefinite number of hours at some more or less informally organized house-party or in the basement of the Jazz Club itself. And so ends another "work-day" for the bartender, waitresses/waiters, doorman, manager and owners of the Jazz Club.

In this dissertation I will explore the experience of work and workplace community for the bar staff of the Jazz Club, where I have previously both worked and conducted participant-observation and interview-based research. More formally, my specific aim is to conduct a descriptive analysis of the Jazz Club as a workplace or local occupational, community. In examining the workplace community of the Jazz Club, I

will explore these workers' expressions and interpretations of the nature, meaning and social impact of both their work and their workplace. In particular I will examine a variety of issues concerning the staffs' experiences regarding the blurring of the traditional boundaries between work and non-work or leisure and the workplace as an occupational community. The central concepts informing this research include workplace or occupational community, work, culture, social roles, and role conflict/strain.

### **A. The Setting: Nightclub as Workplace**

The world of the bar and nightclub offers a rather special opportunity and context for the examination of a society's pattern of social relations and values and norms. Within their walls are experienced an unusually wide range of human behavior and emotions. Ritually this scene is repeated millions of times each night in bars and cocktail lounges throughout the country.

Here one finds a wide range of behavior to observe: lonely individuals seeking human companionship for a few hours, people hustling for a little action, businessmen conducting interviews and closing deals, others gambling, dancing, holding wedding celebrations, and even attending birthday parties -- those individual rites of passage by which our culture marks off the transition from child to adult. From corporation executives to college students, to skid-row bum, nearly every kind of person can be found in one or another type of bar. Bars are places where work and play overlap, and where many people find a home away from home. Scattered in great numbers throughout every city, town, and village, bars represent an important aspect of American life. As such, they are a good laboratory for the study of human behavior.  
(Spradley and Mann, 1975: 2)

The setting of a bar, moreover, provides a particularly revealing window into certain features of the world of work because of its special and somewhat unique characteristics.

Social scientists have long been interested in bars as sites of social interaction.<sup>1</sup> A survey of the social science literature on bars discloses a rather diverse set of research interests and questions. Amongst this assortment of concerns, however, one finds an unambiguous consensus around one particularly important point:

We knew from the research literature on bars that drinking places are time out unserious settings wherein sociability and play constitute the most general standing behavior pattern. This is the case despite variation in drinking places with respect to ecological location, use, characteristics of patrons, decor, goods and services, and history.  
(Roebuck, 1986: 162)

The public drinking establishment finds its social definition, meaning and function in its identity as a location of sociability, of play and leisure, of 'unseriousness'.<sup>2</sup> In her ethnography of bar behavior, Cavan (1966: 235) elaborates this fundamental characteristic of the setting further:

But there are times and places within the course of the daily round when the consequentiality of everyday life may be conventionally suspended and the ensuing activity granted a special status of 'not really counting'. Such times and places are designated as 'unserious' occasions, the term 'unserious' connoting an anticipated discontinuity between the immediate present and the foreseeable future. The characteristic feature of these unserious times and places is that they grant the right to be indifferent about matters that would otherwise obligate concern, by absolving them of the consequences they would otherwise be expected to have. They establish, as it were, a time-out period when the constraint and respect the social world ordinarily requires is no longer demanded and, hence, they

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Bissonette, 1977; Brennan, 1988; Cavan, 1966; Clark, 1982; Clinard, 1962; Gillmore, 1985; Gottlieb, 1957; Gusfield, 1987; Gusfield et.al., 1982; Harford and Gaines, 1982; Heath, 1975; Hey, 1986; Hunt and Satterle, 1986 and 1987; Israelstam and Lambert, 1984; Karp, 1980; Kessler and Gomberg, 1974; Klinkenborg, 1991; Krieger, 1983; Manning, 1973; Popham, 1978; Prus and Irini, 1988; Read, 1980; Roebuck, 1986; Roebuck and Frese, 1976; Roebuck and Spray, 1967; Single and Storm, 1984; Smith, 1983 and 1984; Spradley and Mann, 1975; Storm and Cutler, 1981; and Wolcott, 1974.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Cavan, 1966; Culter and Storm, 1975; Roebuck, 1986; Roebuck and Frese, 1976; Roebuck and Spray, 1967. While I focus on the bar as a location for sociability, of play and leisure, of "unseriousness", I do not intend to overlook its more "serious" social roles. There is a rich body of literature which documents the role of the bar and the activities therein vis a vis the labor market, political economy, gender relations, class relations, and popular culture. See Footnote #1 above.

permit even for the ordinary prudent what would otherwise be considered social licentiousness.

The bar, then, is just such a time and place: of sociability, of play and leisure, of unseriousness, of the partial suspension of “consequentiality” for aspects of one's behavior.

That such is the case for the patrons of bars is, while raising interesting research questions, somewhat to be expected. The attitudes of the following customers, specific to a group of black patrons of a Southern 'outdoor drinking place', is typical of this fundamental characteristic of bars and, therefore, generalizable:

Many others say that at the Crossroads they can let themselves go and really be themselves away from the 'troublesome things in life'. These patrons maintain that at work and in the wider community they are constantly under the surveillance of white employers, racist people, policemen, foremen, spouses, preachers, and children. To support this claim they mention in several ways the constraints they feel when interacting with employers, bill collectors, store clerks, local officials, gas station attendants, landlords, and whites in general.  
(Roebuck, 1986: 173)

The recognition of the bar as fundamentally a location of play, however, may not end with reference to the patrons alone. Its identity as a site for unseriousness and play may impact on all aspects of the bar as a setting -- including that of the bar as a work-place.

The Jazz Club was for many years a central player in its local (Boston) and regional (New York-New England) jazz community. While operating out of the same location for over a dozen years, the Jazz Club was a perennial favorite of the three constituents of the jazz community -- the musicians, the critics, and the audience. Unlike many of the “hotel” style jazz clubs which emerged with the expansion of the jazz constituency in the 1980s, the Jazz Club, in the words of a music critic for a local paper,

“looked, felt and smelled” like a jazz and blues club. The Jazz Club offered a steady menu of music and alcohol. Every now and again, the owners would venture into providing food, but after a matter of a few weeks or, at most months, the food service would slowly disappear and the Jazz Club would return to its tradition of music and drinks. Resembling a railroad-flat apartment, the Jazz Club was long and narrow. The club had the design features of an earlier era -- lighting by way of lantern-shaped sconces on the walls, a pattern of black and white hexagonal ceramic tiles on the floor and a ceiling of pounded tin, which made for a rather “interesting” acoustical effect. Upon entering the club, one found a long, curved bar extending along the right wall, a small stage directly ahead at the rear of the room, and the remaining floor space taken up with tables and chairs. Behind the stage was a set of stairs leading down to the basement -- where one found the liquor room, the cooler, the office, and miscellaneous storage areas.

### **B. Outline of Dissertation**

There are three parts to this dissertation. Part A consists of Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 contains a discussion of the methods of data collection and analysis I used in the conduct of this research. In Chapter 3, I develop the conceptual framework for my analysis of the experiences of work and workplace community at the Jazz Club, which is built around the concept of an “occupational community”. The aim of this part is to both provide an overview of the concept of an occupational community as well as develop a specific analytical framework for its application to my study of the Jazz Club.

The main data and analytic sections of the dissertation make up Part B, consisting of Chapters 4 and 5. In these chapters, I pull together the concept of an occupational community and my data -- the experiences of work and community at the Jazz Club -- as

revealed through my participate observation at the club and interviewing with the staff. In other words, herein I: (a) employ the concept of an occupational community to order and make sense of the experience of work and community at the Jazz Club and (b) employ the experiences of work and community at the Jazz Club to illustrate and give form to the concept of an occupational community. Part C consists of my summary and conclusions, where I discuss the implications of the preceding analysis for the study of work and occupational or workplace communities.

## Chapter 2. Research Design and Methods

In order to explore the nature of the Jazz Club as an occupational community, I need to identify and elaborate upon the experiences, perceptions, understandings, and interpretations of the Jazz Club staff concerning the their workplace, their co-workers, and their work. I have, therefore, made use of a research design with the following characteristics: a case study examination of a specific workplace and its staff, through the use of qualitative data collected by means of focused, semi-structured interviews. In addition to these formal methods of data collection, I will incorporate into this research the experiences and memories derived from more than three years experience as a key member of the Jazz Club staff in the tradition, I hope, of such sociologists as Howard Becker (1951, 1963), Fred Davis (1972) and Ned Polsky (1967).

### A. Case Study Methodology

By case study methodology, I am referring to a research design built around in-depth examination of a single setting, in this case, the Jazz Club. The case study approach was selected because of its particular usefulness in the identification, description, and analysis of intra-workplace social structures and processes, as well as of social interaction and the establishment of social meanings.<sup>1</sup>

As it has been traditionally defined, it [the case study] proves to be the descriptive study, par excellence and in depth. . . . In this sense, it is the type of study best suited to understanding the way in which the subject under investigation by the researcher is defined or established, by the description of the object as the study develops.  
(Hamel 1993: 33)

I conducted an "internal", "intrinsic" or "single" case study analysis rather than a "comparative", "instrumental" or "multiple" case study analysis (Lipset et al., 1956;

Stake, 1994; and Yin, 1989, respectively). I selected this approach because, in the words of Lipset et al. (1956: 427), it focuses “attention upon the underlying processes which operate within the system. In this way the internal analysis may lead to a deeper explanation of the phenomenon and to generalization of a more fundamental kind.”

The primary focus of this case study analysis lies in the development of a description, understanding and explanation of the Jazz Club as an occupational community. However, at the same time I aim to integrate this analysis into a broader, more theoretical framework. I found the perspective of Lipset, Trow and Coleman (1956) to be a useful model here. In their research on the printers’ union, they identified two varieties of analysis of a single case study. The “particularizing analysis”, on the one hand, is defined as: “Description and explanation of the single case to provide information concerning its present state, and the dynamics through which it continues as it does” (Lipset et al., 1956: 419). The “generalizing analysis”, on the other hand, is defined as “The development of empirical generalizations or theory through the analysis of the single case, using it not to discover anything about it as a system but as an empirical basis either for generalizations or theory construction” (Lipset et al., 1956: 419).

The crucial element which distinguishes these two types of analysis is the way they treat general laws and particular statements about the single case. The first kind of analysis uses general laws or regularities in order to carry out the analysis of the particular case, much as a metallurgist utilizes his knowledge of general chemical properties in analyzing a sample of ore. That is, it uses previously known generalization in order to help make particular statements. The second kind of analysis is just the reverse of this: much as a biologist focuses his microscope on a living and growing fruit fly in order to make generalizations about processes of growth, the social scientist in this kind of analysis attempts to utilize the

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Lincoln and Kallenberg, 1990.

particular case in developing general statements. The particular statement and the general law trade places in these two types of analysis. In the former, the law is used to aid in making particular statements; in the second, the particular statements are used to develop the law.

Both of these kinds of analysis have long and honorable traditions in the social sciences, as they have in the natural sciences; perhaps the best-known case of the first in social research is Max Weber's Protestant Ethic; a good example of the second is Michels's Political Parties. In the former, Weber used general, well-accepted relations between values and behavior in order to partially explain the genesis of capitalism. In the latter, Michels examined many aspects of the German Social Democratic Party over a period of time, not to make statements about that party, but to make statements about political parties in general.  
(Lipset et al., 1956: 419-420)

As was the case with their research, my analysis does not easily fit into any one of these categories: "it always attempts to be in the second, though it sometimes goes no further than the first" (Lipset et al, 1956: 420). To paraphrase them further, my analysis refers specifically to the Jazz Club rather than to organizations in general, but at the same time there is, hopefully, implicit extension to organizations other than the Jazz Club.

The case study approach was adopted for this dissertation because of the blend of description and theory which it makes possible: "The detail and the depth of the description rendered by the case study permit an understanding of the empirical foundations of the theory" (Hamel, 1993: 33)

## **B. Research Setting and Participants**

The setting for this research project was the Jazz Club. I selected the Jazz Club as the setting for this research for a variety of reasons, including:

- Because of my familiarity with the structure and social and cultural life of the Jazz Club, I saw it as an ideal setting for the exploration of the sort of issues raised by the concept of an occupational community.

- My long-term relationship with the club itself, as well as the owners and most of the employees provided complete and unhindered access for the conduct of my participant observation and interviewing.
- My long-term relationship with owners and most of the employees insured candid and honest responses to my questions about their experiences of their work, as well as their perceptions of their colleagues' experience of the work.

The research participants/subjects were the staff of the Jazz Club during a 4-year period at the end of the 1980s. Interviews were conducted with members of the staff including owners, managers, bartenders, waitresses (the club did not specifically employ men to wait tables, but male bartenders and/or doormen frequently served as waiters), and doormen. Like Reinerman (1987: 18-19) noted in his study of changing political culture, I am hesitant to use the term "sample":

What can a mere dozen people (and from California!) tell us about political-economic matters? If it is not enough to cite the great insights of Riesman, Lane, and the many others who have followed in their methodological footsteps by garnering a mass of data on a minuscule number of subjects, and if those skeptics of quantitative bent remain unsatisfied after reading that my purpose is to explore rather than to test this or that hypothesis or to prove a theory, what can be said? I am not comfortable simply asserting the authority of Margaret Mead (1953: 41-49), who argued that a sample of one will do because all individuals are socialized in terms of their specific culture and thus reflect it; although this is true, each sample of one offers its own unique reflection. In fact, I feel shy about using the term sample at all, for as my friend Donald Cressey reminded me, "You don't have a sample, you've got a bunch. Call them a bunch."

The "bunch" which I interviewed, while relatively small in number, nonetheless constituted a majority of all persons employed by the Jazz Club over the course of this four year period. Specifically, I have conducted interviews with the two owners, the one manager, five bartenders, eight waitresses, and two doormen. This group represents the key employees of the Jazz Club as defined by the staff with regards to both their

positions/jobs and the statuses of these specific individuals within the Jazz Club. This group, moreover, constitutes a majority of the employees during the tenure of the two owners in all job categories except that of doorman.

The traditional problems of gaining access to a site for the conduct of research and the establishment of rapport with the intended participants/subjects in the research were not a burden in this case due to my long association with the Jazz Club. For over three years, I worked as a bartender at the Jazz Club, but, as was typical there, I also filled in as doorman and waiter when necessary. Moreover, prior to my employment at the club, I was a regular customer and a friend of a number of the people who ultimately came to own and/or work at the Jazz Club. I had complete access to these individuals via face-to-face, telephone and mail contacts.

### **C. Interviewing**

In-depth, focused, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the above referenced staff of the Jazz Club. A methodology based primarily on the interview, and secondarily on participant observation, was selected because the research questions I pursued were not best answered by observation alone. The norms of a group are centered around the "ideas in the minds of members of that group about what should and should not be done by a specific member under specified circumstances" (Mills, 1967: 74). To explore the idea of the Jazz Club as an occupational community necessitated an analysis based not only on behavior of the staff, but, most importantly, on the members' "accounts" of this behavior. (Scott and Lyman, 1968, Mills, 1940) "The advantage of the unstructured, informal interviews," Allan (1979: 19) noted in his research on friendship, "is that, more than most other forms of data collection, they allow for the respondent's

subjective interpretation of his (sic) relationships, as well as more objective facts about them, to be made evident.”

The interview was also selected as the primary method of data collection because of its particular sensitivity and strength.

The long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory. For certain descriptive and analytic purposes, no instrument of inquiry of inquiry is more revealing. The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves.  
(McCracken, 1988: 9)

These interviews lasted from one and a half to four hours. Rather than construct a questionnaire or formal interview schedule, I went into these focused interviews with an interview guide that identified the key issues which I wished to cover (see Merton et. al., 1956). I covered the issues and questions listed in the interview guide, but not necessarily in any particular order or with a fixed wording. This permitted me the flexibility to explore individual responses and follow up on topics initiated by the respondents. This type of interview format assured that the necessary research areas would be covered while providing the framework within which respondents could express their own understandings in their own terms rather than within preconceived response categories. As Prus and Irini (1988: 263) reported in their research, Hookers, Rounders and Desk Clerks: The Social Organization of the Hotel Community, involving a similar set of issues among a similar population “[W]e found it much more useful to focus on topics rather than to employ formal interview schedules. In general, we asked questions in line with working outlines, but endeavored to keep these as open as possible.” The interview

guide was used more as a series of prompts or probes than a schedule of questions or topics. Or, in the words of Rollins (1988: 10), "[M]y objective was to encourage the women to elaborate on the aspects of the relationship that were important to them. Therefore, the guide was used sparingly, more to prod discussion than to direct it."

The interview schedule or guide included such issues as:

- Recruitment into the Jazz Club.
- Nature of the Job; Nature of the Work/Labor.
- Appeal of the Job; Appeal of the Work/Labor.
- Attitudes toward and Experiences and Relations with Customers; Nature and Practice of Service; Working for Tips.
- Attitudes toward and Experiences and Relations with Co-Workers.
- Obligations and Privileges associated with Employment at the Jazz Club.
- Socializing with Customers and/or Co-Workers while Working.
- Coming to the Jazz Club During Off-Hours. Frequency of, Understanding of and Behaviors While Socializing at the Workplace

All of the interviews were recorded so that a verbatim account could be drawn upon for data analysis. The interviews did not appear to be negatively effected by the presence of a working tape recorder. Each of the interviewees asserted, when asked at both the beginning and end of the interview, that they in no way felt inhibited by the recording of the interview. I, also, did not sense that they were in any way inhibited by the tape recorder operating in front of us during the interview.

#### **D. Data Analysis**

Data analysis, on the one hand, was an on-going process beginning with the very first interview and continuing on throughout until the completion of the dissertation. In a more formal sense, the data collected was examined by means of a qualitative content analysis focusing on those themes that emerged from the interviews about the experience of working at the Jazz Club.

As previously stated, the interviews were tape recorded. Each of the interviews were transcribed verbatim so as to facilitate the analysis. The process of transcribing interviews is never simple or easy, but it was made easier in this case by the fact that the interviews were, for the most part, conducted in comfortable and private settings, generally the research participant's or someone else's home, with minimal amounts of background noise.

While traditionally associated with quantitative studies, content analysis is equally valuable in the analysis of qualitative data (Altheide, 1986 and Hosti, 1969). Content analysis is the method of choice when attempting to "discern trends in existing phenomena" (Hagan 1982: 138) from qualitative data. It enables the researcher to "examine various ideological mind sets, themes, topics, symbols and similar phenomena, while grounding such examinations to the data" (Berg 1989: 107).

The first step in content analysis consists of more or less explicitly defining categories of responses. Following the guide of Berg (1989: 111-112), the content analysis conducted for this dissertation used a combination of inductive and deductive approaches.

The various categories researchers use in a content analysis can be determined inductively, deductively, or by some combination of both (Strauss 1987). Abrahamson (1983: 236) indicates that an inductive approach begins with the researchers "immersing" themselves in the documents (that is, the various messages [interview transcripts and field notes]) in order to identify the dimensions or themes that seem meaningful to the producers of each message. In a deductive approach, researchers use some categorical scheme suggested by a theoretical perspective, and the documents provide a means for assessing the hypothesis.

This dissertation utilized a combination of the two approaches insofar as the framework provided by the concept of an occupational community was first suggested by the content

of the interviews themselves, and not by my review of the literature. It was only after the preliminary interviews were underway and certain themes began to emerge that I "discovered" the concept of occupational community in the writings of Salamon (1971a, 1971b, 1973, 1974, 1980, and 1986) initially, and then Lipset et al. (1956), Blauner (1964), Van Maanen and Barley (1984) and others. The major research issues to be addressed by this dissertation, therefore, emerged from a thematic analysis of the interview transcriptions (and to a lesser extent, the field notes and participant observation) and the conceptual framework provided by the concept of an occupational community.

### **Chapter 3. The Concept of an Occupational Community**

#### **A. Introduction**

Work is often thought of initially, if not exclusively, as a set of physical and/or mental activities. That is, the discussion of work generally commences with the recognition and elaboration of the formal-descriptions "of the job". For instance, the government prepared **DICTIONARY OF OCCUPATIONAL TITLES** identifies and defines over 20,000 specific job categories within just such a framework:

**WAITER/WAITRESS, BAR (Hotel and Restaurant)**  
**WAITER/WAITRESS, COCKTAIL LOUNGE:** Serves beverages to patrons seated at tables in bar or cocktail lounge. May take orders for and serve meals and hors d'oeuvres. May compute bill and accept payment. When working in establishment serving only beer and wine, is designated **WAITER/WAITRESS, TAVERN (Hotel and Restaurant)**.

Such a framework of understanding has not been confined to merely the help-wanted pages of the local newspaper or job description sheets given to new employees of a firm. Indeed, the first efforts at a scientific study of work and workplace behavior focused on such manual and mental operations exclusively. The analysis of work and workplace behavior, then, was rooted or framed in the conception of work as a technical factor in the process of production (see Neff, 1972, 1985). These analyses, based on such technical dimensions of work and work roles, have a long history in both the engineering and social sciences. Their range runs the gamut from simple, and somewhat crude, motion studies to ". . . include studies of the physical environments in which work takes place and, most recently, highly sophisticated examinations of the complex interrelationships between man (sic) and machine." (Neff, 1985: 48) Such technically based analyses most certainly reveal important aspects of the work process. However, the meaning of work cannot be

derived directly nor perhaps primarily, let alone solely, from the nature of the job activity itself. Rather, we must acknowledge and appreciate that work occurs within a social and cultural framework and the meanings ascribed to work have, therefore, many complex social and cultural determinants and consequences. For work is more than merely an accumulated bundle of technical tasks or activities, be they of a physical or mental character. Work is overwhelmingly a social activity and the work environment a social situation.

[W]ork involves not only a set of technological and economic relations; it involves also a set of social relations. The character of these social relations, other things being equal, is a determinant of the employment into which the worker will enter and in which he (sic) will choose to remain. It also affects the quality of the output . . . Of what does this human [or social] environment consist? Workmates, of course; and people directly or indirectly in control of the work -- foremen, managers, directors . . . As part of the human environment of work there are also the conditions outside working hours. The home, clubs and other human contacts can directly affect the work situation. Behind this is what may be called the ideology of work -- the attitudes towards work, resting on the social and political framework of ideas of the whole society.  
(Firth, 1972: 14)

The acknowledgment of the social, as well as technical, dimension of the nature and meaning of work opens a whole new set of avenues for the investigation of work and workplace behavior. "The sociology of work is not likely to advance unless we attend to the meanings workers attach to their jobs and to the myriad links among these meanings, the nonwork aspects of life, and the wider culture of our society." (Epstein 1990: 96)  
Moreover, it provides the basis, for instance, for

. . . drawing attention to social behaviors such as details of dress and grooming, styles of speech, and ability to relate to supervisors and co-workers, all of which may be more important to success than is the ability to perform a given technical operation. In addition, most workers function as members of work groups that define the nature of work. To gain

acceptance, people must be willing and able to learn group norms and values, and even accept (or appear to accept) the group system of belief and opinion.

(Rothman, 1987: 2)

We can, therefore, identify a social dimension as central to the study and understanding of work. The early works of Everett Hughes provide some of the most concise and significant statements on the world of work as a subject of sociological inquiry.

Our aim is to penetrate more deeply into the personal and social drama of work, to understand the social and social-psychological arrangements and devices by which men (sic) make their work tolerable, or even glorious to themselves and others.

Any occupation in which people make a living may be studied sociologically. . . The maximal gain can be reached, however, only when the sociologist keeps clearly in mind his (sic) ulterior goal of learning more about social processes in general.

(Hughes, 1959: 48, 442; emphasis original)

Hughes, in the introductory note to a special issue of the American Journal of Sociology on the sociology of work, offered the following as both a warning and challenge:

In so studying work, we are not merely applying sociology to work. We are studying work by sociological methods. We do not learn our method in some pure or generalized society or part of a society and then apply it and the findings to industry, crime or religion. Rather, we study group life and process where they occur, learning our methods and developing knowledge of society as we go. We may learn about society by studying industry and human work generally. In our particular society, work organization looms so large as a separate and specialized system of things, and work experience is so fateful a part of every man's (sic) life, that we cannot make much headway as students of society and of social psychology without using work as one of our main laboratories.

(Hughes, 1952: 7)

The world of work, then, emerges as not only a possible site of interesting sociological inquiry; but, indeed, as both a source of and arena for the employment of sociological methods, knowledge and theory. In even stronger terms, Hughes is proposing that its

comprehension, through the application of sociological insights of both a methodological and substantive nature, is a fundamentally vital component of the sociological understanding of social processes and social life – of “society” itself.

The central role of the sociology of the workplace within the sociological enterprise has been frequently reiterated. In a major review of the “state of the art” of the sociology of work, for instance, Miller (1988: 328) concludes that “the workplace -- whether as the site of production, organizational structure, or arena of social interaction and exchange -- remained core to the study of social organization.”

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will introduce the concept of an “occupational community”. Building upon a review of the most prominent models of an occupational community, I will integrate the features of an occupational community into a synthesis of the key or defining characteristics of an occupational community. This includes the presentation of an operational, analytical framework for the concept of an occupational community which will guide my analysis of the work experience of the Jazz Club’s staff.

### **B. Defining Characteristics of the Occupational Community**

A variety of specific definitions have been used for the term “occupational community.” While these definitions vary with regard to their specific wording and/or construction, they all revolve around a set of common concerns: the interrelated issues of relationships, culture, and identity (Salaman 1986: 76-7). Shared by each of these definitions is an understanding of an occupational community as representing a particular type of relationship between a worker and (a) his/her co-workers; (b) the workplace; and (c) the work.

The theoretical and empirical work of Graeme Salaman, especially as synthesized in Community and Occupations: An Exploration of Work/Leisure Relationships (1974), offers the most comprehensive and elaborate analysis of occupational communities and, therefore, serves as the bedrock of my analysis. He describes an occupational community in the following manner:

An occupational community represents a particular relationship between men's (sic) work and the rest of their lives – a type of relationship which in its extreme forms is probably increasingly rare in modern societies. Members of occupational communities are affected by their work in such a way that their non-work lives are permeated by their work relationships, interests and values (Indeed it is likely that members of some communities would not approve of the separation of work and non-work.) Members of occupational communities build their lives on their work; their work-friends are their friends outside work and their leisure interests and activities are work-based.

(Salaman, 1974: 19)

Salaman's approach is to frame his discussion in terms of the components and determinants of occupational communities. With reference to the “defining components” of an occupational community, Salaman (1974: 21) proposes the following:

First, members of occupational communities see themselves in terms of their occupational role: their self image is centred on their occupational role in such a way that they see themselves as printers, policemen, army officers or whatever, and as people with special qualities, interests, and abilities. Secondly, members of occupational communities share a reference group composed of members of the occupational community. Thirdly, members of occupational communities associate with, and make friends of, other members of their occupation in preference to having friends who are outsiders, and they carry work activities and interests into their non-work lives.

An occupational community, then, manifests itself in the lives of its members in terms of their self-image, reference group identification, and friendship patterns.

Distinguishing between the defining components or qualities of an occupational community and its social sources, Salaman offers a description of those characteristics of the work itself and the work-place that foster the emergence and growth of the structure of and sense of belonging to an occupational community. He offers three characteristics or situations of a work process that can have such consequences. "The determinants relate to three situations and are: involvement in work tasks, marginal status or stratification situation, and the inclusiveness of the work or organisational situation." (Salaman, 1974: 27) An occupational community, then, emerges from the collective and/or structural determination of an intrinsic involvement in the work process itself, from the problematic and conflicts of status, and from the encompassing and/or restrictiveness of organizational or structural boundaries.

There are, moreover, close inter-connections or inter-relationships between these components and determinants. "It must be remembered however," Salaman (1971a: 64) notes, that the components and determinants of occupational communities "are closely inter-related; anything – whether marginality or some other determinant – which affects men's friendships and patterns of association is also very likely to affect their self-image and their reference group affiliations."

Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union by Lipset, Trow and Coleman (1956) is one of the earliest works to incorporate the concept of an occupational community into its analysis of work, the workplace and workplace relations. The concept is central to their analysis of the nature and sources of the democratic tradition and processes that characterized the printers' union. On an empirical level, their research documented "the relationship between participation in the

occupational community and involvement in union political activity." (Lipset et al, 1956: 102). At a more theoretical level, they attempted to contribute to "a theory of trade unions and for political sociology more generally." (ibid.: xv) in order to develop an understanding of how voluntary associations foster political democracy and participation.

While never offering a specific definition of an occupational community, Union Democracy provides an elaborate and far-reaching discussion of the determinants of the occupational community among printers through the middle of the Twentieth Century (see Chs. 6 and 7). These include the following characteristics of the printers' world of work: (1) their marginalized social status; (2) their work conditions; (3) their identification with work.

Robert Blauner in Alienation and Freedom identified the following as the defining characteristics of an occupational community. Within an occupational community, work

- (1) will be intrinsically involving and interesting rather than monotonous;
  - (2) will give opportunities for the expression of both present resources and skills and the development of new potentialities;
  - (3) will be viewed chiefly as an end in itself with rewards in the actual activity, rather than as a means to satisfy future ends;
  - (4) and will become an important and approved element in their total identity.
- (Blauner, 1964: 51)

In "Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organizations, Van Maanen and Barley (1984: 287) define an occupational community

as a group of people who consider themselves to be engaged in the same sort of work; whose identity is drawn from the work; who share with one another a set of values, norms and perspectives that apply to but extend beyond work related matters; and whose social relationships meld work and leisure.

The key characteristics of an occupational community, as articulated by these authors, revolve around the "separate analytically but interconnected empirically" elements of boundaries, social identity, reference group and social relations.

The analytical-framework developed and utilized in this dissertation involves the integration of these formulations of the occupational community, as well as those of a wide variety of empirical investigations from the sociology of work. While varying with regard to a number of the specifics, each of these formulations share a basic understanding of the characteristics of an occupational community: an occupational community fundamentally involves the convergence of boundaries between work and non-work,, between the working and non-working aspects of a woman's or man's life. For the analysis that follows, I understand the concept of an occupational community as revolving around the boundary issues of social identity and issues of the social organization of the workplace and the work.

- **Issues of Social Identity: Self-Image, Reference, Involvement, and Friendship.** Within an occupational community, the workers/members (a) will derive their self-image from their occupational and/or workplace role; (b) will experience their occupational and/or workplace community as their primary reference group; (c) will experience a high level of involvement with their work, work processes and/or workplace and (d) will experience a blending of their worlds of work and non-work, of work and leisure, such that their networks of friendship are drawn primarily from their occupation and/or workplace.
- **Issues of Social Organization of the Workplace and the Work:** Within an occupational community, a lack of status differentiation and a high degree of status and/or role marginality will be characteristic of the social organization and members' experience of the workplace and the work. Additionally, within an occupational community, the structure of the work and/or workplace will be such as to "encapsulate their workers/members and produce varieties of "inclusiveness".

This understanding forms the basis of the presentation of data and analysis in Part B, consisting of: Chapter 4. Issues of Social Identity and Chapter 5. Issues of Social Organization of the Workplace and the Work.

### **C. Occupational Community: Background and General Concerns**

The idea of an occupational community draws our attention to the meaning of work, the nature of the workplace and workplace behavior or social relationships, and the relationship between one's work and non-work lives. The idea of the workplace as, potentially, an occupational community represents, in my mind, a synthesis of some of the more interesting and significant questions and issues in the sociology of work. It, further, indicates a path back to some of the earliest concerns of both sociology, in general, and the sociology of work, in particular.

The concept of an occupational community is rooted in some of the fundamental issues and concerns that have shaped the origins of sociology. The nature of community, the changing basis of social interaction, social relationships and social organization, the nature of work and the changing organization of work underlie much of the intellectual efforts of sociology's founding theorists.

The notion of an occupational community derives from two classical sociological premises. First is the contention that people bound together by common values, interests, and a sense of tradition, share bonds of solidarity or mutual regard and partake of a communal way of life that contrasts in idyllic ways with the competition, individualism, and rational calculation of self-interest associated with persons organized on utilitarian principles. The distinction between communal and utilitarian forms of human association and the consequences of the transformation of the former into the latter are issues that preoccupied social theorists of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Comte, Weber, Durkheim, Tonnies, and Marx each sensed that Western civilization was undergoing a social upheaval brought about by industrialization of the economy and bureaucratization of the state. While disagreeing over the meaning of the

transformation, all concurred that a shift from "gemeinschaft" to "gesellschaft" was irrevocable.

. . . We trace to Durkheim the second premise upon which the notion of occupational community rests: the idea that the work we do shapes the totality of our lives and, to a great extent, determines who we think we are.

(Van Maanen and Barley 1984: 292-3)

In their fullest sense, the ideas of community and work have served as central themes in the history of sociological inquiry.

The concerns contained within the concept of occupational community are, moreover, persistent themes in the sociology of work. In an essay first published in 1928, Hughes asked:

A number of questions at once arise. To what extent do persons of a given occupation "live together" and develop a culture which has its subjective aspect in the personality? Do persons find an area for the satisfaction of their wishes in the associations which they have with their colleagues, competitors, and fellow-servants? To whose opinions is one sensitive? What part does one's occupation play in giving him his (sic) "life-organization"?

(Hughes, 1964: 25)

An occupational community, then, represents a particular answer to these, and similar, questions pertaining to the meaning, significance, and impact of work.

From a social-historical perspective, the characteristics of occupational communities and their members offer a picture of "work and non-work activities, interests and relationships from an earlier day" (Hughes, 1964: 19). It resembles, most clearly, the meaning of work C. Wright Mills identified as characteristic of the "traditional craftsman" of centuries past.

In the craftsman pattern, there is no split of work and play, of work and culture. . . The craftsman's work is the mainspring of the only life he knows; he does not flee from work into a separate sphere of leisure; he brings to his non-working hours the values and qualities developed and

employed in his working time. His idle conversation is shop talk: his friends follow the same line of work as he, and share a kinship of feeling and thought.  
(Mills, 1952: 223)

It recalls the days before, as Mills calls it, "the Big Split" which rendered these two spheres of life both separate and antagonistic or contradictory.

What is psychologically important in this shift to mass leisure is that the old middle class work ethic -- the gospel of work -- has been replaced in the society of employees by a leisure ethic, and this replacement has involved a sharp, almost absolute split between work and leisure. Now work itself is judged in terms of leisure values. The sphere of leisure provides the standards by which work is judged; it lend to work such meanings as work has. Alienation in work means that the most alert hours of one's life are sacrificed to the making of money with which to 'live'. Alienation means boredom and the frustration of potentially creative effort, of the productive sides of personality. It means that while men (sic) must seek all values that matter to them outside of work, they must be serious during work: they may not laugh or sing or even talk, they must follow the rules and not violate the fetish of the enterprise. In short, they must be serious and steady about something that does not mean anything to them, and moreover, during the best hours of their day, the best hours of their life. Leisure time thus comes to mean an unserious freedom from the authoritarian seriousness of the job.  
(Mills, 1952: 236)

Within an occupational community, this sort of "split" is overtly rejected.

Such issues are similarly relevant to the contemporary sociological research on work. The concept of occupational community has been, either explicitly or implicitly, a central theme or frame of analysis in research involving the following varieties of work:

- Seamen and Fishermen: Acheson, 1988; Applebaum, 1984; Forsyth, 1989; Kimmeldorf, 1985; Lane, 1986; Lummis, 1977; Miller and Johnson, 1984; Miller and Van Maanen, 1982; Orbach, 1977;
- Police and Correctional Officers: Johnson, 1990; Kauffman, 1988; Westley, 1970; Young, 1991;
- Miners: Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1956; Fitzpatrick, 1980; Vaught and Smith, 1980;

- Railway Worker and Porters: Cottrell, 1939; Gamst, 1980; Salaman, 1971a, 1971b, 1973, and 1974; Santino, 1989;
- Jazz Musicians: Becker, 1951 and 1963; Merriam and Mach, 1960;
- Union Printers: Lipset, Trow and Coleman, 1956;
- Medical Students/Surgeons: Broadhead, 1979; Cassell, 1991; and
- Horse Racing Workers: Case, 1991.

It seems particularly interesting, then, to investigate those workplaces and workers that, purposely or not, have rejected just such a separation of these two spheres of life and have, rather, permitted, created and savored the convergence of their work and non-work lives.

Occupational community, it is being argued, can usefully be employed not in some nostalgic search for residual geographic working-class occupational communities, but as a way of analyzing and discussing a particular sort of work/leisure link which involves persons in defining themselves in terms of their membership of an occupation – as they see it – and the patterns of relationship, solidarity and exclusion that follow. (Salaman, 1974: 128)

Such is the aim of this dissertation. However, before proceeding into a detailed examination of the Jazz Club as an occupational/workplace community, the elaboration of a few general issues may be useful.

Occupational Community as Multilevel Analysis. Firstly, the ideas embodied in the notion of an occupational community refer to aspects or characteristics of the workplace itself, the workers -- both individually and collectively -- as well as the relationship between them. A multi-level analysis of work, then, by necessity emerges from just such an exploration and discussion, with concerns ranging from the structural characteristics of

the workplace, to the pattern of social relationships and interaction within the workplace to the social-psychological attributes of the workers.

Occupational Community as Relationship. It needs to be emphasized that occupational community as a concept makes reference to the idea of community not as a geographic entity but rather as a type of relationship.

Two major usages of “community” should be distinguished at the outset. In the first, the territorial, the concept appears in a context of location, physical territory, and geographical continuity. This is its meaning, in part, in studies of such phenomena as “community power structure”, “the urban community”, and “community studies”. Such studies concentrate on locality as distinguished from more remote physical relationships. The town, village, the neighborhood, the city – these are the loci of such community studies. The thrust of work in this area of study is to understand what is occurring to such community entities. What is the structure of authority, of class relationships, of political governance within that area? How are these entities changing?

The second usage, the relational, points to the quality or character of human relationships, without reference to location. Here, studies are oriented towards the ways in which group members cooperate and conflict – to the existence or absence of bonds of similarity and sympathy, to what unites or differentiates a collectivity of people. In this usage, community is a characteristic of some human relationships [and not necessarily] a bounded and defined group, as it is in the first, or territorial, usage. (Gusfield, 1975: xv-xvi)

Within the context of the study of the occupational community, the term “community”

is used to refer to an 'integrated system of social life' which does not necessarily occur within a limited geographical area. This use of community sometimes refers to the sorts of relationships that occur -- i.e. that people interact in many roles -- or to a community of interest and values. . . .

(Salaman, 1974: 125)

Or, in the words of authors who studied the occupational community of jazz musicians,

We are dealing, then, with a number of people who share an occupational ideology and participate in a set of expected behaviors. We use the term community here not to denote a group with a geographic locus, but in the sense of a community of interest; what is implied by the word is that the

people described here share a set of norms which in turn define roles for them.

(Merriam and Mack, 1960: 211)

Occupational Community and the Professions. The characteristics of the occupational community have been most frequently discussed in relation to the professions. Indeed, many of its defining characteristics are precisely those which, in the literature, have been used to distinguish a profession from a job. For instance, two of the standard characteristics of a profession are that members share a common identity and see each other as their primary reference group affiliation. However, the analyses referred to in this dissertation will show that this is not true only of the professions, but is true of occupational communities in general.

Occupational Community: Local and Cosmopolitan Orientations. Like the related concept of reference groups, an occupational community may have either a local or a cosmopolitan orientation (Merton, 1968 and Shibutani 1955 and 1962). Cosmopolitan occupational communities, on the one hand, "are based on the occupation as a whole, and not just on some section of it. . . [They] are not primarily interested in their particular work situation. . . but are oriented rather towards the world outside -- the world or their occupation or profession as a whole" (Salaman, 1974: 39). The analysis of a cosmopolitan occupational community, then, takes as its frame of reference all those individuals engaged in a similar line of work, regardless of geographic location. Local occupational communities, on the other hand, "are composed not of all members of the occupation, but of those members who share a specific work situation" (Salaman, 1974: 40). The analysis of a local occupational community, frequently referred to as

“workplace community”, takes as its frame of reference the workplace, as is the case with this dissertation.

As I shall show in the following chapters, the members of the occupational community at the Jazz Club were keenly aware that what they were experiencing was something special. They recognized that the relationships that existed between the members, both individually and as a collective, and the workplace was rather unique in the contemporary world of work. While, they did not, of course, make use of the language of sociology or the concept of the occupational community as such, they both recognized and celebrated the convergence of work and non-work. In the following two chapters, I shall present both an elaborate discussion of the characteristics of an occupational community and how these characteristics were identified, experienced and interpreted by the staff of the Jazz Club. It is important to realize that they are at once the members and the creators of this local, workplace occupational

## **Chapter 4: Issues of Social Identity: Self Image, Reference, Involvement and Friendship**

### **A. Conceptual Overview**

The first set of defining characteristics of an occupational community revolves around issues of social identity. The literature is unanimous in this regard: the social identity of members of an occupational community is, essentially, built around their occupational identities. The characteristics of an occupational or workplace are fundamental to how members define themselves and their relationships with their work, their co-workers and non-members.

Relating back to the earlier discussion of the concept and characteristics of an occupational community in the previous chapter, the issue of social identity can be operationally defined in terms of four key components: self-image, reference group association, involvement, and friendship. Members of an occupational community will experience a blending of their worlds of work and non-work, of work and leisure, such that:

- **Self-Image.** Their self-image and identity will be primarily derived from their occupational and/or workplace roles;
- **Reference.** Their occupational and/or workplace community will serve as their primary reference group;
- **Involvement.** They will experience a high level of involvement with their work, work processes and/or workplace; and
- **Friendship.** Their networks of friendships will be drawn primarily from their occupation and/or workplace.

#### **1. Self Image**

A person's self-image or identity is, quite simply, the manner in which one sees him- or herself -- their self-perception. As Broadhead (1979: 38) relates from his investigation into the culture of medical students

To have an identity is to be social situated and assigned membership by self and others in a particular reference group, organization, social world, or 'scene'. (see Strauss, 1987; Irwin, 1977).

. . . to have an identity is also to have a perspective consisting of assumptions, definitions, attitudes and values that individuals use as a frame of reference to organize and inform their thoughts and actions toward self and others (see Shibutani, 1955). As Foote (1951) emphasized some time ago, an identity provides an organizing and 'motivating frame of reference for oneself and others that partially establishes the initial definitions of a situation within which interaction occurs

The literature of sociology and social psychology makes it clear that one's self-perceptions are neither random nor idiosyncratic. Rather, a person's sense of identity flows in large measure, on the one hand, from the social roles relevant to his/her life and, on the other, from the support and endorsement of particular 'significant others'.

The self-image is the way that a man (sic) sees himself (sic). This self-perception is not just a random, idiosyncratic affair, but is in terms of certain social roles and is based upon the support and confirmation of certain "significant others." The subtle ways in which a person's identity is established and sustained, the mechanisms adopted to ensure recognition and acceptance of one's self-image, the way in which individuals search out those situations which are most likely to confirm their self-images, and the potential anxiety which can be unleashed when a person's self-image is consistently denied, are all issues connected with self-image which have come under sociological analysis. (Salaman, 1971a: 55)

In the case of members of an occupational community, we find that their self-image is formed primarily around their occupational role and its characteristic features. And, consequently, such an identity will find its confirmation in the support and approval of one's occupational colleagues.

The occupational base of the self-image or identity of members of an occupational community is clearly identified by Salaman (1974:22).

A person's self image, which can be defined as 'a set of attitudes, beliefs and opinions held by a person about himself', depends for its stability and persistence on the support, encouragement, recognition, and acceptance of certain others with whom the actor has relationships. When a man's (sic) self image is centred on his occupational role, the others will be his (sic) occupational colleagues.

Or, more elaborately,

We, however, are particularly interested in the way in which an occupational role can be taken as a primary element in a man's (sic) self-image and how this is supported by others who are also incumbents of this role.

Members of such communities will not only see themselves in terms of their occupational roles, they will also value this self-image. This process is unlikely to occur among people who are in occupations that do not have occupational communities, and it is extremely unlikely among those workers who have an "instrumental" orientation towards their work and who wish to escape totally from their work once they leave their workplace.

(Salaman, 1971a: 55-56)

Van Maanen and Barley, similarly, stress that the occupational role and identity of members of an occupational community are central to their sense of themselves, to their self-image or social identity. Indeed, for Van Maanen and Barley (1984:295),

. . . we submit that the relevant boundaries of an occupational community are those that are set by the member themselves. Hence, the first attribute of an occupational community is that it is composed of people who consider themselves 'to be' members of the same occupation rather than people who 'are' members of the same occupation. This distinction relies solely upon internal rather than external accounts and is of theoretical and methodological significance.

Members of an occupational community "derive valued identities or self-images directly from their occupational roles." (Van Maanen and Barley, 1984: 298) Members'

occupational status or identity generally assumes the position of master status or identity and is central to their entire way of life.

In occupational communities, the social identities assumed by most members include, in a prominent position, one based upon the kind of work they do and, as such, it is often quite central in their presentations of self to others (particularly to those outside the community) in everyday life. . . . Without question, social identities are sensitive to and reflective of the social situations to which an individual is party. But, for members of occupational communities at least, occupational identities are typically presented to others with some pride and are not identities easily discarded for they are central to an individual's self-image.

(Van Maanen and Barley, 1984: 298-299)

Conditions which encourage this blending of occupational role and social identity include, according to Van Maanen and Barley (1984), a high involvement in the work itself, especially vis a vis seeing work as more than a way to "make a living", a perceived possession of "certain esoteric, scarce, socially valued, and unique abilities"; and a claimed responsibility for others.

In the same vein, Blauner (1964) in his research among factory workers found that the degree to which one's work and work roles were "an important and approved element in [one's] total identity" consistently served as a marker of an occupational community.

As Becker and Carper (1956) have pointed out, when workers see themselves in terms of their occupational status and roles, they see themselves as certain types of people – as people with certain rather distinctive qualities, attributes, skills, and capacities. They have, if you will, internalized the value system of their occupational status and roles. Therefore, regarding the actual content of the self-image of members of an occupational community, to the extent that their identity is drawn from their occupational roles, it will reflect the characteristics of the occupation and occupational role itself. In other words,

they will define themselves in terms of the attributes of the occupation. As Salaman (1974: 84, 88), for example, reports: When a group of railwaymen was asked "What sort of people do they see themselves as?", the largest number "listed the qualities, interests and abilities which they considered typified the railwaymen." Later in the same discussion, he reports on his findings concerning the self-images of members of two, occupational communities -- railwaymen and architects.

Members of both occupations saw themselves as people with certain characteristics -- abilities, skills, attitudes or personality characteristics -- which they considered essential attributes of members of that occupation, essential if they were to do what they thought they should be doing in the proper way.

(Salaman, 1974: 90)

Both railwaymen and architects were not only convinced of their distinctiveness vis a vis non-railwaymen or non-architects, but they discussed these differences with enthusiasm, pride and satisfaction.

Similar findings have emerged from case study analyses of various other occupational communities. Research among seafarers, police officers, miners, jazz musicians, surgeons, and prison guards, among others, have similarly documented the centrality of the occupational identity in the self-image or identity of members of an occupational community.

Not only do members see themselves in terms of their occupational role, qualities, or characteristics, but they additionally interpret this as a boundary separating themselves and other members of the occupational community, on the one hand, and non-members, on the other. As Becker found in his classic study of Jazz Musicians:

I'm [a musician] telling you, musicians are different than any other people. They talk different, they act different, they look different. They're just not

like other people, that's all. . . You know it's hard to get out of the music business because you feel so different from others.  
(Becker, 1951: 137)

The musicians thus views himself (sic) and his (sic) colleagues as people with a special gift which makes them different from nonmusicians and not subject to their control, either in musical performance or in ordinary social behavior.

The square, on the other hand, lacks this special gift and any understanding of the music or way of life of those who possess it. The square is thought of as an ignorant, intolerant person who is to be feared, since he produces the pressures forcing the musician to play inartistically.

Not understanding music, the square judges music by standards which are foreign to musicians and not respected by them.  
(Becker, 1951: 138-9)

The surgeons interviewed by Cassell (1991) identified a set of characteristics that they said were shared by fellow members of their occupation in a way not found among the broader population. Similarly, with regard to miners:

Both workers and the public tend to characterize the miners as a "breed apart" from the rest of the populace (Boeth et. al., 1978). The nature of the mining enterprise, with its dangerous, encapsulated environment tends to reinforce this notion among the workers (Gouldner, 1954; Lucas, 1969).  
(Vaught and Smith, 1980: 162)

The research literature on miners is complete with such sentiments as: we are a part of "a whole different world", "we do things different down here", "people outside just don't understand what it's like", and we are like an "occupational foreign legion." (see Boeth et al, 1978; Bryant, 1972b; Fred et.al., 1969; Gouldner, 1954; Lucas, 1969; Vaught and Smith, 1980). Seafarers, as another example of an occupational community, provide a rich illustration of this convergence of self-image and occupational identify. Seafarers, from a wide variety of ships or industries (merchant marines, crews of lobster, tuna, and other fishing boats, and crews on naval vessels), consistently report that "to live on ships and the sea is to be different" and see themselves as "a race apart" (Lane, 1986: 40).

Indeed, such sentiments were “repeated so often that among seafarers it is an article of faith” (Lane, 1986: 48). Acheson (1988: 51), in his research among lobster crews of Maine, found that not only did the lobstermen think of themselves as fundamentally different from non-lobstermen, they also distinguished between “workplaces”. Reflecting the notion of a local occupational, or workplace, community within the occupation as a whole, the “[m]embers of each harbor gang are believed to have certain traits, attitudes, or techniques that mark them as a little different from those of other gangs” (Acheson, 1988: 51).

For members of an occupational community, then, their self-image is drawn primarily from their occupational identity. As a result, there is a convergence of their personal qualities and the characteristics of their occupational community. Moreover, these qualities are perceived as not only setting them apart from non-members and therefore “different” from non-members, they may also be perceived as making them “better” than non-members. “This attitude is generalized into a feeling that musicians are different from and better than other kinds of people.” (Becker, 1963: 86) Regardless of whether members perceive themselves as “better”, they commonly agree that they can not and should not be under the control of or judged by non-members. This is frequently at the bottom of such controversies as civilian control/review of police behavior, judicial review of the behavior of prison guards, medical oversight and malpractice of surgeons and other doctors, and the enforcement of work rules among sandhogs (tunnel workers).

The personal and the occupational merge in the identity and self-image of the member of an occupational community. Moreover, to members of the occupational

community, these characteristics and qualities are seen as relevant not only to their world or work, but to many, if not most, of the other non-work aspects of their lives.

The self-image or social identity of members of an occupational community is rooted in their occupational identity. We can, therefore, speak in terms of the convergence of their personal and occupational identity. The characteristics of the occupation and/or workplace become part of the members' self-image or identity. Thus, members see themselves in terms of those qualities which characterize their occupation and/or occupational role; their sense of their own personal qualities match those which they understand to be those of their occupation and/or occupational role.

## 2. Reference Group

The idea of a reference group, a concept basic to sociology, refers to those groups capable of exercising evaluation, guidance, support or sanction for an individual.

The concept of "reference group" has been used in several ways, but its utility can be maximized when it signifies that group whose presumed perspective is used by an actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field. Thus defined, it becomes apparent that all kinds of units may serve as reference groups. Attention should not be limited to organized groups that are readily identifiable. The audience of whom one performs may consist of a single person, a small handful of people with whom he is in sustained contact, a voluntary association, or some broad category of people -- a social class, a profession, an ethnic group, or some community. A reference group is an audience, consisting of real or imaginary personifications, to whom certain values are imputed. It is an audience before whom a person tries to maintain or enhance his standing.

(Shibutani, 1962: 132; emphasis original)

It is "that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field." (Shibutani, 1955: 565). Reference groups carry out this role in a variety of ways.

Reference groups, whether membership or nonmembership groups, serve three major functions for the individual oriented toward them: comparative functions, normative functions, and gate keeping functions. In the first case, reference groups provide a framework of comparison relative to which the individual evaluates him- or herself. The reference group becomes a context in which an individual makes judgments about him- or herself and others. Secondly, reference groups set and maintain standards that are assimilated by those oriented to them. Individuals internalize and make part of themselves the values set by these groups. . . . The third function, gate keeping, refers to groups or individuals to whom a person looks for approval or support of actions or decision.  
(Ebaugh, 1988: 108)

As developed by Salaman, among members of an occupational community, the occupational community itself serves as a primary reference group.

One of the most striking facts to emerge from all the studies of occupational communities is that members of these communities share viewpoints, attitudes and values with other members. Members of occupational communities use the community as a primary reference group. The incorporation of an occupational role into one's self image is obviously directly related to the use of the occupational community as a reference group, for the values which accompany this identification will be derived from the reference group; and the other members of the reference group will be the "significant others" whose support is so important in this respect and who are capable of exercising powerful social sanctions.

There are various ways in which the concept of a reference group has been used; we are using it here in the normative sense -- i.e., a reference group as a source of values. As a consequence of their shared values, members of occupational communities will tend to see the reactions and responses of their fellow members as the only other people who are really capable of judging their work performance or understanding their problems.  
(Salaman, 1971a: 57)

The occupational community provides its members with notions concerning: (a) the skills and attributes which a particular work requires; (b) the proper orientation that the work demands; and (c) the sorts of personality characteristics that are necessary to do the work well (Salaman, 1971: 394).

Van Maanen and Barley (1984) as well emphasize the fact that the primary reference group for members of an occupational community is the occupational community itself.

To maintain a social identity, support and confirmation from others is required. The third defining feature of an occupational community is that members take other members as their primary reference group such that membership comes to share a distinct pattern of values, beliefs, norms, and interpretations for judging the appropriateness of one another's actions and reactions. This would include moral standards surrounding what work is to be considered good and bad, what work is "real work" and, therefore, in contrast to "shit work", what formal and contextual rules of conduct are to be enforced, what linguistic categories are to be used in partitioning the world, and so forth. To say an occupational community provides members with a value system is to say that members make use of a collective perspective in everyday matters, that they evaluate themselves in its light, and that such a perspective carries over to matters falling outside the realm of work itself.

(Van Maanen and Barley, 1984: 303)

It is from the occupational community that members derive the values, beliefs, and norms that guide their understandings of and interactions with the broader social world. This is facilitated by such factors as a perceived stigmatization or marginalization of an occupation; a penetration of multiple aspects of a person's life; and rigorous socialization (Van Maanen and Barley, 1984: 304-5).

Within the context of an occupational community, the workers have a very real sense of "membership and separateness", they ". . . have some sort of common life together and are, to some extent separate from the rest of society." (Gerstl, 1964: 19) One significant source of such a sense of this "membership and separateness" is the culture of an occupation or workplace. What Becker says about any on-going group of people producing culture is especially true for members of an occupational community.

Wherever some group of people have a bit of common life with a modicum of isolation from other people, a common corner in society, common problems and perhaps a couple of common enemies, there culture grows. It may be the fantastic culture of the unfortunates who, having become addicted to the use of heroin, share a forbidden pleasure, a tragedy and a battle against the conventional world. It may be the culture of a pair of infants, who, in coping with the same all powerful and arbitrary parents, build up a language and a set of customs of their own which persist even when they are as big and powerful as the parents. It may be the culture of a group of students who, ambitious to become physicians, find themselves faced with the same cadavers, quizzes, puzzling patients, instructors and deans.

(Becker, 1963: 80-81)<sup>1</sup>

An important link between the ideas of work-place culture and the workplace as reference group within an occupational community emerges from Horowitz's (1983: 221; emphasis in original) discussion of "community culture"

Community culture is what allows people to say "Those people are like us and those others are not." It contains criteria for inclusion and exclusion. It allows people to say that a person who wants to be included ought to behave in a specific way. The ties on 32<sup>nd</sup> Street, particularly expanded family networks and peer groups, are sufficiently close that people can tell others how they ought to behave because these people are perceived as having some rights over and responsibilities for the others.

The study of community culture allows us to study the content of people's lives: the activities and social relationships to which they attribute importance. As we have seen, symbols, norms, and values can have powerful effects on social relationships.

More specific to the area of work, Hughes notes that

[in some occupations] there is a rich culture and a strong sense among the members of being different from other people. There are songs and lore about logging, railroading, and going to sea. In these occupations there are strong feelings about who really shares in the dangers and fate of the group. . . . Some of the professions also have a sense of identity and a tendency to be self-conscious about who is a true member of the group. (Hughes, 1959: 457-8)

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the production of culture and cultural processes within small groups, see, in particular Bensen (1981, 1983, 1984 and 1986) on department store saleswomen; Cohen (1991) on rock musicians;

The adoption and sharing of an occupational or workplace culture is particularly key to the emergence of the occupation or work place as reference group for members of an occupational community.

. . . [T]he sort of extreme work/leisure relationship which is usually called an occupational community involves members of the occupation in a shared, work-based occupational culture. This consists of values, beliefs and knowledge. . .

Members of occupational communities, it is suggested, do not only share values. They also share beliefs (about the consequences of deviance from these values, the necessity for them, the roles of the occupation, and the service it supplies, etc.), and a body of work based knowledge (about the organisation of their work, its techniques, history, argot, etc.) (Salaman, 1974: 91)

Membership in an occupational community, then, serves to not only offer the individual member a sense of belonging and shared common identity, but additionally it shapes the totality of a person's knowledge, opinions, attitudes, beliefs and values.

### 3. Involvement

The third component concerns the high degree of involvement that members of occupational communities experience with their work, the work processes or the workplace. As used here, the idea of involvement refers to more than job satisfaction. Rather, it parallels the concepts of work identification and, in the case of a local or workplace occupational community, organizational commitment. As articulated by Becker and Carper (1956), there are four elements of work identification: Commitment to Occupational Title and Associated Ideology, Commitment to the Work and Work Processes, Commitment to Particular Organizations or Institutions, and Commitment to Social Position. Members of an occupational community share, to greater or lesser

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Fine (1979 and 1987) on little league baseball players; Halle (1984) and Westwood (1985) on factory workers.

degrees, each of these commitments. For instance, members of a “cosmopolitan” occupation community would tend to exhibit a lesser commitment to a particular organization or institutions as compared to the other elements. On the other hand, a commitment to a particular organization or institution would be of primary importance to a member of a “local” or workplace occupational community as compared to the other elements.

The concept of organizational commitment is of central importance when discussing the issue of a member’s commitment to a local or workplace occupational community. Pettigrew (1979:577) defines organizational commitment as “the willingness of participants to give energy and loyalty to an organization, to be effectively attached to its goals and values and thereby to the organization for its own sake.” A more elaborate description is provided by Lincoln and Kalleberg (1990: 22-23).

Organizational commitment implies identification with an organization and acceptance of its goals and values as one’s own. The company’s fortunes matter to the worker. The committed employee’s involvement in the organization takes on moral overtones, and his stake extends beyond the satisfaction of a merely personal interest in employment, income, and intrinsically rewarding work. The employee becomes conscious of the needs of the organization and sensitive to how his or her actions contribute to the fulfillment of those needs. To identify with the organization, then, implies that the worker is willing to expend effort for the sake of the company, and the firm’s performance is experienced as a personal success or failure as well. Moreover, committed employees are loyal to the organization, feel personally defensive when it is threatened, and desire to maintain the employment relationship even when presented with attractive alternatives.

Commitment to an employing organization is also distinct from commitment to work per se. People heavily involved in their work roles, who place great importance on the work component of their lives, may well behave in ways that coincide with the interests of the firm and its management. But there is a difference between the worker who is highly motivated because of interest in and primarily out of devotion to the organization and one whose efforts are expended primarily out of devotion

to the organization. The work-committed employee may be oriented to an occupational specialty or for the sake of maintaining an employment relationship with it. Furthermore, absorption in a work role may lead to a neglect of activities such as administrative task and housekeeping chores which are clearly in the organization's interests but take time away from one's primary set of occupational or professional concerns.

As the discussion of the related concepts makes clear, there are a variety of dimensions to the involvement of members in their occupational community.

For members of an occupational community, their involvement with work, work processes and the workplace is more than the source of extrinsic or material reward or satisfaction.

Members of occupational communities are emotionally involved in their work skills and tasks; they value their work not only for the extrinsic rewards it brings but also for the satisfaction they derive from actually doing it, and for the opportunities it offers them to use their work skills. Members of occupational communities derive intrinsic satisfaction from their work and see it as an activity within which they can exercise creativity, responsibility and intelligence. Men who see their work in this way are likely to carry work based activities, interests and relationships into their non-work lives; they are not likely to erect a barrier between work and non-work as some workers do.

(Salaman, 1971a: 60-61)

Drawing more than a paycheck for their efforts, workers belonging to an occupational community find many aspects of both their work tasks and/or their context of work satisfying in and of themselves. Members derive emotional satisfaction and intrinsic rewards from their work and/or work situation. "Members of occupational communities", write Van Maanen and Barley (1984: 308), "are favorably oriented toward their job and careers. To them, work is more than merely making a living, it is a source of meaning and value." In other words, work becomes a vital component of their self image.

Another dimension of involvement revolves around the convergence of “work” and leisure or play activities and locations which members of an occupational community experience. Stringent divisions between work and leisure do not exist, and the activities or locations that characterize each are not clearly delineated or separated.<sup>2</sup> This can be expressed in a variety of ways. For instance, as Lipset et.al. (1956) discussed vis a vis printers and Gamst (1980) and Gerstl (1963) vis a vis railwaymen, work related activities become hobbies, activities engaged in for pleasure and recreation during one’s “off-work-hours”. This convergence is also expressed by the transformation of workplaces into “locations of leisure” or “homes away from home”. This can be clearly seen in the case of bars that are experienced as occupational communities by their staff.

Now Brady’s is a kind of second home. She [a waitress] keeps an extra pair of shoes in the kitchen and stops in often to talk and drink even when she isn’t working. She will tell a friend, “I’m down here at least once a day. If I’m not there, leave word with the bartender and I’ll get the message sooner or later.” Working at Brady’s transformed her social life: “just being there puts you in touch with girls you would never see on campus to say nothing about the guys from St. Greg’s and the university.

As center of social life, employees tend to come in early to talk and hang out, part of social life of working at a bar; not to do this, is to risk the image of being a snob or being aloof.  
(Spradley and Mann, 1975: 17, 35)

A third expression lies in the incorporation of members’ work or workplace into their overall lifestyle. The implications of this are well described by Prus and Irini (1988: 186-187)

As persons “fit in” to the hotel community, they typically find themselves more firmly embedded in bar life than they had anticipated, and much more of their social and personal identity becomes synonymous with bar life. . . Regardless of their initial routings, on becoming more established

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<sup>2</sup> For more elaborate discussions of the relationship between work and leisure or play, see Giddens, 1964; Huizinga, 1972; and Neff, 1985.

in this "subculture", bar employees are apt to find that continued involvements are easier and more rewarding means of realizing personal interests than are attempts at disengagement. . . Fitting into the staff community has important implications for one's early involvements in bar work, but it is also exceedingly important vis a vis continuity. Not only does the bar become a less distant, less threatening, and more lucrative setting in which to work as persons become more integrated into the staff community, but as persons become more embedded in a series of activities and relationships within the staff community, the bar assumes much more meaning than it does to outsiders. Insofar one develops bonds of friendship, love and sexuality, and as persons spend proportionately more of their off duty time at the bar, disinvolvement becomes increasingly difficult.

This level of involvement with work, while clearly speaking to a set subjective processes or concerns, is not wholly the result of factors external to any particular work site or situation. Certain factors in particular appear to be important in generating just such an involvement. Further, such factors are characteristic of particular work situations. The literature makes special notice of the role of such factors as danger, skill level of a job, local or community status of a job as being positively linked to the development of such an all encompassing involvement with work and, therefore, with the development of a sense of occupational community for such work situations as: police, fire fighters, surgeons, railwaymen and so on. Other features of the work situation that may generate just such an involvement in the tasks and context of work include a mutual dependence among the working staff for the completion of expected and necessary tasks, the location of the workplace and the time that work takes place.

The importance of involvement as a characteristic of occupational communities is not to be underestimated. For those who share such an involvement in work, the work process as a whole becomes a source of both psychological and social satisfaction and reward -- it has intrinsic value. Workers in this situation are likely to see themselves, in

large measure, in terms of their occupational roles; the occupational role, therefore, becomes a 'salient element in their self-images'. Additionally, they are not likely to make sharp distinctions between their world of work and their world of non-work; they experience a convergence of these two spheres of life. They are, similarly, likely to merge their networks of friendship and occupational collegueship; their world of work emerges as both reference group and source of social ties.

It seems most likely then that strong positive involvement in work is causally related to all three components of occupational communities. Men who take pride in their work skills and who derive intrinsic satisfaction from practising them, are likely not only to base their self-images on their occupational role, but also to share a value system with others who share this valued activity, to choose their friends from among them and to carry work activities into their non-work lives.

(Salaman, 1974: 30)

For Salamon, the issue of involvement is of central importance. His review of the literature failed to turn up a single case of an occupational community wherein the members did not share a high level of involvement in their work, the work processes or the workplace. He concluded, quite simply, that if there is not a high level of involvement, there is no occupational community (Salamon, 1971a: 69-70). It is, in other words, an absolutely necessary but not sufficient characteristic of and condition for the establishment of an occupational community.

#### 4. Friendship

The final component of Issues of Identity directs our attention to the pattern of interpersonal relations and friendship networks enjoyed by members of occupational communities. Members draw their most meaningful social relations and friendships from within their own occupational group – either the occupation as a whole in the case of a

cosmopolitan occupational community or their workplace in the case of a local, workplace occupational community. More precisely,

Members of occupational communities do not attempt to separate their work lives: their work influences their non-work activities and interests. Members of such communities manifest a strong convergence of work and nonwork life generally, and the most important feature of this is that they prefer to be friends with people who do the same work. This does not simply mean that members of occupational communities are friendly with their work mates while at work, for other researchers have shown that many groups of workers claim to be 'friendly' with their work-mates while they work together. For members of occupational communities, colleague relationships permeate out-of-work-life. . . . Members of occupational communities spend time outside working hours with others who do the same work and members of their occupation tend to predominate among their best friends.

(Salaman, 1974: 25-6)

The analysis of the role of friendship within an occupation or workplace has a rich history in the sociology of work. Such research has encompassed a large variety of work roles and work sites, including: female co-workers in a factory setting (Westwood, 1985); women lawyers (Epstein, 1983); restaurant workers (Cooble, 1991; Fine, 1986 and 1990; Howe, 1978; Paules, 1992); male railroad porters (Santino, 1989); secretaries (Pringle, 1989); male workers in a high-technology industry (Halle, 1984); male cigar makers (Cooper, 1987) and the staff of an independent jazz-record company (Gray, 1988). What is referred within the context of an occupational community, however, goes beyond friendship or friendly relations at the work-place.

An entirely different type of work/leisure relationship is represented by the occupational community, in which work relationships, activities, interests, and values permeate people's out-of-work lives. Instead of separating their work and leisure friends and activities, members of occupational communities display a remarkable fusion of their work and leisure lives.

(Salaman, 1971b: 389)

As the worlds of work and non-work permeate one another, so too do the social networks of work and friendship.

The convergence of friend and colleague relationships is one aspect – and the most important one – of the general convergence of work and non-work life which is a central feature of occupational communities. For members of occupational communities work is a “central life interest”. Indeed, in some cases, the distinction between work and non-work is not a meaningful one.

Not only did many of the respondents think and talk about their work during their non-work time, but many of them were also members of societies, clubs, and other types of voluntary associations which were in some way connected to their work.

(Salaman, 1974: 110-111)

For the member of the occupational community, a meaningful distinction between friends and work-mates does not exist; there is, rather, the convergence of informal friendship patterns and colleague relations. (Gerstl, 1963).

The blurring of the boundaries or distinctions between work and non-work or work and leisure relative to social relations and friendship is characteristic of every conceptualization of the occupational community. For example, as articulated by Van Maanen and Barley (1984: 305):

The point here lies not in the substantive nature of the tie between work and leisure, but rather in the tight network of social relations created when members of an occupational community seek, for whatever reasons (e.g., pleasure, anxiety reduction, opportunistic advantage, etc.), close relationships with one another outside the workplace.

Members of occupational communities experience and foster a tremendous overlap with regard to their work and social relations. Features of work which promote such a merger, according to Van Maanen and Barley (1984: 305-307) include: degree of geographical or organizational clustering, occupational-based restrictions of social relations (i.e., night work, postings), kin-based or geographic-based occupational recruitment (i.e., fishing,

mining), and occupational intrusion into all aspects of a persons life (i.e., military personnel, carnival workers).

The merger of work lives and non-work lives, of work and leisure. of relationships of co-workers and friendship was also found to be a primary characteristic of the occupational community among the printers studied in Union Democracy. “Both on and off the job, in clubs, in the print shops, and in informal get-togethers printers are engaged in a variety of informal social relations with each other”. (Lipset et. al., 1956: 72).

In this section I have reviewed the first defining characteristic of an occupational community: Issues of Social Identity. The discussion was organized around an elaboration of its key components: self-image, reference, involvement and friendship. In the section which follows, I will explore how the Issues of Social Identity were manifested within the context of the occupational community at the Jazz Club. That is, I will explore how these issues are created and experienced by the staff of the Jazz Club, by the members of the Jazz Club occupational community.

### **B. Social Identity at the Jazz Club**

The convergence of their social identities and workplace/occupational roles was acknowledged and valued by the staff of the Jazz Club. The Club was experienced to be a valued source and reflection of their social self as well as their occupational self. At the same time, however, they were fairly ambivalent about what this convergence actually meant to them. That is, they were unsure of how to cope with or evaluate this identification with their work, which was, after all, in the words of one, “just a bar job.”

Interaction and interviews with the staff revealed that their understanding of the place of the Jazz Club and their work therein in their social identities revolved around the following themes:

1. Membership
2. Friendship
3. Involvement: Lifestyle and Responsibility/Commitment
4. Self-Image: Type of Person and Personal Characteristics

### 1. Membership

One of the primary themes of Issues of Identity that emerged during my interviews was the idea of membership. By membership, I am referring to a sense on the part of the Jazz Club staff that they, individually and collectively, shared a special relationship with both the Jazz Club and with one another from which non-staff were, fundamentally, excluded. Peppered throughout the interviews were references to a feeling of belonging that was experienced as a boundary that tied them together and separated them from the outsiders. A sense of membership, including shared status and entitlement, emerged from their recognition and understanding of these boundaries. While their individual vocabularies of membership varied, their experience of it, fundamentally, did not.

Yeah I think it is because, first of all they come to me as the bartender. They come in knowing that you, again, this is a happening place, first of all, and they know that you are a part of it, and they want to talk to you. And it has nothing to do with male or female, I don't think, I mean, again I know a lot of people came on to me over the bar, but I'd also know that, they wanted to talk, they wanted to, you know, feel as though they are all apart of it, or what have you.

(Kate60)

This kind of energy, and everybody who went in there felt that, people all over the place. It happened a lot, I would be someplace and they would come up to me: "I know you, you work at the 1369. That place is great." And the will go on and on about how wonderful it is. I touched a lot of people there, and I understand why.

(Mae6)

It was an important cultural institution, believe it or not, in the city. It was famous around the world, it was known around the world. I had a t-shirt from the club and occasionally I wear it in the [New York] City and occasionally I get stopped. It was recognized everywhere, and they sometimes recognized me. And people would stop me and people I don't know would point and say yeah I know that place. People from all over the world would drop in there just to come by there. It was a jazz city. Clare talked about being at a jazz club and she had a sort of instant status because she was a former member of the 1369. It is a famous place and it, tragically, like so many jazz greats, it died young. It died just as it was hitting its prime.

(Miles32)

Fred, a manager, whose involvement in the Club came primarily from his commitment to the music, saw the staff's sense of membership as emerging from a growing identification with the role of the Jazz Club as an innovative force within the larger musical community.

What happened, though, is eventually the staff is as caught up in the scene as is everybody around the city. They love each and every individual thing that's happening at the club. They love the blues night where they can just hang out and have a good old time. And they love the blues jam session, they love the rock gig because they love rock music. They also like the whole excitement of having some great jazz musicians come in here; all these people are specifically coming in to see this guy and we're packed to the gills, man, you can hear a pin drop, but the music is so great that's all you want to hear. . . [And] you find the bartenders and waitresses suddenly becoming involved in what the scene is, versus what they [initially] wanted to do. I think that they've become more excited about the fact that they can hear these great musicians as well. It's part of their personification as a bartender, waitress or whatever. I've noticed that all the staff is into like what the scene is at the club. And they get a lot of attention because of it. Like, you know, they're the person behind the bar now that it's going. You know, like: 'Oh yea, we've just had Kenney Burrell last week. And next week, Joanne Brackem.' Came to the point where everyone in the club, bartenders, waitresses, anybody, was just excited about what the club was doing.

(Fredb19)

His perspective, however, was somewhat unique. The others, generally, did not put as much emphasis on the musical dimension of life at the Club. While they all shared an appreciation or even a love of the music, their accounts of the sources of membership placed greater emphasis on the interpersonal or relationship aspects, rather than the artistic.

A common point of reference for many was the notion of community. Virtually everyone at one point or other referred to the Jazz Club as a community, as the staff itself constituting a community: "Community. Community is a great word for it. I think nothing can take its place because it was so much more than a bar or nightclub. That was a home." (Jimmy20). Similarly, "But in terms of what made that place really different I think it was that community atmosphere." (Gregb01)

Others, elaborating a bit further, characterized the shared social relationships with terms such as "club" or "clubhouse" and "family." "It's different from other places. It reminds me of when you are a little kid, and you and your friends have a clubhouse." says Candace (Candace22). "Everybody goes to the clubhouse. And it's open to everyone, but for those of us who are members, it feels very private to us." This is particularly striking coming from Candace, as she is one of the few members of the staff who can be called a "professional waitress". After years of working at bars, nightclubs and casinos across the county, she found something rather unique at the Jazz Club. A bartender with a great deal of bartending experience made the same point.

I mean, Amy used to point out that it was funny that they called it a club because everyone regarded it as a club you know. It was like a private club and then we had these alien people who paid to get in. It that, it was a private club and we let these people in and spend their money. But, there was a core of people who actually belonged -- us. It was our place. She

compared it to the eating clubs at Harvard, you know, and eating with the members. The only difference was at Harvard, they didn't let non-members in the place.

(Greg17)

In addition to the idea of a club, the more intimate reference to family was frequently used to describe the interactions and relationships among the staff. "I found a sense of family," says Theresa (Brenda/Theresa35). "That is what is involved. And I haven't found that same thing elsewhere. I don't know if I even can." Referring to the nature of spats and conflicts among the staff, one waitress commented:

It's just the usual, you know. We have words, we have our say and then we just won't mention it the next time we see each other. Your going to always have these kinds of flare-ups. It's natural because, after all, we are a family here and all. Yea, that's what a family is like. Half the stuff you don't need to talk about or talk over, not every little thing you did. Just like a family. We're just like a family like that. Things happen between us but no big deal.

(Candace72)

"I don't know," said Kate(49), referring to the overt and covert interpersonal problems among the staff,

it's just, it was like a family, it was like a family I guess. Well, it was, as funny as it seems you know, you have your, your dysfunctional and your functional families. It was a functionally dysfunctional family, that was what it was. I mean, I don't know how else to describe it.

The theme of membership was expressed in other ways as well. For many, membership was defined in terms of a shared status. They discussed how they, as members of the staff, came to possess a certain status, a social position and accompanying set of rights and privileges, which was not generally available to non-staff.

This is it. This is the peer group you'd want to sit in, and be a part of, doing anything else would be, just, different somehow. But this is it. Whether they're younger people, older people, whatever, its not the age group. It's the vibe feeling. It's cool.

(Linda43)

And, we, the people who worked liked that perception of the place, that it was this hip place. It was dirty, it was down at the heels, it was a hole in the wall. It was buried in a corner of Cambridge away from Harvard Square. But, this was where the real rich ass music scene was. This was where it was and you had to know about it in order to be there – and we not only knew about it, we were it. We made it happen, it was us.

(Greg23)

Oh, I don't know. Because the club was. I mean it was so important to so many people, I guess. And the customers as well as the people that worked there, I mean, all of our friendships were so closely connected at the club, and the people that came in wanted to be a part of that. I think they longed to be considered to be in the in-crowd. And I think that I felt like I was the in-crowd, and everybody that, and, and other people, Bill, and Jake and Clare and Candice and Greg and you and Ed and some doormen, they were all by right in-crowd, because they worked there. And I think a lot of people that came there wanted to be in-crowd. It was cool, it was massively cool. And I still think that, and I know that wasn't all tied up in booze. There is a reality in the club, with or without booze, with or without drugs, it was totally hip. Completely hip. Because of the size, because of the seediness, because of the music, because of Bill, and because of, and even more so because of "J". Because it was so, the people that worked there were so diverse, the people that came there. Cause Cambridge in the first is a great place, to have a bar like that.

(Kate45)

[Working at the Club made me feel] very, very special. Like you could walk to the front to of the line, although I never cut a line . When you could walk in and be greeted it was awfully impressive. You would bring friends and everyone got in for free. You were a celebrity. Absolutely. But it wasn't an arrogant thing.

(Jimmy29)

Brenda: Exactly, exactly because it was such a hip place. Yeah. And it really was, I mean, I don't know, everybody, everybody that went in there thought it was the coolest of cool and everyone would tell me that.

(Brenda/Theresa43)

Greg: I always feel like I have, I always liked that I, you have like an inside somewhat. You do, you are somewhat of the privileged class. You get to drink for free if you so desire; you know everybody; you can meet people if you so desire; you can do anything you want where they can't. I don't walk in the door and say, 'Gee, I'm the privileged class.' But if you

asked me that, yes I do feel it. 'Yes, I'm one of the leading lights of one of the slimiest bars in Cambridge.' But maybe its a reversed ego. But I do like it. I stand there and Dewey Redman, one of the greats in jazz, is sitting down in the office and I can go down and talk to him. I get off on that. Same thing with Clifford Jordan, who I think is this really nice guy with a great laugh. And Rashad Ali, when he was here I hung around with him for a few hours. And I enjoy that. It's almost like a groupie mentality. But its just that I'm really, it just fascinates me that the guy's 55 years old still doing jazz at bars like that. It's fascinating. But its the same thing. Yea, you feel your part of a privileged class. You walk in, you don't pay, you walk past the people in line, you know I always liked that. My frustrated Studio 54 self. Especially when people say, 'There's a line here', and I say, 'Not for me'. No I only did that once actually, I didn't like the way he said it. But seriously, I mean, also you walk in and the bartender asks if you want one, and he gives me the drink I want. When we had a tap dancer I could sit up on the top of the refrigerator and watch the guy tap. And you know, if I were standing there and someone else did that, I'd say get down. If it's too crowded, I can stand behind the bar if I want to. But it's things like that.

(Clare/Greg40)

Regardless of the specific expression, the theme of membership illustrated the boundaries that the Jazz Club staff drew between themselves and others, the non-members.<sup>3</sup> As members, they possessed and shared among themselves a social position and set of rights and privileges, which not only did they value and honor, but, they believed, were valued and honored by the non-members, as well.

## 2. Friendships

That the club and the occupation group formed the center of the social life and friendship networks was clearly evident during the interviews. The Jazz Club, as an occupational community, provided the basis, the framework and the arena for the development of friendship associations in a number of regards.

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<sup>3</sup> For a broader discussion of the concept and process of "symbolic boundaries", see Cohen, 1985.

Firstly, as revealed both implicitly and explicitly from the quotes below, the Club provided the context or situation for the actual formation of friendships – between staff and staff and between staff and customers, usually “regulars”.

I do have good friends I met at the bar. In fact, I don't really know of anyone that I really hang out with now who I didn't meet at one point or another through the bar. Oh, yea. Definitely. Everyone I hang out with came from there -- the Jazz Club. Most people who worked there or “regulars”  
(Clare19)

I think that's true for a lot of people, but especially here. A lot of waitresses and bartenders, the place they work becomes a social outlet. They just meet people there. I mean. There's a bit of a drawback to it in that we are all basically the same type of people. It's the bar that holds you together rather than some, like, personal connection. But, that's the way it is and that's not so bad.  
(Ed34)

Theresa: Sometimes I think of how much time I would socialize with people from the Club both inside and outside the Club and I would be amazed. I socialized with all the people who worked there and very little with outsiders.  
(Brenda/Theresa38)

But all of my friends and all of the people I considered my friends at that time were from either \_\_\_\_\_ [a neighboring bar] or the Jazz Club. I met almost everyone that I have carried on any long-term relationships there. I met Maryann there, I met Helene there, I met you there, I met Greg there. Clare is the only one I knew before and I only knew her for a short time before – it was really at the Club that we became friends.  
(Kate42)

I think a lot of the associations I had eventually grew, incorporated most of the people I knew through the bar. I had friends from before, ahm. It's funny because, in that kind of business because it does, there is such a strong resemblance to the kind of socializing one would think of doing perhaps on holidays or certain weekends, but not every weekend or every day, of course. It was a lot, there was always a sense of needing to get away from it and be alone rather than to be with people and party and socialize. So that one, I didn't feel a strong need to reach out beyond my work, the Club, to find people to socialize with, if only, if I did, it was

contacts I had previous to this, it was old friends and it wasn't that often. And often they would meet me here.  
(Bill42)

Collegial and work relationships became social relationships or friendships. Among the staff, friendships emerged which transcended the boundaries between work and non-work, or leisure, activities. In this same vein, social relationships and friendships also emerged from the work relationship between staff and customer which, then, went beyond these same boundaries of work and non-work. When this occurred, the customers usually underwent the following process of status transformation: from "customer" to "regular" to "insider". However, customers who achieved the status of "insider" generally did not share the same range of rights and privileges which were available to members of the staff.

A second avenue by which the Jazz Club, as an occupational community, offered the basis for the integration of work and play relationships is connected to its fundamental features as a bar. As already discussed, the bar, as a site of unseriousness, of play, presents a set of unusual features for its working inhabitants. Of particular interest here is the fact that friendships preceding or originally alien to the bar can become integrated into the work place in a way not generally available for other work places. In their ethnography of a "college-bar", Spradley and Mann (1975: 64; emphasis original) found that both friends from outside of the work setting and staff of other, especially neighboring bars can be integrated into the work place and thereby assume a somewhat special position.

A second social network is based on social identities from outside the bar itself. Holly's [a waitress] roommate from college often visits the bar and one another waitress serves her. Although she is a customer, they treat her

as one of the other girl's roommates who has a special place in this social network. Each waitress will reciprocate when the close friends of other waitresses come to the bar, offering special attention to these customers.... Even bartenders and waitresses can be terms for kinds of customers when they have these identities from other bars where they work.

This experience was repeated at the Jazz Club.

When my friends who did not work here would come in and sit at the bar, which they did fairly regularly, I didn't really feel like I was working. I was bartending, I was talking to them, serving them drinks, maybe having a few myself. And, doing my work on the side. That's what I felt like I was doing. I would. If my friends would come in on a slow night, it would be real nice because then I could spend even more time with them, and I would catch up with them. At the same time, I would be able to serve everybody else. If it was a real busy night, then it was understood too. And if it was a group of friends that came in, they'd be at the far end of the bar or something. They would all just hang out there, and when I had a chance, I would come over and serve them and probably have a couple of drinks with them while I was working. That was a pleasurable part of that job. I didn't seem like I was working. Because friends came in, on a fairly regular basis.

(Joe26)

The changing "status" of a customer, a non-worker, into the Jazz Club community manifested itself in some of the following fashions: special greetings and attention, exemption from the music cover charge, access to insider knowledge, access to staff locations within the bar, availability to do "favors" for the club, credit, borrowing and check cashing privileges, and quite possibly the offering of employment either as a fill in for the night (for instance, the door-man did not show up) or on a regular basis. As was the case with "insiders", however, while such friends of the staff were granted a wider range of rights and privileges than other customers, they did not share in the full range offered to members of the staff.

The recruitment and hiring practices is another illustration of the central role of friendship within this occupational community. Virtually every member of the staff came

to work there through some network of friendship. Bartenders, waitresses, doormen, the music manager, and even the owners fundamentally entered the Club through friendships with one or more of the staff.

JB: What, what sort of things did you look for in potential employees, how did you, what do you look for when you hire someone, beside being available?

Bill: ... that was, yeah. Well actually that was one of the first criteria for eliminating some people. It was always my contention that anybody who wanted the job probably wasn't suitable. (Laughter) Ah, and it was my contention that anybody, any ad you place in the paper somebody responded to that was a means of eliminating them as well. Well, hiring was very haphazard. It was who was your friend.

(Bill12)

So the criteria that we used to hire people was probably very different from other establishments. I remember, for instance, Candace. When I first met Candace she had just come to town to visit her friend Patty. I met her at a bar-be-que at Fishman's, I think. She and I and Bunny and Bunny was trying to score and, uh, he gave me one of his looks – "this chick is wild." I saw her later that night at the Club, it was a Monday night. Jake was running a jam session and, um, she came in. Bunny was there and she came in; it was like, I don't know how to describe it, she was doing a durbish when she walked in – I mean, just, her hair was going one way, her dress was going another way. She was screaming, whoever she was coming in with was screaming, they both were really shit-faced. She threw herself on customers. It was just crazy. And we hired her. She had her friend Patty who worked there. That's how Candace got the job. She knew Patty, who said we had to give Candace a job. And so we did. Why did we give Candace the job. Because she was Patty's friends. Candace after a few months in an alcohol rehab center would have been better, but we hired her. Candace, it turned out, was an asset to the club. She brought personality to the place. She had a style, just one more thing you know. One more color. But we hired her, basically, because she was Patty's friend. That was reason enough.

(Bill93)

I came here because of Patty. Patty was my old dance partner. And she was working here. So, I got a job downtown and was making okay money. But then I would hang out here and it was just such a good feeling, but it's very, I never really asked for a job for quite a while. As a matter of fact, I subbed for her one night. She couldn't make it, so I just came and and told whoever was here that I was working for Patty, and they said okay. And,

then, it was funny because I came here all the time after I'd get off work so people didn't even notice it was any different here on this side of the floor. I was friends with people that worked here and I was friends with Patty... So, uh, I would come here and blow a lot of money and stuff, and loved the music and got into it. So when I, my very first night that I subbed for her people didn't even notice. No big deal that I'm working. I said, "Hey, haven't you noticed something?" And that's how it began. Because of Patty.

(Candace2)

Greg: And Bill wanted me to come in as manager because we were friends. We knew each other from bartending days and we figured I knew as much, or more, about the bar business than he did and he just wanted, ahh, friends around, people that he trusted.

(Clare/Greg12)

So actually, um, the bartenders that were hired, they consisted of two people: friends of Bill's, the owner, and friends of mine. And actually, sometimes it was both of them. JB, for instance, was a friend of Bill's but, I think I was the one who approached him about working. I'm not sure of that. And, you know, that was the basic decision – he's a guy who had the right attitude. You know, he liked to drink. He liked to do drugs. He got along well with the people it seemed like you know. He knew Bill so he's less likely to steal than someone who's not a friend. So let's take him on the bar. Let him make some money so he can buy, sell whatever more drugs and then share them with us. Yeah, I'm sure that's somewhere in the background. That was it. Okay, I like JB, let's move him up to the bar so that he can make some money. But, one of the things I liked about JB was he would give me some lines now and again.

(Greg21)

How did I start working here? Easy, Clare was already here and I came up from Texas, ah, she came up a month before me. She said she found a house in Cambridge and a job and when was I coming. And at that point, Clare and I didn't know each very well but she said to come on up and I said why not... Now she, anyway, so she was working and I came into town and was basically on vacation. So I came up and stayed with her. She was living with Emilio, who worked at the Club. In fact, that is how she got the job at the Club. She was renting a room in Emilio's house he said to come to work with him and he would introduce her around. She met the owners and was hired. Just like that – worked the same night, I think, or the one after. Anyway, I came up and went with her to the Club. I remember sitting at the bar and talking to this guy, who was one of the owners. And he said, "oh, you want a job" or something like that, we chatted for a minute and he said, "ok, you can start working tomorrow" or

whatever it was. But yeah, I guess that's the way everything works here – I was Clare's friend.

(Kate3)

I was living with three other guys at the time I started working here. How it happened is this. Howard was working here and couple of instances came up where he couldn't work for this reason or that and he asked me if I could work, so I said, "sure". He asked me, I said yes, and I showed up. So just on an as-needed basis I started working the door. So, if Howard couldn't make it, I just showed up in his place and said, "Here I am". I think I met Bill or Jake before I worked the door, but I don't actually remember if I did or if I had a conversation with them. You know what I mean. I don't remember anything like that. I do remember, you know, talking about what needed to be done but I think it had been approved, but I don't actually know for sure. I don't know if I just walked in or not. After that, I guess, they just liked me or whatever so I started working. I started working on a regular basis... Then that bartending position opened up so I started doing a mixture of working the door one night a week and then bartending one night a week. And then I was just bartending three or four nights.

(Joel)

I was bartending somewhere else and my girlfriend at the time was working here and she knew they needed another bartender. So I talked to Bill and Jake and they hired me on the spot, and I am still here. But she and I are no longer together, of course.

(Ed2)

How did I start working at the Club? By chance I guess. I was hanging out at the Club I think for many years and when the other shift owned it. When Bill and Jake took over I knew them from hanging out here. I knew them as people who also hung out at the Club and I forget the exact circumstances, but they needed a bartender. Someone probably just didn't show up one night. So I started working, bartending a couple of nights a week, maybe not even that much. Then it increased and turned out to be a more regular schedule. As you recall, it was a very casual place.

(Miles1)

Friendship was a legitimate basis for the hiring of new staff and such friendships were, in turn, institutionalized within the broader network of friendships at the Club.

The experience of friendship was an important source and expression of the occupational community at the Jazz Club. It was a means for entering into the world of

the Club and it facilitated the blurring of the boundaries between the worlds of work and non-work, of leisure and play.

### 3. Involvement: Lifestyle, Responsibility and Commitment

The third theme revolves around the staff's high degree of involvement in the Jazz Club. The staff's involvement in or commitment to the Club was expressed in a variety of ways. The three major manifestations of it were: the central role of the Jazz Club in their lifestyle, the intrinsic satisfaction they derived from their work at the Jazz Club, and the sense of responsibility they attached to their work at the Club.

The staff of the Club did not merely integrate the Jazz Club into their lifestyle; they established the Club as a central core of their lifestyle. The Jazz Club as a social setting emerged as a central component of their day to day lifestyle, of their world of non-work, of recreation and leisure, as well as their world of work. "It's definitely a lifestyle for me," reported Candace (42). "It tells me when to go to bed, when to wake up, when I have what meals. Everything". General references like this which attest to the importance of the Club to their lifestyles were common during the staff interviews.

The incorporation of the Club into the staff's lifestyle was revealed in a number of specific ways as well. Most prominently among these was the fact that to an individual the staff spent a great deal of time at the Club during the non-working, "off-hours". Much of their recreational or leisure time was spent at the Club. As the following quotes indicate, it was not only common, but in fact normative that staff members would come to the Club, their place of work, during their off-hours.

Theresa: [Best part of working at the Club] making money as opposed to spending it because I would be there anyway. It was a great opportunity to make bucks and not spend them because I would be there anyway.

(Brenda/Theresa12)

When you walk in there it was like walking into a movie. What happened to me you know, being an alcoholic type, I get myself into something 150%, I dived right into this place and this blues scene, and got involved with the Club, you know, totally, well I got to be real good buddies with everyone there. I just got involved in the whole scene. That was my life, the Club, the people, the drugs, the music and all that.

(Mae8)

We always lived so close to it, first of all. I never lived further than I could walk from the Club. The whole time I lived here, the whole time I was working at the Club, I never lived further than walking distance from it. For a long time, I lived practically above it. And all this was on purpose.

(Clare47)

I mean there were nights in that place, that it seemed like the whole audience consisted of people with some kind of direct personal tie to the Club, they worked there or were connected with folks who worked there. There were nights like that, it seemed. Uh, not normally on weekends. Well, a little on weekends. Yeah. And they came in among other things to drink with the bartender, and party with the people working there. Or, just to be there because it was a better place to go than most bars. And better music. And atmosphere. It made it better for us, that's for sure.

(Greg53)

You know all the other bartenders, different in that people recognize me by then. You know, all the other bartenders, I mean, if employees came in, we were pretty lenient about you know, giving out free beer or whatever or changing them half price or what ever it was. And, you know, it was always a nice feeling, you could go in and have a beer for half price or whatever it was. Or for nothing. You know, depending on who was behind the bar, what the situation was. That was always a nice feeling plus, you know. If there was a good crowd there, it was a good place to go to. I took dates there, pretty often. It was a good place to bring a girl, impress the girl, I mean. You know everyone in the place. It's a nice feeling to be able to do that. Definitely.

(Joe20)

[For a while] I didn't hang out in there, but, I mean, I still went in there almost everyday to see what was going on, but I just didn't hang. Big deal, during this time I was probably hanging in there maybe five times a week instead of seven nights a week, you know what I mean. But except for this time, I was there almost every night.

(Kate56)

We were there, I mean, maybe one day out of, I mean, I don't want to overestimate it, but, maybe one day out of every other week, every two weeks, or, and then, sometimes it would be, you know, once a week that we didn't go in. But I would have to say 95% of the time we were at the Club, I was there.

(Kate20)

I probably came in, stopped by and had a drink, or two, or more. Maybe two or three of the four [nights] I wouldn't work. If there was a band that I really wanted to hear on a night I wasn't working, I would come in and stay for a couple of sets. But otherwise, I would still just stop by and see what was going on, see who was there, and stuff. I think what happened was that this became a kind of an in-place, and it was funny. I felt like I belonged. I felt more of a sense of belonging and a sense of being inside. Like I said, I would be giving up my anonymity, so that was gone but coming in was a lot of fun. I would have a drink, and go downstairs, and see who was working, and just shot the shit for a while. See if there were any drugs and then leave. Or stay.

(Miles29)

It was crazy. The other benefit was coming in on your nights off for free, and not paying the cover. Get in for free and essentially drink for free. It was very convenient for living down the street, actually I missed hearing a lot of jazz in New York because it wasn't the same as going to the club. Plus they would actually want me to pay there, twenty dollars or something and then you would have to leave at the end of a set. So that was great.

(Joe6)

Plus I love to take friends or if I had a date it is like let me take you there it is pretty cool. This is the best place in town and I work here. You know, if nothing better than taking a girl over there on your first date and you walk through the line and get her a nice table and it is great. You make sure you came in and see you and see who was working and the guest policy where you could bring in a couple of guests. It was terrific you know I got my buddies down from Maine, great, listen I will be there-super. It was a great benefit.

(Jimmy51)

Whether alone, with friends, or with a date, members of the Jazz Club occupational community treated the Club as more than a place of work. The boundaries

between settings for work and settings for informal, recreational interaction were irrelevant to the members. It was a standing joke that members of the staff appeared to be almost as likely to be at the Club during their off-hours as they were during their work-hours. Whether working or not, the Club was predictably the first place that anyone would look when trying to find a staff member.

Not only did they come to the club during their off-hours, but, to some degree, their behavior while there but not at work would often times resemble their behavior while there at work. In other words, they would frequently engage in “work-like” behavior during their non-work time.

Sure, when I came in on my off hours I would work. I can remember times, when you would. You said, can you go down and get a case of St. Pauli Girl or something. You know, like a Sunday, when it was really busy or something. And there was someone at the door and someone serving food but no one else was around. And I was just listening the music, drinking and talking. That happened. A lot. I had no problem with it, nor did anyone else that I know of. Its kind of a thing, where you change the atmosphere that way. A lot of employees came in on their off hours. I don't know who didn't really. And we would all pitch in and do what was needed, try to help out.

(Joe22)

Theresa: During work I mean the music is playing and you are sort of dancing to your tables, you know that kind of thing and the conversations of chatting and laughing and having a good time. On non-working nights, I can remember going in and dancing with Candice when she was working or something like that when I would visit. Also I would help clear tables and pick up bottles and stuff.

Brenda: It wasn't really like work even though you would help the person out.

Theresa: It wasn't work. It was playing.

Brenda: It's just you know my friend is working and I am going to give her a little hand.

Theresa: Or watch the door while you have to run out and go someplace else. I'm sitting here anyway. More of that family kind of thing.

(Brenda/Theresa14)

No [no difference between my time at the club working or not working]. None at all. Other than just the, sort of coincidental responsibilities that came with working. I showed up there on a night I wasn't supposed to be there I wouldn't necessarily count the change, though I would help if you wanted. Less I think, we were casual and that worked there. If a bartender or a waitress was there, I guess maybe they thought they were supposed to work, or they just wanted to.

(Bill86)

Not odd [that I would "work" during my non-working time], it didn't even dawn on me to question it, you know, it was where I hung out. And I didn't find it, I didn't, it didn't come into my mind at all as something I ought to do for a place that I hung out at, in, or something that I was giving too much, it didn't even cross my mind to even question it.

(Kate54)

During their non-working time, staff members would come to the club for purposes of recreation and socializing, for all the reasons anyone goes to anyplace recreationally. But this was their workplace, as well. And not only did they come to their workplace in the pursuit of recreational and fun, but while there they, more often than not, performed the types of behaviors that they did while working. They would jump in and help behind the bar, clear tables, seat new arrivals, serve drinks during a rush, and so on. Thus were the boundaries between work and non-work transcended and made irrelevant for these members of the occupational community.

The second manifestation of their high level of involvement in the Jazz Club was reflected in the intrinsic, non-material satisfactions or rewards that they derived from their work at the Club. The Jazz Club staff most certainly expected to be paid for their work. The owners expected to draw a living from the cash generated and the non-owning staff expected a small salary from the owners and expected to earn a significantly larger sum from tips gather from customers. However, as the quotes below indicate, rewards beyond financial remuneration motivated both the owners and the non-owning staff.

[Buying the Club] was definitely not a business investment in the sense of having some idea of, we didn't have an idea of a rate of return on invested capital, or, we didn't, we were not concerned with budgeting ourselves with, you know, annual figures of some kind. We just worked hard, you know, an investment of spirit and commitment. . . This has much to do with my wanting to sort of legitimize the network of friendships that I had with musicians. I like the idea of representing them as a matter, as a way of sort of representing myself and my commitment to the sort of aesthetic that I liked.

(Bill6)

It's like a good feeling to come in here, clean the place up, make it look good. Uh, of course so what if in eight hours it is trashed again. I mean, who cares. No, but it's like do that, get the liquor room in order, you know, throw the trash out. You know, do things like that that make the place, and pay the bills, and get them in some sort of order so that you know what's happening financially and where your obligations are. That's a damn good feeling to have that together you know.

(Jake31)

Ahm, I did [like walking around the club], but generally not when anybody was there. I liked the idea that in the morning I would go there and I knew so much about the place physically, knew every corner, every tile. I liked the idea of ah, just having some kind of organic connection at that level. It didn't bother me to clean out toilets that was part of it, as I think, taking care of things in that respect, and it wasn't embarrassing or humiliating, that was.... I liked just being able to sit there in the morning with the chairs all at the table, pull up a barstool have a cup of coffee and read the paper before I started cleaning the place up, that I liked, the sun would just be coming up, that was nice. As far as strutting among the patrons and employees, if you came across that way, I didn't enjoy it that way. I felt in fact a little bit embarrassed about that, in fact try to down play it as much as I could. At least I didn't think that was the reason we were after, I wasn't after so.... But I enjoyed it even though I didn't like it.

(Bill7)

[How I felt about the] place itself now is a, I think maybe, in a different sense than I first mentioned it as a romance, it was also sort of the love one would have for like a handicapped child. It was a special situation. And, in fact the club was, was constantly in disrepair. When we purchased it, it seemed to be a longshot from the very beginning. And we were longshots from the very beginning and it was that natural affinity. Ahm, the fact that the conditions, the fact that well, that we were not able to negotiate a lease, that we didn't have a lot of money to put into it and therefore, ahm, we sort of viewed ourselves as having to do everything by hand, we were gonna

make it ahm, in the sense that I think that ahm, it was a bootstrap operation ahm, linked to it a certain romance that we, as much as anybody appreciated. Then it was all, we were always under the gun. You know, there was the desperation of having to make a rent payment or a liquor payment ahm, that was there every month, ahm, or every week in some cases. There was, you know, just the romance of what . . . And ah, see the joy of what was going to happen next, and we had every reason to feel that way because it was nothing at that moment that really contradicted the fact that it was gonna get better. It was so bad (Laughter) that it had to get better.

(Bill131)

I just, it reflected I think probably me. It reflected my personality at that time, it was like a good friend. It accommodated me when I was ill, and it comforted me when I was very bad. I fell in love in some sense with the machine, the machine was the business, the machine was the physical plant, the machine was the music, it was very bad. I uh.

(Bill70)

I loved [waiting tables at the Club]. I heard people that would come in there and saw me doing secretarial work during the daytime, and they said you don't look like the same person. You get to play dress up, you get to have lots of very kind of superficial interactions with people, and the funny thing is the look up to you because your working, and you get to talk to musicians, and your sort of . . . You know, but it is fun while your doing it, its fun playing that shit for awhile. I was just moving around, physical work, and music, you know you don't get to music like that, it makes it like not work.

(Mae17)

I think what I liked most about it was, I really liked being involved with people and a lot of times when I was working at the club I was sometimes overwhelmed be the situation and I didn't necessarily, I don't know if I handled my relationships with people as well as I could have. I don't know if I was as cool as I could have been at certain moments because at the heat of the moment you are reacting and I don't know. Some of the best things were just meeting all the musicians and being involved with this live music that was happening and no matter how intense it was or how hard I had to work at it. When that thing finally came off and the guy was up on the stage and this , I mean a lot of times it was really great music. There is no denying it I mean sometimes you just sat back and you thought, wow!

(Fredb6)

So the act of actually putting it all together, running all over town trying to promote it, calling all the people on the radio stations telling them that this

is happening to hopefully fill your room so you can pay this guy and you don't lose your money this week versus sitting there counting your money at the door that you are going to like at least break even. Providing all that and then sitting there and watching all the people sitting there really enjoying themselves and really feel good about what they just witnessed and the fact that special music actually did happen on the stage. You could have taped it and that would have been a rare performance for somebody because of the rapport with the audience and the feel of the club and the way they were handled step by step from the time we picked them up at the airport until the time we went to the hotel picked them up and got them to the gig. It was just like if you handled it the right way they really appreciated it and it really did come out in their music. It is like a real priority for me.

(Fredb8)

[What I liked most was the] contact with the people. We'd just socialize with the people coming in. It didn't seem like it was work. It seemed like. uh. I like contact with people. Just being able to talk with them, to socialize. It didn't seem like I was just kind of. Didn't seem like work. I was listening to music, collecting money, and helping people out, showing people where to sit and talking to people. It certainly wasn't a hard job. I enjoyed it. Um.. I preferred bartending. Because the time would go by a lot faster. Especially if it was busy, it would seem like five hours or six hours would take like two hours because you were just working your ass off. At the door, sometimes you got asked by a lot of people who wanted to get in when it was full, people who wanted to get in when it was closed. A lot of them, you know were people who had had too much to drink.

(Joe4)

Yes, the social life here made it more pleasurable. I mean I had feelings for that place that I never had in any other bar. I cared about the place because I cared about the people and the bar., Fred and Jake, and what that place meant to music. And for all these people, I have no idea what happened to these people. You probably do because you have been talking to them. I feel a sense of loss whether I would still be working there or not I am sad the place is gone because I really think like in a year or so before it closed it was really becoming an incredible place.

(Miles31)

Yeah, it became, like, more than a just a job because it wasn't like something I'd just punched my time into -- you know it was like something I really wanted to do.

(Jimmy9)

Members of the Jazz Club occupational community sought and found more than a source of income at the Club. From the owners on down throughout the staff, the intrinsic, non-material satisfactions and rewards were what motivated them to buy the Club, take employment at the Club, and remain at the Club.

The third dimension of the staff's high level of involvement in their work and workplace is illustrated by the responsibility that they took within the Club. Virtually everyone approached the Club with a sense of propriety – they acted like “owners”.

In addition, they approached their work with a sense of responsibility that they themselves identified as unusual. Such sentiments were expressed by nearly all members of the club, albeit in slightly different fashions.

You know, it's funny because I think a lot of the people who worked there um, did not have a lot of experience in general, in other establishments, and what was new for them was first of all, working in that type of place and so the responsibility that they had, felt encumbered on them, were in some cases different though that they felt much in the way of a supporting structure. So that, I saw bartenders and waitresses often take responsibility for the way the bar would be run while they were there on their shift. They would answer people's questions as though they were the final authority on it. Questions on pricing and questions on service and questions of cutting somebody off. And we wanted them to have that, we would rarely if ever, and you know this is true, undercut them if there was ever a question. And that was quite intentional. We wanted, we thought they had to have that responsibility but because things were very chaotic and we often had to sort of extemporize there was also a lot of pressure and it may have been that they felt sort of like the front line, and in that case they were not being supported.

(Bill90)

Here it's like you pull you own weight because you there's not very many of us and we gotta keep the boat afloat. And so if you screw up, or if you take from them, not only is it like violating a relationship, you know, of guy, girl, or whatever. If you say "I'm going to do this, they won't find out", well, it's a small town, so to speak, and maybe they will find out. It is a small club, they're gonna find out. You pull it [your weight] because it would be stupid to do anything that would be detrimental because not only

is somebody gonna find out about it, but, even more importantly, we're a small group and you have to keep the vibes right. After all, you know, it's small club and we work together all the time.

(Candace52)

### 5. Self-Image: Type of Person and Personal Characteristics

The fourth theme concerns issues related to the type of person drawn to, accepted by and successful at the Jazz Club. While there is significant overlap between this theme and "Membership" above, the discussion here will place greater emphasis on the personal characteristics of the members, rather than their sense of shared identity. The focus here on the type of person one was or their personal characteristics began with the hiring process. There was a great deal of seriousness behind one owner's joking comments about the hiring process.

JB. (laughter), okay, besides availability, what sort of things did you look for when you went to hire someone.

Bill. Well, actually, availability was one of the first criteria for eliminating some people. It was always my contention that anybody who wanted the job probably wasn't suitable (laughter). Ah, and it was my contention that anybody, any ad you place in the paper somebody responded to that was a means of eliminating them as well.

(Bill73)

Personal characteristics rather than technical skills or professional experience were explicitly emphasized in the hiring process.

JB. I noticed that when you talked about the qualities that you would want an employee to have, you didn't mention experience or professional skills. You didn't talk about . . .

Bill. No, I was looking for the opposite. I think anybody who had that kind of experience could be counted on to have problems here and we would have problems with them.

JB. Why?

Bill. Because it was such an unprofessional environment in a lot of ways. Which isn't to say that people didn't ultimately become very professional in some sense. I think the people who worked with, worked at the club really learned how to cater to people individually as, as patrons. But I

think that there are a lot of other establishments that require of an employee, ahm, certain kinds of behavior that we didn't necessarily, ahm, support.

JB. Such as?

Bill. Oh, fastidiousness. There were certain bartenders who for example would wear their shirt out. Personal attire if it wasn't offensive was perfectly acceptable. Any, anything generally, we were not there to, we didn't require any kind of uniformity at all. Ahm, I don't think we required what would be considered a professional manner, ahm, we didn't expect people to be robots and to address every customer the same way. Some people were scum-bags and should be treated as scum-bags, as a way of discouraging them, and we allowed that, the employee to decide for themselves how best way to deal with them in general. Ahm, I don't think we necessarily employed rules that required a sort of blind obedience as much as a kind of reasoned understanding.

(Bill86)

JB: Did you purposely hire people that did not have that much bar experience?

Bill: Yes. [Because that way] they could accept the bar like it is because they had nothing to compare it to. That's really the truth. The people I hired were people who I knew, like you, didn't have any experience, didn't know drinks, you had your taste, but you didn't have any professional experience as far as I knew and I was looking for people who had walked off the street who had a good personality who I liked right away- "you wanna work here?" I knew Chip who worked there after you, I went, he was working as a bartender at Chi-Chi's, but he didn't have a lot of experience. He was unhappy in his role working at Chi-Chi's but he was first a customer at Springfield's. I worked there as a bartender and I knew him. And I pursued him. And I liked that, I liked to be able to pick the people I wanted and I liked to pick them in that way. They had no idea I was going to ask them to work in my place. They weren't planning it, they would have fallen in my program and not the other way around.

(Bill91)

The staff not only identified themselves in terms of their work, but also saw their work and work roles as typifying certain characteristics of the self that they found admirable and desirable.

In the words of a longtime Jazz Club bartender,

It takes a certain type to work a bar, I mean really work it. And this is especially true for this jazz club. You know, you gotta be looser, not so

stiff. Also, you have to, hopefully, be into the music and, definitely, into bars. You just can't survive working here if you don't like the scene. It's in your language, the way you move, and how you feel. It like shows. There are some who are bar people, and some who just aren't. And they won't make it for long.

(Greg33)

The ability of a person to integrate him/herself into the Jazz Club community, it was agreed, depended on that person's possession of a compatible set of characteristics, values and attitudes.

JB: What sort of things do you think are necessary to be a part of the Jazz Club?

Theresa: Insanity. Or at least lack of sanity. Especially at this place as opposed to somewhere else.

Brenda: Life on the edge.

JB: If you had to do the hiring of waitresses or bartenders for the Club what sort of characteristics would you look for? To be successful, to fit in?

Brenda: A little bit of craziness. You better like music, and you better not get crazed by the loud music or you have good earplugs that you could work with.

Theresa: You need to have a strength too, an independent strength. And strength to assert yourself with the bartender as well as the patrons.

Brenda: I think you need to like people. To be a waitress anywhere you have to a bit of an actress and a quick study just because you have to play so many different roles with different customers, with different bartenders. You have to be able to adapt quickly to the situation. I think especially in a bar with people drinking they can go a little crazy and you have to maintain and keep your cool. You can't be a hot head. Sometimes you have to be able to defuse a potentially hot situation and you have to do it without offending people. And even more so here.

Theresa: I think as far as other places I have worked at, you had to be more of your own person. You don't have to be a clone, a corporate clone or a certain way, you just have to be a person in your way. People will appreciate you and talk to you they will pick up that instead of, "Hi, what can I get you?"

JB: Do you think that was encouraged by the owners, by the place?

Theresa: I don't know if it was encouraged, but it certainly wasn't discouraged. Just look at the people they hired. They didn't hire the classic waitron, the fact that you were the waitress -- most of the restaurants and bars in Harvard Square here and there is like a type. They are all 22, petite and a certain formula and I think instead it was an extremely varied group. Age wise it was like to be 35 or 40 years old and get a job in a popular bar

is not usual, you know. To be full figured it is not the norm. There is no reason why it shouldn't be, but it is not. At the Jazz Club it didn't seem to be a consideration, if you were tall or short or thin or fat or whatever.  
(Brenda/Theresa29)

The point of view of these two waitresses was typical of the staff as a whole. What was important was the type of person you were. Descriptors such as spontaneous, self-directed, in charge, friendly, out-going, social, willing to do and share drugs, bar-type, crazy, on the edge, different, and so on were consistently mentioned by the staff.

Well, first and foremost spontaneity. Ahm, spontaneity, and underlying that would be a real, a genuine affection for people. You had to be able to respond to people uniquely. That meant that the employee generally had to be fairly sharp, and they had to have a sense that in approaching other people, what they did not understand about somebody did not necessarily convey a kind of hostility to that person. But it was somebody who generally , and really, enjoyed people enjoyed them from the first contact through, enjoyed, enjoyed having them at the bar as though they were entertaining them as company at their home. That every employee had a sense of ownership to the extent that they thought of themselves as hosting these people. The spontaneity I guess is just in recognizing that you didn't necessarily invite them (chuckle) but that you kind of adapt yourself in the fact that they are there (laughter). A genuine affection for people in general, and a toleration, a tolerance for a sort of spectrum of personalities like we often find in a bar like this. Honesty is as important. . . We counted on that honesty as being integral of the other components, the spontaneity and the warmth.  
(Bill14)

I think the thing about being able to work without having to be told what to do, I mean, if you had someone in there who didn't know, who had to sit there and wait to be told what to do. Anybody who had any personal style.  
(Mae25)

You got to like being a host. You have to have a certain amount of self assurance, esteem. You are basically buck naked in front of the people. You have to like people pretty much. You have to know what their needs are and what their wants are. You have to be patient. Patience is very important. You have to be watchful. You have to know what is going on all the time. Anytime I was training a new bartender I would say the most important thing to do is watch the door and watch the room. Know what

is going on. You got your eyes open, you got your ears open, know what is going on. Be alert. . . You are the captain of the ship and you have to keep everything moving and keep everybody happy and avoid trouble.  
(Ed17)

I think I'm a pretty social character. I'm honest and efficient. I think I could do the job fast. People aren't going to be waiting on me. . . I am also an educated bartender. Someone who is, you know, has a mind of his own. I think any educated person who comes into the bar is going to be able to relate better to that person rather than Joe Sloggo that comes off the street. It may be prejudiced to say that he's not as educated and maybe not as honest. He may be but, he may not be able to related to other educated people who come into the bar. I think that type of atmosphere is a lot of the people who come to hear the jazz are educated.  
(Joe10)

Another component of the staff's self image was centered on their non-conformity to, if not outright rejection of, a "9-5" work routine

JB: Did you want to get away from a nine to five...

Bill: Oh very definitely, very definitely. I had ah, this was so I had so much rejection of that lifestyle for me or, not so much of a rejection of it but a statement of my inability to sort of coordinate it with my, my interest at that time.

JB: What appealed to you about working the, the bar hours, which could be very long, because you had night time hours?

Bill: It could be very long and it was just, again an expression of freedom, and expression, against setting, setting is a backdrop to, backdrop of majority, or, is a very exotic lifestyle, and I liked it, I liked to think of it in that way as well.

JB: What aspects were exotic?

Bill: The people that we worked with. The way in which we constructed our schedules, and we didn't construct our schedules. The nature of the business itself. The type of people that we catered to, ahm. (Chuckle) For me it, it was really was much more of a work of art, and a random work of art in some cases. But there is some design to it, that it was ahm, if we were painting it, it would sort of sweat in spirit, you know, and that was, that was always nice about it. I, I always had that in mind, and for that reason it was very difficult to keep track of schedules. I knew that in the larger sense it was important and I knew to exercise that, as part of the freedom, as part of the appeal, and I never found that in another job, another 9-5 job. I don't think I was ever acknowledged in a nine to five job, in part because I gave up on, I was very impatient waiting for people to sort of cooperate, give me some thing that would allow me to feed on.

So I mean I created something for myself to satisfy me that way, and this was it.  
(Bill9)

. The world was, in some ways, divided between those who worked a “straight job” and those, like themselves, who did not. Any similarity with the social backgrounds and characteristics of the customers was largely ignored in order to facilitate their perception as a single body with whom “we” share nothing

On some nights I will look around at the crowd and ask who are these people? Where on earth did they come from? I don't know, I'll look at the whole place and not know a soul (other than staff and a few regulars). They are strange customers to me – and not just because I don't know them. They're just strange. They're like, you know, nice couples. All these couples, nice, well-bred customers who sit there and drink Perrier and whisper in each other's ear. Now, I have nothing to say with them. I have nothing in common with them. And I sure don't want to either. Period!  
(Clare39)

These sentiments were sufficiently strong that after this waitress obtained a full time position in her chosen field of social service, she remained not merely a frequent visit to the Club, but an employee as well. The primary motivation for staying was not but extra money, but rather the continuing hold and appeal of facets of this world of work's qualities, values and lifestyle to her self-image.

I keep two or three shifts. And I know I will always keep two or three shifts. I also have this, you know, fear of the 9 to 5. You know, coming home, watching TV then going to sleep. I can't go head first into that way. I gotta keep hold of something of myself.  
(Clare41; emphasis added)

Sentiments such as these were commonly expressed by a number of the staff.

Additionally, the Jazz Club represented what the staff thought to be an important part of their self-image. They, on the one hand, considered their membership at the Club

to be an important part who they considered themselves to be. On the other hand, they saw the Club as provided a setting for the expression of valued parts of themselves which were not as easily articulated elsewhere.

I think first and foremost it is a part of my identity. It is something I really feel that I accomplished a lot at and I feel good about what I accomplished there. Not necessarily what I accomplished but what we accomplished. What we set out to do at the club and what we actually did. When I think back about that and I make a reference to people I am sort of identifying myself to them and letting them know that this is what I am as a person. This is part of what I have done already and I am still really a part of it. If you are sort of meeting me for the first time and if we are crossing information with each other about who we are and what our interests are, then the Club and my time and work there will definitely come up. The Jazz Club was like an artistic outlet for me in a way that I necessarily wasn't a musician or performer, but I loved the art and being a part of it. So, any way that I was doing something that was involved in it was a priority for me and I felt that presenting the music on that level was a priority. If nobody presented it, then these guys that were playing would never be heard. Everybody has their role including the musician and the musician is no more important than the listener. So, if you don't have anyone listening to your music, then it's like nobody hears the sound. You know, the tree falling right? If it falls and nobody hears it, did it really fall? And I helped get the music heard.

(Fredb4)

The fun part for me was I would leave a horrible secretarial job I had and I would run home and get dressed in my nice clothes. I was no longer a secretary, it was like a personality – I could be me again. I would put on my red lace dress, or something, put on make-up and hair, and heels and trot on down.

(Mae19)

I think about Sundays, which is what I loved most about the place. Because, I felt that I had as much standing as far as, importance, in what I did on Sundays as, even more than the bartender. Really not a much as the band or, or whatever, but I felt important on Sundays. I felt very important on Sundays. And again during that time, I was, I don't know why, I was craving attention. I'm not quite sure why, but I sure got it there, definitely. Definitely, really.

(Kate76)

I got paid six dollars an hour to hear the blues, drink as much as I wanted – Bill said technically it was one beer per set, but just don't get drunk – and say Hi and talk to people, including the good looking women. I have yet to see a job like that in the Want Ads section of the paper.  
(Jimmy6)

The owners as well as the non-owning staff shared the belief that the Club was an appropriate location for the expression of the self.

But it is a play area. You can't really regulate people's behavior and character in a place like this too much because they have, they sort of become like these robots. And we don't want to regulate their behavior. And everybody here has their own personality, which was one of the reasons we hired them in the first place. And I, I feel that they should be able to let that kind of come out, whatever creativity they have come out, you know.  
(Jake14)

### **C. Summary**

“Issues of Identity” constitute the first set of defining characteristics of an occupational community. As delineated in the literature review discussed above and in the previous chapter, this has been operationalized in terms of Self-Image, Reference, Involvement and Friendship. These components of “Issues of Identity” were experienced and articulated by members of the workplace/occupational community at the Jazz Club in terms of Membership, Friendship, Involvement and Self-Image.

- They felt that they shared an membership from which non-staff members were largely excluded.
- They drew their networks of friendship from the Jazz Club and, to some extent, integrate their existing, external friendship networks into the Jazz Club community.
- They experienced an involvement in the Jazz Club such that it served as a central component of their overall lifestyle, they assumed a self-described unusually high level of responsibility within the Club, and they drew significant intrinsic satisfactions from their work and commitment to the Club.

- They drew important aspects of their self-images from their involvement in the Jazz Club.

## Chapter 5. Issues of Social Organization of the Workplace and the Work

### A. Introduction

The second set of defining characteristics of an occupational community involves issues related to the social organization of the workplace and the social organization of the work. In the literature, this has been articulated largely in terms the following components: the lack of social differentiation within the workplace, the marginal status of the occupational role and the degree of work or workplace inclusiveness. In this chapter I will first explore the role of social differentiation within the workplace in the formation and maintenance of an occupational community and discuss the structure and experience of it within the Jazz Club, and then do the same for the remaining two components.

### B. Social Differentiation

In their examination of the occupational community of printers, Lipset et. al. (1956: 142-3; emphasis original) commented on the nature of the division of labor within this occupation.

The politically most important aspect of the division of labor among printers is that all of the members of the ITU share a roughly common income and status. . . [The skill differences which do exist] do not make for sharp cleavages among printers because all printers are nominally able to do any kind of composing-room work and most printers have had some experience with different kinds of jobs. Most important, these different subskills do not command any appreciable difference in pay or in status. By and large, all the members of a given local receive the same pay. The ITU is thus, insofar as this is possible, a community of equals, there is consequently no “underprivileged group” in the status.

They hypothesized that this lack of differentiation with regard to the division of labor had important implications for the establishment and maintenance of their occupational community. More specifically, they (Lipset et. al.: 140) hypothesized that the lack of

status differentiation among the printers would increase informal socialization and friendship between them both in and out of the workplace.

Status differentiation within a union should operate to reduce the amount of free interaction among all members of the union. Thus we would guess that pressmen's assistants, who comprise a large majority of the membership of that union, do not mingle much socially with pressman. In the ITU, on the other hand, almost all members are of about equal status, skill and salary, thus permitting the choice of friends among the entire membership.

This pattern of workplace-based socialization and friendship was, they had previously argued, an essential determinant of occupational communities.<sup>1</sup> Gray (1988: 92-93) discussed a similar lack of differentiation in his study of a small independent record company that exhibited many of the features of an occupational community. "Although I have described these activities according to a clear division of labor, in the day-to-day life of the company, the activities were shared by everyone as need and their availability permitted." This describes the social organization of the Jazz Club as well.

Comments like "It was not a very structured place, as you remember" (Linda09) and "It was loose, man, a really loose structure" (Candice12) were regularly heard throughout my interviews. But, while commonly expressed, they are somewhat misleading as a picture of the social structure of the Jazz Club. For underlying what appeared to be a "looseness" or absence of structure was really an alternative organization of the workplace which promoted a sense of belonging, of a stake or membership in the community.

The Jazz Club as a workplace was clearly characterized by a lack of a formal, rigid division of labor, authority and status – clearly indicative of a lack of social

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<sup>1</sup> See my discussion of "Friendship" in Chapter 4.

differentiation. And while there were, indeed, particular titles such as owner, bartender, waitress, and doorman, the work that was actually performed by those occupying these titles overlapped significantly. The work that was actually performed, the skills that were actually possessed and the individual incomes that were actually generated did not vary significantly. Boundaries of authority and status were similarly flexible and diffuse. The lack of social differentiation in the workplace was clearly understood and experienced by the staff as contributing – in my words, not theirs – to the formation and maintenance of this workplace occupational community. It was most overtly expressed with regard to the role of the owners and the absence of a hierarchical structure of authority vis a vis rules of conduct.

The entire staff of the Jazz Club, both owners and employees, sought to make irrelevant the traditional boundary markers and power differentials of “owners” and “employees”. “I think that a sense of shared plight”, observed one of the owners (Bill88), “it had a lot to do with the fact that there weren’t the kind of rigid distinctions between employer and employee and there was a sense of shared ownership. And this is what we, what everyone, wanted.” There was a conscious intent on the part of all parties to make this workplace, as much as possible, a community of equals.

[I thought] of it as a joint effort, you know, whether it is a number, a bunch people, is the way I was running that place. Because I had friends working the bar, friends working the door, we were all in it together. We certainly weren’t making, in most cases were making less money than people who were working for us, so it was easy to kind of feel in a, a sort of equivalent level.

(Bill37)

I think, it somehow, knowingly Bill and Jake developed this attitude that -- We were more or less trustees of this, this beneficial trust that existed for

the benefit of all of us. I don't think it was really seen as like, owning a place and being bosses.

(Grega16)

Bill and Jake weren't really owners, so much as they were sort of the overseers. But, that's pretty much all, they were the overseers. Caused they trusted everybody to do their job, and everybody did their part, did what was needed, you know.

(Kate51)

That was one of the keys that I think. You had a camaraderie with each other, and everybody felt, you know, they were, involved and everybody was so, uh, nobody knew exactly who was in charge at certain points. Any, they, ah, everybody thought that they had a right to be a certain thing. So what happened was that you have like five or six different philosophies going at one time. And it created for a lot of chaos but in the long run it, you needed to have that sort of atmosphere with, where the employees were not, and couldn't be treated like just employees.

(Freda5)

The "we are in it together" atmosphere of the Club extend to control over the work process as well. There was a near total absence of the formal imposition of work procedures or regulations. For instance, while the owners were the only ones in a position to hire the staff, the work schedule itself was fundamentally developed and revised in an ongoing fashion by the staff themselves. No one formally notified the owners regarding missing a shift, the staff just more or less worked it out themselves: Greg would show up for Miles, Kate and Joe, Linda for Candace. This extended to the manner by which the staffs' work was conducted, the content of the work, as well. "Well, things are dealt with a lot more casually. Yeah, I mean people," said an owner (Jake48) "had defined tasks to do, which, uh, but I forget what they were. Look, basically as long as they, when I go behind the bar or walk around the floor and people are served and the place looks clean, I consider that the things are done. Everyone knows what to do." The staff was free to individually and/or collectively establish their own ways of carrying out their work roles,

their own ways of defining and performing their service roles. The staff agreed that the order was established and the work defined from within and not from above.

Oh yeah, I could do it [my work] anyway I wanted. Definitely could wait anyway I wanted to. You know, when I didn't like using a tray for instance. I like carrying glasses in my hand and don't like using a tray. . . And I have worked in other places where you cant use your hands, you must use a tray, no matter if it is one item or many items.  
(Kate28)

At the Club they were pretty lax compared to a lot of other places where you have like everything measured out. You know, how much alcohol is put into every drink. At the club, I thought you had a lot of leeway behind the bar. You could serve whatever type of drink you wanted. You could, you know, hand out a few freebies here and there or something. It gave me a good repertoire with everybody who came in with the patrons who were at the bar.  
(Ed15)

I was exhilarated, the inmates running the institution, the asylum. That didn't necessarily confer anymore wisdom, but it, ah, it was a real sense of liberation of having a kind of freedom of choice.  
(Bill3)

[Compared to other bars, it was different] in every way possible, every way imaginable. First of all there was no managerial duress to have to deal with. Basically that bar just operated on I think the principles of improvisation in terms of jazz. That is how I saw it. It was one of the only places where the management was appeared to be more irresponsible than any employee that worked there. If it weren't for the bartenders and waitresses they ran that end of it. I remember having to chase Jake down or Bill down for beer and say, listen, we need beer. They were just as likely to say sell them something else. Sell them soda water. Well, we are out of cranberry juice, sell them orange.  
(Milesa9)

A hard fast rule? Not in the [Jazz Club] I think the place was definitely an air about policing yourself and no one looking over your shoulder.  
(Jimmy14)

All of this was, moreover, very much by design, although at times some of the staff attributed it to oversight. One owner, rather ironically given my citing of Lipset et al. above, defined his role with reference to the printing trade:

No it's more like I had more of a sense that the club works analogous to a printing press; that my standing at either end of the printing press was fine, just watching it's operation. But my having to hand crank it, even though it was operating itself was unnecessary; it could only fowl up the eventual product of the operation. So my being upstairs monitoring what almost sort of like a field observer could only bias the results and it was best that I wasn't.

(Bill79)

The overt intent of the owners and the staff they brought in with them at the beginning was to create this type of working environment. The "we are in it together" atmosphere was there from the beginning.

But uh, um, looking over, when I think about it now; it would have been very hard in that place to have been highly structured and be successful. Because the place didn't really lend itself to that any sort of expression of order would have been undercut by the circumstances of the club's existence which was no lease, the place was in complete dis-repair. We couldn't put any money into it 'cause we had no guarantees that money would have been well spent. So what are you going to do? You're going to pretend that everything is so well organized? Or would you say to yourself, well, this is the concession we'll make, I mean this is the one thing we can do is to have this thing highly organized. What is that communicating to somebody? Um, I don't know. It was really something of the gut feel I had about the place, that's how I operated. And that's not good business necessarily. There's a lot of people who will tell you, there were a lot of places we could have improved as far as; but overall I think that was the approach I wanted to take. And there were other options, I just couldn't motivate myself to do anything different than what I did.

(Bill60)

You know, ahm, operating the computer was the same way. I had worked for a couple of years in the, computer program as an analyst, and I had a mental block about doing it anymore, and even though we had a computer, we had spent money to buy the computer, it might have been useful if we had done something with it. I was about as unmotivated as I could be in doing it, in fact it was beyond being unmotivated, it, just ahm, I don't

know, I couldn't get myself to do it, cause we had, I was capable of doing it, I just. It was always as though it contradicted my impulses about the place, not only it would have imposed a discipline on me that I didn't really want to have. It's something about that, that attitude, you know, having written a program that would be responsible for making more work more efficient would have endorsed the notion that we needed to be more efficient, that we needed to take more responsibility, both of which we were loathe to do. It would also, I think, have imposed some sort of order on some things that I didn't want to impose an order on, I wanted to much more spontaneous, much more intuitive. As things got accomplished, and they did over time eventually get accomplished, we did organize our inventory, we did organize our accounting, we did organize the way in which we scheduled people. Ahm, I was less and less happy with the results, not because they were unprofitable or unsuccessful, but because they were fixed. Because we became fixed in sort of integral setting or, in any case that's what we decided.  
(Bill36)

There was, at one point, an attempt to codify the Club's policies and procedures, its work rules and processes. The two owners and one bartender together produced an 18 page pamphlet entitled "Policies of the \_\_\_\_ Jazz Club". This document formally outlined job descriptions and responsibilities, dress code, policies concerning on- and off-the job behavior and procedures for serving customers. This document, however, was either fundamentally irrelevant or entirely unknown to virtually the entire staff.

JB: Where the rules and regulations for working about the same as at the other bars?

Brenda: There were rules?

JB: Didn't you see the rule book? That 18 page ...

Brenda: No! No one ever showed it to me. Gosh, it was, you sit down and your employed. It was like here, you know the prices, okay, don't stand on the table. I don't know understood the rules, you know, having never seen this phantom rulebook. There was the understanding or unspoken rule that you weren't supposed to drink during your shift. And there was the reality in both places, that you did! Um, not to excess. Um, we don't give things away, that kind of stuff.

Theresa: Some of it was just more commonsense than anything. That is what I like about it. They treated people like people and you have certain expectations, the same as you would have with someone off the street. Lets say you get really pissed off I would go to a place well that is not the way the rules are. yeah but there really easy to do. I mean why can't you do that. And so that's what I really liked about it.

(Brenda/Theresa7)

Miles: There were no rules that I can recall beyond, well, none.

JB: Don't you remember the rule book, the rule of the Club?

Miles: No I didn't see it. Was there a rule book? Did anyone ever look at it? Who had it, Bill? You see, no one ever took the bosses seriously as "bosses". They were just like us, but more so.

JB: Here is a copy.

Miles: Where did you get the rule book? It's a joke. No one ever took any of that shit seriously. I think that there were under-rules. I think the under-rules were not to rip-off the club. To charge people for drinks. I mean we could give away drinks but I do not know. . .

JB: But do you think that added or detracted from the place as a jazz club?

Miles: I think it added, definitely added. This kind of attitude was part of the atmosphere, part of the attraction and made people want to be there, to work there. It was the sense that anything could happen and often did. And it was great.

(Miles10)

Yeah, I remember the rule book. We did it, and then sort of forgot about it. It seemed that everything in there was pretty much being done anyway, and if not, who cared. I mean, everything important was running okay. We wrote the rules because we thought things were chaotic and stuff wasn't getting done right, but things were okay. So, I guess, we sort of forgot about the rule book.

(Jake53)

The staff's recognition, acceptance and, indeed, preference for the lack of social differentiation did not, however, mean that it was not without other, somewhat disruptive consequences. And the staff recognized these as well.

That is what became so hard was because there was a lack of structure in the sense that everybody felt, which is good because you want everybody to feel like they have an input in what is going on here and that their end of it is just as important and it is. At some point there needs to be an overall philosophy that is happening, that somebody has made a judgement so this is the way it is going to be and at some point it just has to happen that way

and it has to be focused in that direction. Sometimes that gets very complicated. There was a lot of in-fighting in a lot of ways including with myself. Sort of reminds me of brothers and sisters. It could be hell sometimes.

(Fredb11)

Theresa: The lack of rules is what I liked, but it sometimes caused problems

(Brenda/Theresa19)

The social organization of the Jazz Club was characterized by a fluid social structure. The staff of the Club perceived themselves to be members of a community of equals where a structure based on formal authority and a rigid division of labor was rejected in favor of one of the staff's own creation. And this, in turn, facilitated the development of and sense of membership in this occupational community.

### **C. Marginality of the Occupational Role**

The investigation of the meaning and impact of the social status of occupations and occupational roles is a core component of the sociology of work.

The concept of marginality has had a long and varied history in sociological theory. Originally marginality was used to describe the position of a man (sic) who, though he (sic) had strong links with two ethnic groups, was not a full member of either, but was on the margin of both. Increasingly, however, the concept has been applied to the field of stratification, and research has been centred on the various sources of marginality and the various types of reactions to it.

(Salaman, 1971a: 62 and 1974: 30)

In the context of this discussion, I am interested in the ways in which the conflicts and marginality embedded in the status of a particular occupation or occupational role impacted on its occupants both individually and as a collective body. My attention is directed towards the link between the experience of status marginality and the emergence and maintenance of an occupational community.

While marginality may not directly result in the development of a work-based self-image, it may, according to Salaman (1971a: 63 and 1974: 32; emphasis original) significantly determine the establishment of occupational group as reference group, as primary source of values, support, and association which, as discussed in the previous chapter, are very directly related to the development of an occupational community.

Similarly, members of marginal occupations regard their occupational colleagues as the only people whose opinions and judgments matter, because only they share their view of the nature of the occupation and the 'real' status-worthiness of its members. Members of a marginal occupation share a value system which includes a definition of the importance of the job and the sort of people who do it. This is one of the features of marginal occupations, it is not a consequence of their marginality.

I am interested in examining the manner by which the status and role conflicts involved in work and occupational roles of the Jazz Club staff contributed to the formation and maintenance of a sense of membership in the Jazz Club occupational community. An understanding of the concept of "Service" is central to this discussion. I will, therefore, direct my attention toward the nature of service work, in general, and the experience of service work at the Club, in particular.

At the most basic level, the staff of the Jazz Club was involved in the delivery of a service. They were engaged in service work.

Service work has been growing at an unprecedented rate since the mid-1970s. Ninety five percent of the 25 million new jobs created in the United States between 1969 and 1984 were in the service sector. Many of these were in the area of providing some direct personal service to customers – preparing and serving drinks on planes and in bars, dispensing hamburgers, selling shoes or houses or hardware, and cleaning homes. Customers is the word that defines this type of work and separates it from other social relationships organized around the provision of a service. For example, medical personnel and lawyers provide service, but to "clients" rather than "customers". Educators do not have customers, nor do librarians. More than semantics, tradition and customary usages are at

work here, as is evident from the tenacity with which members of these occupations hold to this distinction. Customer involves an expectation of being served and the right to control and direct the relationship. It has a different manifestations in different work situations, but it is this common theme which links the work of most salespersons, personal-service workers (barbers and beauticians), domestics (maids and servants), and some protective workers (police).

(Rothman, 1987: 162-183; emphasis original)

Work in a nightclub does not involve and can not be measured in terms of some concrete, tangible product alone. It, rather, consists of the more amorphous notion of service. What Mars and Nicod (1984: 28; emphasis original) found to be the case for hotels in England is equally applicable for the bar world, in general, and the Jazz Club, in particular.

We are therefore discussing an industry which includes widely differing organisations serving very diverse markets. We have chose to treat hotels as a single industry with different sectors having different problems, because variations between hotels are less obvious than the characteristics they hold in common: Whatever else a hotel and especially its restaurant aims to do, it must always provide Service.

Different meanings attach to the term "service"; we are not simply referring to the serving of food. Service involves the need to supply customer satisfaction in a variety of ways, not all of which are explicit or easy to define: often service is judged in the most intangible aspects of customer satisfaction, especially in highly prestigious hotels and restaurants. A satisfactory definition must be relevant to the whole industry, and refer to the total actions and physical features, beyond a bare minimum. Thus, "service" as we use it, refers to an action or material thing that is more than one might normally expect. In a transport café, it can mean no more than passing the sauce bottle with a smile. In the Savory, it might mean making prodigious efforts to supply a rare delicacy or indulging a customer's preference or foible.

This, in turn, has a significant impact on the very nature, social organization and experience of the work itself. The character of service work is such that there is a tremendous likelihood for the generation of a variety of status and role conflicts. And many of these conflicts, in turn, facilitate the development and maintenance of a sense of

identity with and membership in an occupational community. These characteristics of service work include: (1) service work as “emotional labor” and (2) issues related to the nature and extensiveness of the service workers’ contacts with the consumers of their services, which are intensified as a result of the “tipping” relationship.

In the sections below, I will discuss the conflicts that arise out of these relations and will present the staff’s experience and understanding of these relationships between themselves and their work and customers. I aim, as well, to illustrate how their accounts of these facilitate their sense of membership in the Jazz Club occupational community.

### 1. Emotional Labor.

Within a setting like the Jazz Club, the content of the service to be provided extends beyond the formal boundaries of the actual provision of a “something” -- be it food, beverages or whatever. The service to be provided includes, additionally, an atmosphere, a feeling, a particular sense of context.

Unlike other scenes in American culture where work and play tend to be separated, the commercial success of the bar requires congeniality. A customer doesn't want to be served by a scowling, bitchy waitress or a grumpy bartender. If customers sensed conflicts among waitresses and bartenders or observed serious arguments, it would not be an atmosphere conducive to relaxation, drinking and talking.  
(Spradley and Mann, 1975: 98)

The Rendezvous is a serious work setting for all employees; they work hard to make it a gay, playtime setting for the patrons.  
(Roebuck and Frese, 1976: 262)

It’s the kind of thing most people can’t do. They really can’t. It takes a certain person to be a waitress. . . You always have to be pleasant, no matter what is happening in your own life, you always have to be pleasant and courteous. You have to be always alert and knowing what you are doing all the time, because you are handling money constantly. And you are giving the customers the impression the place looks like, but by the kind of service they get and how pleasant the people are that work within

the establishment. . . Everybody has their bad days occasionally. But you have to put on a face or a façade when you are serving the tables. . . There's much more involved than just serving drinks and taking orders. Any you can't be stupid, because if you forget your orders or forget what you're doing, you're not giving good service.

(Prus and Irini, 1988: 147)

[W]aiters must always aim to meet the expectations of their customers. They do this by offering an idealized view of their situation, which involves concealing or underplaying activities, facts, and motives which are incompatible with the impression they are attempting to put over. They are actors putting on a performance, but the need to disguise the discrepancy between what the audience expects and what it gets varies along the prestige scale.

(Mars and Nicod, 1984: 35-6)

This, in turn, has a significant impact on the very nature and social organization of the work itself. As Hochschild's discussion of the flight attendant informs us, this has the consequence of channeling the very content, quality and meaning of the work into new directions – towards an appreciation of the concept of “Emotional Labor”.

How could the worker in the wallpaper factory tell when his (sic) job was done? Count the rolls of wallpaper; a good has been produced. How can the flight attendant tell when her (sic) job was done? A service has been produced; the customer seems content. In the case of the flight attendant, the emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself, in a way that loving or hating wall paper is not a part of producing wallpaper. Seeming to 'love the job' becomes a part of the job; and actually trying to love it, and to enjoy the customers, helps the worker in this effort.

The work done by the boy in the wallpaper factory called for a coordination of mind and arm, mind and finger, and mind and shoulder. We refer to it simply as physical labor. The flight attendant does physical labor when she (sic) pushes heavy metal carts through the aisles, and she (sic) does mental work when she prepares for and actually organizes emergency landings and evacuations. But in the course of doing this physical and mental labor, she is also doing something more, something I define as Emotional Labor. This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward continence that produces the proper state of mind in others – in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labor calls for a coordination of

mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality.

The final commodity is not a certain number of smiles to be counted like rolls of wallpaper. For the flight attendant, the smiles are a part of her work, a part that requires her to coordinate self and feeling so that the work seems to be effortless. To show that the enjoyment takes effort is to do the job poorly. Similarly, part of the job is to disguise fatigue and irritation, for otherwise the labor would show in an unseemly way, and the product – passenger contentment – would be damaged. Because it is easier to disguise fatigue and irritation if they can be banished altogether, at least for brief periods, this feat calls for emotional labor.

((Hochschild: 1983: 5-8; emphasis original)

Such an effort calls for what Hochschild (1983: 7: emphasis original)

refers to as 'emotional labor'.

I use the term Emotional Labor to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value. I use the synonymous terms Emotional Work or Emotional Management to refer to these same acts done in a private context where they have use value.

The literature on service workers, in general, and waiters/waitresses, in particular, is full of references to the process whereby the emotional displays of attitudes and states of mind are incorporated into the job itself.

The first point is the expectation from the role occupant to create the impression that he enjoys performing his role. The most salient expression of this expectation is the requirement to smile. "I begin at eight in the morning. I have to have a smile on my face. Some mornings that's a little difficult." "She must smile when it is time to smile. . . . When a customer approaches she immediately assumes her hard, forced smile." (Shamir, 1980: 746)

You always have to be pleasant, no matter what is happening in your own life, you always have to be pleasant and courteous. You have to always be alert and knowing what you're doing all the time, because you're handling money constantly. And you're giving the customers the impression of the establishment that they're in. Not only the walls and what the place looks like, but by the kind of service they get and how pleasant the people are

that work within the establishment...Everybody has their bad days occasionally. But you have to put on a face or a façade when you're serving drinks and taking orders.

(Prus and Irini, 1988: 147)

There are even indications that such emotional aspects of the job are the most important determinant of occupational success. The career waiters that Mars and Nicod interviewed, for instance, commented that

they thought that to succeed in their profession they needed to be pleasant, charming, polite and discreet. Others emphasized the need to show respect and play a submissive role. Interestingly enough, however, few were prepared to put technical expertise or knowledge high on their list although, when asked, most said these were extremely important.

(Mars and Nicod, 1984: 36)

That their work involved emotional labor, as much as physical labor, was readily apparent to the staff of the Jazz Club.

You know, people come into work, and they're cranky or whatever else. You can't let that kind of stuff – when you step on in the bar, you just can't be in a bad mood cause your boyfriend did this or that, or your girlfriend did something, or whatever. You can't, you can't. You just have to get over it, or forget about it, or leave it at the door, or pretend it doesn't exist, or something.

(Jake47)

Everybody, everybody who works here has to be having a good time, or at least pretending they are. That's part of the whole atmosphere. Now if the bartender's not having a good time, he perceives his job too much as work or is just in a pissy mood, you know, it's gonna be like he's pumping gas over there. It's not good. It hurts the whole scene.

(Jake12)

And you have to be, you know, friendly because being friendly in associating with people, with the customers, is just as important as anything else in this business. You need that kind of connection. I need, I'd walk in and talk to people all day long and that's like, a big, the biggest part of my job.

(Freda40)

Being a waitress or a bartender, it's not enough just to serve a drink or be responsible for collecting money. What was so important, particularly, in this place, is the personality that one brought to the job, and that I think was of, you know, paramount importance to the Club and to the job. So it is because of this, it is asking something different in many ways, than what a nine-to-five job would normally ask.

(Bill11)

Somedays you just not up for it and it can be a pain in the ass, but it's a job in that way and you have to just gear up for it. You have to pump yourself and your mood up for the job.

(Mae20)

Well, sometimes when I came to works I just didn't feel like dealing with customers and their shit. I just wasn't up for it. But, I would sort of slap myself on the butt and say, "I'm on!" Just had to put on the face.

(Kate44)

Yeah, you do have to forget what happens. Sometimes you think it is impossible but you have to. You have to find a kind of way to give your self – Like recently I have had a little trouble with my automobile, it is costing me a lot of money and a lot of aggravation. You want the bartender to say well, this is what happened to me today and then it is gone. Sometimes it shows but that's a problem. You can tell when someone had a fight with their girlfriend or boyfriend. You can't be superhuman, your only human. But you do try to leave what ever happens outside the bar. Outside. When you get behind the stick and deal with customers, you don't want to be carrying on that mood.

(Ed23)

You know, it's usually, there is a certain amount of fun to it sure. But, you know, what I mean, you think it's easy being Miss Personality to all those people? But it's a certain amount of contact, it gets real, especially if you're not in the mood, you want to just brush people off, but you can't. You have to be nice, to be you know. You have to keep up the personality no matter what.

(Candace31)

They were all keenly aware that the display and management of emotion was central to their work and their relations with the customers. Their reactions to this recognition, however, varied from individual to individual and, indeed within the same person, from occasion to occasion. At times, they were of the opinion that this was part

of the fun, part of the play acting, part of the kick that the job offered. At other times, on the other hand, they found this to be alienating and a source of conflict with the customer and a source of alliance with each other.

## 2. Contacts with Customers.

The context for the delivery of service, moreover, is problematic for the provider of these services. The visibility of service work and the conflicts built into the service relationship, in particular, contribute to problematic nature of the service encounter.

One of the foremost characteristics of service work is its visibility. For most service providing organizations, the service worker is often the first and primary point of contact between the organization and the ultimate consumer of the service: "Every merchant should remember that his clerks are his personal representatives and that the public only knows him, from their contact with his salesforce." (as quoted in Benson, 1981: 6; emphasis original). Service work is exceedingly public, visible not only to the parties directly involved in the service encounter, but to other observers as well.

Of one thing we can be sure: any applicant so inclined could observe the work before committing herself. Unlike work hidden away in factories or offices, selling took place in full view of the public, and the prospective saleswoman could readily imagine herself on the other side of the counter. (Bensen, 1986: 216)

"You've got as much privacy as a goldfish." "You're constantly on display." These are the typical remarks from people who occupy subordinate service roles. The difficulties in impression management and "maintaining a face" have been extensively discussed by Goffman [and others]. (Shamir, 1980:746)

The staff of the Jazz Club shared this perception of their work. They recognized that they were constantly visible to the consumers of their service. Their encounters with

customers were, of course, visible to those customers. But they were also visible to other customers in the Club at the time. In addition, their encounters with other members of the staff were, for the most part, visible to everyone in the vicinity. And, to take it even further, how they handled themselves when they were not servicing – listening to the music, standing around looking at what was going on, or daydreaming – were equally observable and subject to the judgement of customers.

It is unique among other work situations in that respect because you are working in a playground for other people. You work, it is not like an office. We are right out in the open where everyone can see you. All the time. And people are here to have a good time and we play a part in the playground.

(Milesa7)

As far as bartending goes, you deal with a lot of different people. You never know who is going to come to the door next, who's going to sit there. A lot of times you have to look at them and size them up pretty fast. And they are doing the same to you – because there you are, right in front of them to see, in front of everyone all night long. And believe me, their eyes and ears are on you.

(Joe18)

I spend time down in the office [in the basement] because that way I can get away from the crowd, unless there's one here too. But upstairs, I walk around and everyone sees me and knows who I am. It's a drag being in the open all time, being visible to everyone. But, I guess, sometimes it can be pretty cool too. But, really, I spend time in the office for privacy, to get out-of-sight for a while. I can't do that upstairs.

(Jake52)

While at first glance appearing simple and straightforward, the service relationship is, in fact, a relatively complex and multi-layered relationship. The relationship between the service provider and the service consumer is at once symbiotic and contradictory.

This brings us to the brief consideration of what one may call the social drama of work. Most kinds of work bring people together in definable

roles: thus the janitor and the tenant, the doctor and the patient, the teacher and the pupil, the worker and his (sic) foreman, the prison guard and the prisoner, the musician and his (sic) listener. In many occupations, there is some category of persons with whom the people at work regularly come into crucial contact. In some occupations the most crucial relations are those with one's fellow-workers. It is they who can do the most to make life sweet or sour. Often, however, it is the people in some other position. And in many there is a category of persons who are the consumers of one's work or services. It is probable that the people in the occupation will have a chronic fight for status, for personal dignity with this group of consumers of their services. Part of the social-psychological problem of the occupation is the maintenance of a certain freedom and social distance from these people most crucially and intimately concerned with one's work.

(Hughes, 1964: 53)

The character of service work, especially in light of the reality of emotional labor, is such that there is a tremendous likelihood for the generation of a variety of role conflicts. These include a variety of conflicts that arise out of ambiguity or contention over role boundaries and expectations.

It has been shown that certain roles in organizations are more exposed than others to situations of role conflict, particularly boundary roles (referred to sometimes as output roles or boundary-spanning roles.) Boundary roles were defined by Thompson (1962) as those roles that link the organization with its environment through interaction between an organization member and a non-member. In the case of such roles, conflict is created by expectations and pressures directed to the role occupant (focal person) not only from intraorganization sources but also from extraorganization sources. This puts the role occupant in a particularly difficult situation. (Shamir, 1980: 742)

The service occupations are, in general, distinguished by the fact that the worker in them comes into more or less direct and personal contact with the ultimate consumer of the product of his (sic) work, the client for whom he performs the service. Consequently, the client is able to direct or attempt to direct the worker at his task and to apply sanctions of various kinds, ranging from informal pressure to withdrawal of his patronage and the conferring of it on some other of the many people who perform the service.

(Becker, 1951:136)

This is particular acute for what Shamir (1980) has referred to as the “subordinate service roles”, for instance, bartenders and waiters or waitresses, in contrast to doctors, teachers, and other professionals.

There are, however, other boundary roles that could be expected to suffer from high levels of role conflict. I refer here to subordinate service roles: the waiter, the receptionist, the taxi driver, the bus driver, the bank teller, the sales person in a store, the hairdresser and the like. The service organizations in which these roles are carried out have two main characteristics: first of all, unlike human processing organizations such as hospitals or schools, they have no 'mission' and no intention to change or mold the behavior of their clients. The employees of such organizations are commonly not considered professionals or 'experts'. Secondly, clients' participation in the activities of the organization is voluntary, they do not have to use the service, but have to be motivated to do so. (Shamir, 1980: 742)

The basis of such conflicts lies in the very nature of the social organization and processes of the service transaction. Shamir (1980) in a short but useful overview of the nature of the subordinate service role -- typified by the waiter -- named four primary reasons for such a high level of role conflict. (1) He firstly identified their relatively high 'boundary relevance' -- operationally defined as the number or frequency of contacts with individuals outside the service workers' organization -- as a potential source. (2) Service workers, and, bar workers in particular experience a high degree of exposure to “role senders [from] outside of the organization”-- in the case of the Jazz Club, that is of course from the customers. This, combined with (3) their possibly perceived lower status relative to these same role senders makes for a potentially volatile interrelationship. A (4) fourth source for such role conflicts lies in the low status of the service worker relative to “role senders inside the organization”. This is especially acute as a result of their position

as intermediaries between the business and the customer and the ensuing set of possibly opposing expectations and demands.

Probably the most salient type of conflict in service roles and the one which has received relatively much theoretical and research treatment is the conflict between the requirements directed at the role occupant from his employing organizations in the form of policies, rules, regulations, or verbal instructions from supervisors and the requirements directed at him from clients.

(Shamir, 1980: 748)

Evidence of the conflictual nature of the service relationship can be found in research from variety of service occupations.

Porters had dualities every day. It was a good job and a bad job; they were hosts and they were servants; they had the highest status in their community and the lowest on the train. Many more such dualities were part of their everyday work too, such as good passengers and bad, good conductors and bad, the porters who were brothers and the porters who were Uncles – Uncle Toms.

(Santino, 1989: 69)

We always had the Dickens of a job trying to persuade people that this was not the way we usually treated our customers. . . that service was usually much better. But one day we had a crusty colonel-type – a regular – and he was served by a new waiter who sniveled on with our usual sob story about why on that occasion we had no ice for the ice-bucket. This fellow just blew “his top” and he shouted at the top of his voice: “Don’t give me that crap again! The last three times I’ve been here you’ve come out with the same bloody story.”

(Mars and Nicod, 1984: 43)

There were as many views of the customers as there were of saleswomen: one clerk, near the end of her rope, growled, “All customers are crackpots!”, another, more relaxed but still wary, grimly declared, “I like a counter between me and the customer”; and a third stated firmly, “My customers are my friends”. The customer was neither an unambiguous enemy nor a certain ally, but she (sic) was in all cases a potential threat to saleswomen individually and collectively.

(Benson, 1986: 258)

Flight attendants are employees, perceived as service workers, but also expected to act as authority figures by enforcing smoking, drinking and luggage rules and curtailing the physical movement of passengers. (Rothman, 1987: 176)

Moreover, as several pieces of research from different settings have concluded, such conflict can well intensify when the service worker is dependent upon tips as a substantial proportion of his or her income.<sup>2</sup>

In the transaction between the personal service worker and the customer, there is unusual potential for conflict. What appears on the surface to be a simple and straight forward exchange of a service for a fee is often a very complex and difficult relationship for the worker. Overt conflict is frequently suppressed because the customer controls all salient resources: income, repeat business, tips and complaints. Conflict, whether latent or manifest, originates in the contrasting perceptions and expectations brought to the transaction by worker and customer, and centers on control of the content and pace of the work tasks.

Economics aside, it must be remembered that tipping serves as a symbolic reaffirmation of the subordinate status of the service worker. Tips are never given to equals, or by subordinates to superiors. (Rothman, 1987: 168-9, 174)

Service workers, as described above, are in a position of some authority and control. Within the context of tipping, however, they are additionally directly dependent upon the recipients of their services for financial remuneration. This contradiction is nicely described by Santino (1989:107; emphasis added) in his study of railroad porters.

Although a porter is in control of the situation and functions as a host to the passengers, in order to perform and project the role of servant and protect his tip, he must not be seen to have the rights that are otherwise afforded to a host. Passengers are therefore allowed to take liberties with porters, and by doing so go out of their way to remind them of, and to reinforce, their subordinate status.

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<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Butler and Skipper, 1980; Crespi, 1947 and 1968; Davis, 1972; and Shamir, 1980, 1983.

To deal with this contradiction and uncertainty, service workers generally developed and applied strategies aimed at increasing their control over the encounter and ensuring and maximizing their tips.

No regular scheme of work can easily tolerate so high a degree of ambiguity and uncertainty in a key contingency. Invariably, attempts are made to fashion ways and means of greater predictability and control; or, failing that, of devising formulas and imagery to bring order and reason in otherwise inscrutable and capricious events. In the course of a long history, a rich body of stereotypes, beliefs, and practices has grown up whose function is that of reducing uncertainty, increasing calculability, and providing coherent explanations. . .

To protect and insure themselves against an unfavorable outcome of tipping, many drivers will, depending upon circumstances, employ diverse tactics and stratagems (some more premeditated than others) to increase the amount of tip or to compensate for its loss should it not be forthcoming.

(Davis, 1972: 412, 415)

Tipping was important. Their livelihood depended on it. So, the porters thought about it a lot and applied themselves to it, even though they did not compete with each other for the tips of individual passengers. “You had to con a lot of them [passengers], get inside them and make them feel like they were the boss. They were the boss. Everyone was your boss; that’s how we were trained.” This comment by Happy Davis indicates a basic tension the porter felt between his realization that although he in fact controlled the car he worked on and so was in charge, he served and took orders from the passenger, so the passenger was the “boss”. Nevertheless, the porter ultimately knew that he was in control of his car in many subtle but important ways. When it came to maximizing tips, the porter could manipulate his situation to his advantage.

(Santino, 1989: 71; emphasis original)

While persons working in some bars will be tipped better than others, seemingly regardless of the service they provide, attempts on the part of the staff to promote tips are very commonplace, particularly among regular bar staff. Newcomers often seem unaware of their ability to “shoot up the tips”, but long-term workers are apt to be very conscious and orient their service accordingly.

(Prus and Irini, 1988: 148)

While not necessarily cognizant of their structural sources, the staff of the Jazz Club were well aware of these conflicts and contradictions of the service role as they played themselves out on a daily basis. They experienced and responded to them in a variety of ways. This is most clearly reflected in the staff's ambivalent views of the customers and their efforts at exerting authority or control over the service encounter. Their comments indicate, further, that these conflicts and contradictions figure prominently in their sense of both individual and collective identity

The staff's images and experiences of the customer rather ambivalent.

Fuckin' gate crashers is what they [the customers] were.  
(Gregal8)

Like Greg, who's basic attitude was that this is trench warfare and the customers are the enemy, and the beer bottles are hand grenades and you can throw them at them. But this gets confusing because he needed the money of the enemy. But that wasn't my approach. But I wasn't. I tried to be a little distant, I guess. But friendly – distantly friendly.  
(Milesa15)

There is one group of customers that are total assholes there. I never could deal with it. They like to abuse waiters and waitresses because they are powerless and there are people they can order around. But most of them are okay and just want to have fun. And as long as it's not at my expense, it's okay with me.  
(Mae21)

Theresa: Actually I found some disgruntlement [when I went from being a customer to being a waitress] because now you were, you were expected to give them slack, because you were once on their end and now you needed to get the money for the drink or you had to wait on someone else and you wouldn't be at someone's beck and call. I actually found the shift was kind of difficult. Although parts of it were great because some of them were my friends were there and I could just relax. Other people had somewhat of a different expectation and I kind of had to juggle sometimes. Brenda: I didn't really have that problem. I think it might have been different if I was working the blues day because that is where I started [as a customer] and where most of my friends were. So, my customers

weren't my friends, which made it easier to keep somewhat apart from them.

(Brenda/Theresa4)

Greg: I like the customers fine, sitting down and talking to them. You know, but over the bar. And conversation with them is awkward. But, my job is similar to what she [a waitress] has to do. You know, go to the stations and wait on tables. Only I'm behind the bar. And if a customer starts talking, I have to talk back -- I guess if I want to or not. And I have to be fairly nice about it. It's the job.

(Clare/Greg27)

Yeah, they're just strange customers and couples. All these couples, nice, nice, well-bread couples. Who sit there and drink perriers and whisper in each others ears. Yeah, it's like I don't have anything to say to them. Not bad, just strange.

(Clare27)

Clare: The work. If someone walks in, you are their servant, you have to go to their table. You can't sit and say, well gee, I don't think I'm gonna wait on this table. You have to go. And you had to go that minute. You know. People would become rude or condescending and I hated that, you know. I was treated like a quote waitress unquote.

(Clare/Greg5)

Well, lately [I have a hard time with] when do you shut someone off now. We could have pretty stringent rules as to how many per hour somebody's supposed to have, you know, blah, blah, blah. But you know there are times when, you know, you have to make money on selling the stuff.

(Jake38)

Sure [it's tough being nice to customers], it depends on the people. I mean sometimes you get some people that are pretty weird. I mean it's a bar -- and the people can be really strange sometimes, you know.

(Jake22)

Yeah, I do [like the customers]. Some of them are a little shitty, shiteads. I say 'Oh no, not this guy'. But I know how to handle him, you know. A lot of acting is involved. I mean you're not being phony. You're being nice to the person but they're not for you, you don't have them as a personal friend. But you make them feel welcome in the club as long as they're not getting out of line, and they're not a rude person, but, you know what I mean. You wouldn't take them home for dinner or anything. But, you know. But most of the time I like these people. And I think the reason I like them is because I do keep them at a distance. I don't, so to

Speak, take people home with me, hardly ever have, or go to like a party with customers. I have other personal friends, most those who work here. But the people that come in here even feel like personal friends, though I never see them outside of here. And don't want to either.  
(Candice33)

But they expect you to be – you know you're in power, they expect you to do everything to their little whim. You know, they've been working in the office all week, and not it's your turn to be the slave. So that's hard to deal with sometimes, you know. Sometimes you have to let them know that too. It's like, "Hey listen, you know, I may be a waitress, a public servant, but I'm not your private servant.", you know. I'm not a slave.  
(Candice28)

Oh, yeah, they try to treat you like dirt and trash, and treat you like an idiot too, talk to you as if you know nothing. Or they don't give you any respect. You are the one that's been walking all these miles all night long waiting on all these tables, and taking care of them, and talking them up.  
(Linda47)

They [one major type of customer] didn't talk to you and they don't think you're cool in the first place. They are cool because they go to Berkeley [School of Music] and they saw the sky in Europe last year anyway, and you just work here. And they sort of look at you that way, and that's the way it is and you just work here. And they sort of look at you that way, and that's the way it is and you don't care, because they are not part of the crowd, part of the in-crowd. They're a separate, they're separated from the other people, they aren't even, they are not even that make the place tick. We are. But other customers are pretty cool, and they fit in okay.  
(Kate62)

As the quotes above indicate, staff held a contradictory set of perceptions about the customer. They, moreover, perceived significant contradictions in the customers' perceptions of themselves, the staff.

The customer, on the one hand, was an outsider, alien to and separate from the fundamental community at the Club. As the recipients of the staff's attention and service, they were in a position to make demands on the staff. And these demands, sometimes reasonable and sometimes unreasonable, had to be met, neutralized or rejected. And each

of these responses, in turn, had consequences. They were in a position to explicitly or implicitly treat the staff as if, not just in a subordinate role, but as, in fact, subordinates. There was, on the other hand, a flip side, as well. The customer provided a great deal of pleasure to the staff, they reinforced the staff's sense of being in a honored role, and they offered financial compensation to the staff. The staff on a daily basis interacted with customers in a friendly and playful manner. There was constant banter across the tables and bar and much of this interaction was enjoyable to all parties. The customers, in some ways, tried to ingratiate themselves with the staff. It was apparent to most that the staff shared a membership in the community at the Jazz Club that was not automatically, if at all, available to others. They staff were, moreover, the gatekeepers into that community for its non-members. As a result, customers often tried to ingratiate themselves to the staff in order to share or be granted some of the staff's status within the community. And, finally, through their tips customers were the primary source of the staff's income. And the staff, being well aware of the old adage, "You will attract more flies with honey than with vinegar", went out of their way to avoid the fact or appearance of antagonism with customers.

The staff attempted to minimize the ambivalence and contradictions of the service relationship primarily by trying to exert their authority over the service encounter and control the interaction, in particular, and the larger social scene at the bar, in general. They attempted this in a number of ways. Most obviously, they laid claim to their turf.

Yeah. Definitely. Definitely, behind the bar was my territory and no one else is really allowed to go back there and you know, touch the bottles or whatever. You know, even the waitresses didn't walk back there. It was always your ground. No one else's. No one else goes back there.  
(Joe19)

When I was waitressing, I took charge of the entire floor. I would place people someplaces and not let them sit in other places. I managed the floor. It was mine to manage.

(Candace52)

I like to run an efficient, clean and pleasant bar. And in order to do this I have to have control over the bar space. I have to keep control.

(Ed37)

I tried to take charge of wherever I was – behind the bar or on the tables. I felt I had to control that territory. Both to make my job easier as well as to, just maintain control.

(Kate64)

The bartenders, in particular, laid claim to and acted upon the authority traditionally granted to this social position.

Absolutely, you, the staff, I think people came to the club because of the people that worked there. They drew a crowd. The other thing is your an administrator to drugs. In a sense there is some kind of power thing there, yeah it is a service bar and it is a service situation, yeah you are being paid, but you are still giving someone alcohol, you are giving something that is going to affect them and their personality and their chemistry and all that kind of shit. Its, you can hold it and you can say no I am not going to give you this drug.

(Milesa48)

People pay attention to the bartender more than they do other people in the bar. You have people that like to get free drinks if they can. You know, they, they. They think that you pour them more alcohol if they tip you better, what, what ever, you do have more control.

(Joe14)

I worked both as a waitress and as a bartender. When I was a bartender, people granted me a lot of control – they really acted somewhat deferential. Like I was someone to please, to talk to, to be liked by. As a waitress I got some of that, but not nearly the same amount.

(Kate67)

The extended except from my interview with Greg which follows provides an articulate statement of the principles, importance and means of exerting authority and control

Greg: Bill and I worked there together. We were both bartenders. And, about oh, I don't know, six months before, George and Jeff and Jack sold it. I got fired. I didn't get fired, I walked off the job on a Friday night but the place was packed. It was a mixture of daytime crowd and nighttime crowd there. There was the daytime crowd which is old guys, hard core drinkers, shots and beers. And at night, eight o'clock, it started to turn over to the people there for the music. There were always a few of these old guys who hung around. And usually if they hung around that late, they were hammered. And, I never wanted them in the damn place because they interfered with the atmosphere and, of course, the money I was going to make with these people who came in at night. But this one guy, he was a drunk, he had a light beer. I didn't like him, he was shit-faced that night. Around eight o'clock I told him I wasn't going to serve him. And the owner came over and said that I had to serve him. I said I'm not going to serve him and don't come behind my bar because I'm the bartender and I'm in control of the bar. So, the owner came around opened up a beer and put it down in front of him. And this is while this guy is giving me all this abuse. So, I said, hey, I don't need this. I can't, I can't do this. Cause now that guy owns me. I got to give him what ever he wants. So, I walked. Um, I still went in the place after I quit. Um, and the owner actually even apologized to me once, I mean he didn't apologize, he said that was a pretty tough thing of me to do.

J.B.: What was it that upset you so much about it so much what he did?

Greg: Um. I gave him that speech of what the role of the bartender is. Um. What upset me is that over a period of time, I don't know. It's a strange thing to have an ego about, but it was, if I was. If I was behind the bar I was in charge of everything that went on in terms of selling booze to these people. I more or less saw myself as having to. You do in a way, have to maintain some control over people. Because I, you are expected to stop people from getting blind drunk. You are expecting not to let kids get so liquored up that they scream at the band for instance. Which happens more often then you would think. Um. It. There is a liquor liability. If someone leaves a bar and goes out and kills someone and you served them, you can be sued. But it's more like an ego thing then anything else. That I have to be in control of the bar customers, the people who were sitting at the bar. And, if I decided that someone had had enough to drink, it was bad luck. Um. And if you only cannot put the manager. Whoever cannot support that decision, then, I even now, I don't see how you could work in those circumstances. It's more or less, even if the bartender's wrong. You should back him up, make amends to the customer. If that's necessary, you know, soothe his feathers if that's necessary. But you have to back up the bartender because, if everyone who comes in there drinking knows that if the bartender says you've had enough, it doesn't mean anything. Then you can't shut anyone off. And in a bar, especially a shot and beer joint especially a place like Jazz Club, which was, is not a posh, jazz establishment. You know, it was a hole in the wall that had music.

Um. And it drew a rough crowd, especially at that time. There used to be fights in that place all the time. At that time. But you had to be able to tell people. If you felt that he can't drink here, if you really felt that he can't come in here. If you've had too much to drink, you don't get anymore to drink. It's up to me, not to you to decide. And when the owner's stepping in, I mean he's not there all night, I am. I have to deal with that guy every time I'm in the place. If he knows, I can't shut him off, then, you know, he's going to be obnoxious, abusive, get as drunk as he wants. Be annoying not only to me, but to the customers. And I can't see how that can happen.

J.B.: How do you exert this control over customers? I mean how did you control the bar-room?

Greg: Just by the attitude. Just bad natured. And, if it's more or less understood, I think traditionally, among bars, that the bartender has control over whether or not he allowed the people in or not. Take the abuse that goes on that. You know. A customer comes in beats up another customer you can ban him in. In theory the whole bar backs that up. Um. It's not the Jazz Club, it's bars in general. At least bars in general, up in the North East that I'm familiar with. It's a common thing. And, you have the power to ban someone, especially these old guys who are really dependant on getting their drink in this particular place and drinking with their friends. That's all you need to really have control. They more or less really defer to the bartender. Also, they want you. They're always trying to get free drinks out of you. But the more important thing is that in theory you can stop them from drinking in the bar. And that would be devastating consequences to someone who is that dependent on this bar and alcohol as part of their daily life. With the younger crowd. It's more or less more politeness. They just don't want to get into fights. But the second way you exert control is that you can physically have someone thrown out. And we did physically have people thrown out and we did physically pick up people and throw them out. And it was know that that would happen. And we did have police come in and arrest people if they would not leave. But that is the ultimate power. If you want to be in this place you have to. Play with the bartender. So it's not so much what I did, it was like the institution itself. That's the way the dynamics of that particular bar. In particular, a particular bar, particularly worked. But it's, I think it's generally true of all bars. Um. But I mean, your basic control is. Well, the other way of control is you can just not serve people. Um. And for people who like to drink, if their sitting at the bar and the bar is busy. If you're a bartender and these people are giving you shit, you can. And I did this a lot. Passive-aggressive, I guess. You can let them stand there for twenty-five minutes waiting for a drink. And, then after everyone in the place is served and after you've washed and dried every glass in the place and wiped down the bottles, and washed all your dishes. Then you can look at them and say, "Oh, have you been waiting? And you can do that. And you

can freeze people. And they know they are being froze. If they like the place, and they want to stay and they want to drink there. It just drives them nuts. And when you finally do take care of them, they tend to be more controlled. So you can do the direct control. Their directing, so you freeze them out. Or you can go somewhere in between and just rely on I guess the socialization process of hanging out at bars. But the bartender, is deferred to almost automatically. I never understood exactly why the bartender, all personnel or even the doorman, but. If the doorman has a beef, usually they look to the bartender to resolve it. To me it should be the other way around. Um. 1369, they tried to get to that point. They adopted a policy of deferring confrontations everyone was supposed to point to someone else. Until, the guy got tired of walking around looking for someone to fight with. You know, um, actually it's very funny, rather ironic, if you're talking about controlling customers when in fact, bartending is a quote service job. And the reason, the official reason for being is to serve and take care of the customers who are to supposedly order you around. And in most classy joints, that's the case.  
(Grega2-10)

The issues of authority and control in the service encounter are even more problematic and important within the context to tipping. Tipping introduces a new set of unknowns, uncertainties and ambiguity to the service relationship. One waitress compared it to gambling.

Well, it's really hard for me in a lot of ways because I'm used to a faster pace of, uh, of people paying as they go. After a while it begins to be like a gamble. You know, I'm from a gambling town, like Las Vegas. So, it's like, gheez, I've gone over there like five times, I still don't have anything yet. And, oh, you kind of judge what they may leave you by the percentages of it. And, the place is getting packed now. Do I go to people who are really taking care of me now. It's like a now thing, or am I going to bank on these other people coming through. A lot of times they walk out, and they may be really nice as apple pie, and all this kind of stuff and walk out and stiff you completely. Or leave you maybe like, very small, like two bucks for like an all night trip. You know, whereas somebody else might give you a buck every time or whatever. But you have to, you don't know that ahead of time. So and then a lot of times you get a surprise. It's, so if I try to just treat people as people and if, whether they have money or not, if they're rude, that's it, too bad. You know, I'm not going back over there. But I've gotten pretty good at figuring out who will and who will not tip decently, but it's always a bit of a gamble. But, bottom line, you know, if you are going to be this way tipwise, it's going

to take longer to get drinks so don't try to be pushy. You know, it's kind of like somebody that's honking in the back of you and you drive slower because of it, you know.

(Candice12)

The staffs reactions to the gambling nature of working for tips varied. There were, on the one hand, those who hated it -- for whom working for tips was demeaning and aggravating.

JB: How do you feel about working for tips?

Greg: I hate it, I hate it.

Clare: No, I do too. I don't like being tipped.

JB: In some countries, bar staff don't depend on tips for their wages, they are not a custom, or are even prohibited.

Clare: Yeah, I would love that idea.

Greg: I like that idea. I like that idea too. I figure it would just automatically work out at the end of the night, you know. It averages out that on a good night, you do 20% of the till. On Sunday afternoons, almost a that, two waitresses in line with right between 18 or 21%. Sunday after Sunday after Sunday. I think it would be better just to reflect that in the prices and no tipping allowed.

Clare: Right.

Greg: I think that, for example, would stop the bartender from totaling up to someone because he's a good tipper.

Clare: But no, I don't like tipping. I never liked tipping. It bothers me a lot. Particularly when a tip is handed to me when I serve. That really bothers me. I take it, of course, but I hate taking it.

Greg: I don't like them handing me money either. I just like to just leave it on the bar.

Clare: Yeah, I don't like that. Leave it on the table for me.

Greg: It's not, I don't know, it's a feeling of being . . .

Clare: Bought

Greg: Yeah, bought. It's like a feeling because they gave me the money, ahmm, I guess it is about . . .

Clare: I gotta be nice.

Greg: No, not just that. Because they gave me the money I have to serve them quicker than anyone else. Which I tend to do anyway, but it's like they think their owed it. That I owe it to them.

(Clare/Greg44)

For others, chasing the tip was part of the appeal of the work.

I liked it [working for tips], I really liked it. It was part of the rush. I made a lot more money that way than I would have otherwise. Especially Thursday nights. that was the blues night and always a good money night. You worked Thursdays. After you left, I worked Thursdays. I got every other Thursday for a while, and then for a while every Thursday. Those were great because the blues listeners tips a lot more than the jazzers. Occasionally you'd get a jazz crowd that were real freaky. An avant-garde crowd who came in and had soda water or orange juice and they didn't tip at all. Whereas the beer drinkers and the blues listeners were pretty good about it – they would drink a lot and they would tip. You get one of the regulars and they would tip better than some of the Harvard crowd that would come in and listen home grown jazz.

(Joe7)

Regardless of their orientation, however, the staff were all consistently adopting styles and hustles to maximize the tip. Recall, if you will, the glimpse Greg (2-10) gave of his methods of chasing the tip; Others found their own styles.

Then the customers start coming in, and everybody has a story they want to tell or an ear to her a story of yours, which like theirs may be more or less true. And if your smart, which I am, and want good tips, which I do, you hear their story and have a story for them. You know, what was the last thing happening in their lives, something in yours, and stuff like that. Sometimes I care, sometimes I pretend to care. It's all the same. It what I do to get the tips.

(Mae19)

You know, it's not like you want to ignore them, but you would hustle a little faster. Maybe you'd spend a little less time gabbing. But then again, gabbing is part of your job too, part of the way to get the tips in the first place. You can't just walk away, you know, and expect to get good tips – especially from those who are not likely to tip in the first place. If somebody's like taking care of you good, of course your going to take care of them too. And they're going to understand that. They will know that it's connected to their tips. But if they don't, you just, "Weill, I will be with you later. I'll be there later, you know."

(Candace15)

Guys, you would flirt with guys, and you would ask what they would want you to do and the way they want you to do it, because they like that. You would talk about how poor you are. You would talk about, you would give them the impression of the fact that you were a starving waitress, which wasn't entirely true for me all the time. Towards the end it was.

You are only serving drinks it is really easy to make them feel special – let me give you an extra napkin or let me give you an extra lime – you give them a few extra limes, pay a little extra attention to them and they feel like they are being treated like a king, because you gave them a few extra limes, a little extra time, or whatever. You tell them jokes and give them information about the musicians. They want to know everything. Anything. So I talk them up. It's all pretty superficial, but it works. I get my tips.

(Linda22)

For me, certainly good tippers were at the top of my list. Loud and obnoxious customers were at the bottom and I am not going to deal with them and I don't even want them at the bar. And obviously, if they don't tip well, then forget about it no matter how they are. They wouldn't get any service. That was the kind of bar it was. If they didn't tip you didn't serve them. If they didn't tip you didn't really serve them. If they didn't get it then, that is too bad. Sometimes you would just say it sometimes, like what is the problem here? They get their drink and walk away and that is fine, but they should know not to sit at the bar. Or they will learn. And the waitress would not serve them either. I would just sort of ignore them, pay them minimum attention. If they got loud and aggressive about it you would shut them off and say your drunk. You have your ways. I would just ignore them. I would just not serve them. Let them wait a long time. I would be cold. I would serve in a cold and distant fashion and then be very friendly with the people on the other side. You don't even look at them. First of all make them wait. Be smiling for everyone else and they get the idea.

(Milesa16)

The stories about tip-generating games were endless. There was, for instance, a verbal approach. On one occasion, a customer, visiting from England, ordered a drink. As is the custom in this country, unless otherwise specified, it was made with a glass full of ice. Upon receiving the drink, he, somewhat good naturedly complained, "Ice, nasty American habit." He then picked up and pocketed all of the change received after paying for the drink. The bartender turned to him and said, "No tipping, nasty English habit." The customer turned back to the bar and threw down a dollar. More aggressive tactics were also utilized. On another, very busy night, this one customer not wanting to wait for

the waitress, repeatedly came up to the crowded bar to order and receive a couple of drinks. Each time he picked up his couple of dollars change and walked away. The third time this happened, the bartender gave him 16 quarters as change. He walked away with the quarters. The next time he came up, he got his money in dimes and nickels. This time he not only left the coins, but added a few dollar bills as well.

Bartenders and waitresses developed, shared and used a host of techniques to maximize their tips. Their efforts were not only directed at the specific customer, but to those sitting in the immediate vicinity as well. Their aim was not only to teach or induce the withholding customer to come across with more cash, but to additionally impress this lesson on those within visual or hearing distance. Information about customers and their tipping habits and techniques that had proved useful were shared among the staff. The pursuit of tips generated far more cooperation than competition among the staff.<sup>3</sup> It was yet another source of their collective identity.

#### **D. Work and Workplace Inclusiveness**

The third component of this set of defining characteristics of an occupational community is the inclusive factors of a particular work or workplace.

These are those features of a man's (sic) job which affect his (sic) non-work life, interests, and activities. Some jobs have little further influence on a man's (sic) life after the end of the working day until he (sic) returns to work the next day – or the next shift – but other jobs penetrate and influence many aspects of a man's leisure time. Our interest in inclusive factors is mainly restricted to those that affect a man's (sic) ability to participate in non-work-based relationships, organizations and activities. (Salaman, 1974: 78)

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<sup>3</sup> One major exception to this was related to the practice of the waitress tipping out the bartender. That is, the waitresses were expected to share a percentage of their tips with the bartender who, of course, provided the drinks which they, in turn, served to the customer. A number of waitresses complained about certain bartenders who demanded their percentage, even when the waitresses' night was slow and her tips might not have even equaled those of the bartender.

This refers to the extent to which a given occupation or workplace may structurally impact on its members so as to “(a) encourage the development of internal group solidarity while (b) encouraging a sense of estrangement from outsiders” (Salaman, 1986: 88). The focus is on those features of work or a workplace which “either restrict his (sic) opportunities to establish relationships with people outside his (sic) occupation or lead him (sic) to associate with, and make friends of, other members of his (sic) occupation (Salaman, 1971a: 65).

This feature figures prominently in the conceptual formulations of Blauner, Lipset et. al. and Salaman. Blauner (1964) focused on the idea of isolation: workers within an occupational community were isolated from the wider community, by either the location(s) of their work or the time that they worked. Lipset et. al. (1956: 108, 135-139) focused predominantly on how the structure and printers’ experience of night work contributed to the development and strength of their occupational community. In their discussions, they highlighted that night work facilitated involvement in the printers’ occupational community by virtue of the fact that: it cut printers off from traditional daytime recreational outlets ; it fostered social interaction and associations with other night workers, particularly other printers; it broke up “normal leisure patterns” built around the “normal nine-to-five working day”; separated them from mass entertainment; separated them from association with many neighborhood organizations and social events; and pulled them away from the family time clock.

The most developed discussion of work and workplace inclusiveness comes from Salaman. Salaman (1971a, 1971b, 1974) identifies three interdependent varieties of work

and workplace inclusiveness: organizational pervasiveness, organizational embrace, and restrictive factors, each of which is, to varying degrees, relevant to this study of the Jazz Club as an occupational community.

Organizational pervasiveness “refers to degree to which members of an organization share a common value system which is established and propagated by the organisation and which is relevant to types of activity both within work and without” (Salaman, 1971b: 403; see also Salaman 1971a and 1974). Clear, this factor is closely connected with the other features of an occupational community discussed, particular the idea of members as primary reference group. A sense of membership in an occupational community is facilitated and maintained through such informal mechanisms as reference and self-image. An eloquent illustration of this form of inclusiveness comes from Johnson’s (1990:80) study of a “death team”, a group correctional officers responsible for carrying out executions.

Physical isolation is complemented by the social isolation of self-imposed secrecy. Team members do not want others to know the details of their involvement in executions. Said one officer, “We look for a person who is very secretive, you know, and can keep things to himself. Cause this is very secretive, you know, what my part is and what his part is.” Officers do not speak of their activities to outsiders. Their presumption is that outsiders simply wouldn’t understand because, in one officer’s blunt reckoning, “They hadn’t been there.” . . . Officers are even hesitant to let members of their families know any details of the execution process or their roles in it: “Well, we were sworn to secrecy. When I first got on the team, I wouldn’t even tell my wife what I was doing. . . The deal was, keep it among ourselves. Whatever we say or do down here has got to stay down here, you know.” Team members were particularly fearful that if the persons who play the formal role of executioner were to be identified as an individual, he would be stigmatized by others for what is really a team activity, and perhaps singled out and abused by vengeful others.

Organizational pervasiveness is also maintained formally. For instance, occupational roles such as police and other law enforcement officials are formally subject to a variety of occupational rules and regulations during their off-work hours as well as work-hours.

Organizational embrace “refers to the attempt on the part of the organisation to serve as the collectivity in which many or most of an individual’s activities take place. Members of organisations with a high degree of scope may eat, sleep, live and work together” (Salaman, 1971b: 404; see also Salaman, 1971a and 1974). The best examples of this comes from occupations such as commercial fishing and the military in which the workers live together with their co-workers within their workplace.

An occupation’s restrictive factors is the third variety of organizational inclusiveness.

The way in which a man’s (sic) work is organised and carried out can seriously affect his (sic) opportunities to get to know and make friends of people outside his occupation or work group and it can also affect his non-work activities and interests. We call these features restrictive factors. In most cases these refer to the temporal organisation of work, i.e., the number of hours worked, the times of work, etc. They may also refer to the geographic location of the work activity.  
(Salaman, 1971: 404-405; see also Salaman, 1971a, 1974)

The restrictive factors most commonly referred to in the literature are the time and geographical location of work. There is a wonderful literature of case studies of various occupations that articulately describes the structure and experience of these restrictive factors.<sup>4</sup> This issue is particular significant in the study of bar work, as these workers’ time and location of work play a key role in defining their work experience.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See for instance: for seafarers, Applebaum, 1984; Forsyth, 1989; Lane, 1986; and Orbach, 1977; for jazz musicians, Becker, 1951 and 1963; Merriam and Mack, 1960; and Roebuck and Frese, 1976; for horse racing workers, Case, 1991; for railroad workers, Cottrell, 1939 and Gamst, 1980; and for prison guards,

The primary working hours for the staff of the Jazz Club was from 8:00 pm to 1:00 or 2:00 am. There was significant work to be accomplished during the day hours, such as booking bands, ordering and accepting liquor deliveries, day to day maintenance, and preparing for the night crowds. Most of this, while vital to the Club's functioning, was, nonetheless, fundamentally preparatory for the evenings and nights during which time the real business of the Club took place. The staff defined themselves as night-workers and oriented their experience and use of time accordingly. They were well aware of the various consequences of their work hours. For instance, they saw clear advantages to night work.

I made up this little list and I would show it to people and say, "Well, I gotta find a job where you only work nights and weekends so that I am free during the days to play golf, hang out with my other bar friends, and whatever. I make a good salary, there are plenty of good looking girls around the bar, you get to hear great music for free that people would line up and pay ten or twelve dollars for, you could stay late and pour your own drinks, and you can walk to work. That is what I needed out of a job and that was I what I got at the Jazz Club.  
(Ed37; emphasis added)

I work at night, and then during the day I can write or do what else I need or want to do.  
(Milesa53)

I like working nights. My days are free to take care of everyday sort of stuff. I can't imagine working all day and then trying to take care of everything else at night or on weekends.  
(Kate69)

At the same time, however, they were keenly aware that their time of work restricted their availability and separated them from a host of people and activities. As

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Kauffman, 1988. For a more general discussion of the impact of night work, see Melbin, 1978 and Zerubavel, 1979.

<sup>5</sup> See, in particular, Hearn and Stoll, 1975 and Prus and Irini, 1988).

discussed in the previous chapter, the friendship networks of most of the staff were centered, in particular, around the Jazz Club and co-workers or, more generally, around people who worked at similar times in similar settings. This was not only due to choice, but to limited availability as well. The work time of the Jazz Club staff was, fundamentally, the non-work, recreational and leisure time of most people and their off-time was during most people's work time. Relatively few people were off during the day and worked at night. This was an ever-present reality to the staff at the Jazz Club.

I am now involved with a woman who works the typical days. And, well, it's hard. It's hard to actually see each other and make time to see each other. Uh, we have to, and she works during the days when I am off.  
(Jake16)

Most of my friends work at night in bars or as musicians. And are off during the day. That's when I am free to be with them and they are free to be with me.  
(Linda38)

Most of my old friends get together in the evenings or night after work or on the weekends. Well, that's when I go to work.  
(Jimmy41)

Upon their integration into the occupational community at the Jazz Club, the staff tended to experience a diminishment of or drift from their previous friendship networks and day-to-day activities and lifestyle. It is just too hard to maintain these ties to people whose schedules were so opposed to their own. Socializing with day-workers was difficult: their schedules were the exact opposite and their social gatherings tended to occur, quite naturally, during the evenings or weekends.

### **E. Summary**

"Issues of Social Organization of the Workplace and the Work" constitute the second set of defining characteristics of an occupational community. As discussed above

and in Chapter 3, this has been operationalized in terms of the following components: the lack of social differentiation within the workplace, the marginal status of the occupational role and the degree of work or workplace inclusiveness. These components were experienced and articulated by members of the workplace/occupational community at the Jazz Club such that:

- They experienced the workplace as a “community of equals” in which there was a lack of social differentiation and a relative equality of status, skills, and remuneration.
- They experienced a set of conflicts derived from the relatively marginal status of their work roles that highlighted and foster a shared collective identity.
- They experienced a high degree of work and workplace inclusiveness such that their social lives were increasingly drawn towards people and activities within the occupational community and away from friends and activities outside of it.

## **Chapter 6. Beyond the Jazz Club: Summary and Conclusion**

### **A. Introduction**

This dissertation explored two distinct yet interrelated sets of issues. The application of the concept of an occupational community was used to develop an understanding of the integration of work and community at the Jazz Club. It, further, articulated and illustrated the concept of an occupational community. I proposed that this concept could be successfully applied to the study of occupations or workplaces that blurred, transcended or made irrelevant the traditional boundaries of work and non-work or leisure, such as the Jazz Club.

### **B. Jazz Club as Occupational Community**

The Jazz Club proved to be a strategic research site to explore the dynamics of an occupational community. Its particular features match the defining characteristics of an occupational community. I found that the social identities of the individual members of the Jazz Club staff were linked to the Club. It was from the Club that they drew important aspects of their self-image; found sources of reference; and experienced a high degree of involvement. They created and maintained their networks of friendship through it as well. In addition, the Jazz Club's social structure was such that the members both individually and collectively experienced: a sense of a "community of equals" or shared status; a shared marginality as a result of the nature of their work and their relations with customers; and a high degree of workplace inclusiveness.

There was another aspect of the social experience of the Jazz Club members which both further reinforces the understanding of it as an occupational community and which, to some extent, belies positive perception we saw earlier. These are the negative

features of membership. At the same time that the staff celebrated and honored their membership in this workplace community, they were also aware of some of its negative features. It was, at least initially, intended to be a temporary a bar job. Unlike most of the other occupational communities discussed in this dissertation, such as that of police officers, commercial fishing, mining, railway workers and surgeons, membership in this occupational community did not involve a long term commitment and was not a career choice. Virtually no one intended it to be or treated it as their career. It began, rather, as a temporary source of employment and, it turned out, a source of enjoyment. It was not designed to be, but it became, a master status to the individuals working there. It became a vital element of their social identity and they were increasingly drawn into this social world, which, they in large part created, and drawn away from other involvements. At one point or another during each of my interviews this was more or less directly addressed. It was probably most explicitly confronted by Clare:

It's just, like, it was just nowhere. It's, it will take me nowhere. You know, it's. I spent all my life thinking I would do something. My father always said you are a genius. You are going to do great things. I spent all those years in school. I worked very hard to get through here. He was always saying: You can go in the service and be an officer. They do not care if you are a woman. You can be a pilot, you can be a colonel or higher. And I believed that, And here I am – 27 and a waitress. And a low paid waitress at that. I'm here all the time. I have fun, but it's getting me nowhere. You know, and it's just, like oh, I hate this. But here I am. Still working here and still coming on my nights off.

(Clare/Greg4)

Others discussed it was well.

I knew that it wasn't right, that I should be doing something else, that there's got to be something else, or whatever. As much as I love it here, I knew in my heart, my heart says it was not the right thing to be doing, especially for so long. The pernickety of it was not the right thing. The drugs is, was not the right thing. The alcohol was not the right thing. And not having a life was clearly not the right thing. I knew it the whole way

through. But, you know, if you don't wake up long enough, the, all I ever do is sleep and drink. And hang out at the Club. Hang and drink.  
(Kate81)

The Jazz Club played a dominant role in the lives of its staff. This was a natural outgrowth and consequence of the fact that the Club was an occupational community. But, from the vantage-point of day to day interaction, it was unexpected. These individuals did not enter the Club with a sense that they were and wanted to be "bar workers", in the way that a newly recognized police officer, commercial fisherman, or surgeon would enter their respective occupations. Their membership and their awareness of their membership in this occupational community crept up on them and become aware to them in a far more subtle fashion; it was problematic and not easily integrated into their preexisting sense of self. For most of the staff withdrawal from this occupational community and their club-based identity occurred only with the closing of the Jazz Club, due to difficulties negotiating a new lease with the landlord. The hold of this occupational community was so strong that it took the demise of the Jazz Club to release the staff from the occupational community and permit them to explore new or return to former identities in such occupational endeavors as law, education, finance, and the arts.

### C. Conclusion

I present this case study of an occupational community as an avenue into other concerns within sociology proper. Beyond providing a basis for illustrating the concept of an occupational community, my study of the Jazz Club sheds light on other important issues in and themes of the sociology of work as well as the broader field of sociology in general. More than just a case study examination of one occupational community, this study of the Jazz Club provides theoretical and empirical insights into such interrelated

concerns as the social dimensions of work, the formation and maintenance of social identity, socialization, group dynamics, status relations, role construction and performance, social structure of and social processes within social institutions, small group or workplace culture and interpersonal or friendship relations. A brief summary of this study's specific relevance to the central issues of identity, rewards, boundaries and community follows.

Identity. This examination of the Jazz Club as occupational community highlighted certain dimensions in the formation and maintenance of social identity. In our society, a person's work is typically an important component of an individual's social identity and status set, frequently even a master status. For members of an occupational community, however, this is experienced with an even greater intensity and in a fundamentally different manner. It did not merely inform or influence their identity; it became the basis of their social identity. The social identities of the staff of the club were, fundamentally, built around the statuses and roles that they both assumed and created in their work. They perceived themselves in terms of characteristics of their work, their work roles, and their workplace. This integration of their personal and work identities emerged through the joint processes of selection and socialization. Its formation and maintenance was based on a strong sense of shared status, participation in a shared lifestyle, and membership in a community based at their workplace. This study highlighted how a traditionally temporary, relatively minor, and frequently "stained" occupational status – in this case, that of bartender and waitress in, of all places, a jazz club – emerged as the core component of a group of individual's social identity.

Rewards. When one thinks of being rewarded or compensated for work, the focus is usually primarily, if not exclusively, on the material rewards or compensation – that is, the pay one receives for their labor or ownership. However, for members of an occupational community, in general, and for the staff of this occupational community in particular, these material rewards are significantly balanced by the non-material – the social and intrinsic – rewards that are offered through their work and their workplace. For the staff and owners of the Jazz Club, the primary, most salient rewards were the intrinsic and social rewards that they enjoyed through and because of their work and their workplace. The primary motivation for establishing, joining or remaining within this workplace were not the financial profits or pay to be gained; they, rather, revolved around such matters as: the artistic appeal of the music, the sense of belonging to a valued community, the shared and honored status they enjoyed as members of this community or staff, their involvement in a lifestyle built around the Jazz Club, and the personal characteristics they ascribed to themselves through their experience of work and their membership in this workplace community. This case study, then, offers a view of the dynamics and importance of these intrinsic and social rewards of work and their role, for instance, in the establishment of organizational commitment

Boundaries. The study of boundaries – including such matters as their relative rigidity or flexibility and how they are perceived by both insiders and outsiders – can provide important insights into issues such as organizational embrace, greedy institutions, and intra- and inter-group relations. One of the principal characteristics of an occupational community is the transcendence or elimination of the traditional boundaries between one's work and non-work life. The members of the occupational community at

the Jazz Club simply did not experience this boundary between their lives at work and their personal or social lives away from work. They experienced an uncommon degree of integration of these two traditionally more separated, if not distinct, spheres of life. To the members of this occupational community, the borderlines separating work and non-work or distinguishing between their life at work and their personal or social lives were sufficiently wavy, blurry or weak as to be rendered functionally irrelevant or non-existent.

Community. This group of co-workers, composed of the owners and staff of the Jazz Club, constructed a vibrant community centered on their shared workplace and a shared identity. Within this workplace they created and nurtured a culture and organizational structure – division of labor and authority – which inspired a high degree of identification, reference, participation and commitment. To be employed at the Club offered the opportunity of membership in this occupational community. And such membership was often a primary reason for seeking and maintaining employment there. This case study, then, provides an example of the dynamics of community creation, maintenance or reproduction and growth.

The study of work, in general, and of an occupational community, in particular, offers an opportunity to examine many aspects of social life within an relatively distinct and manageable context – that of an occupation or workplace. Within the context of work we find the essential issues of sociology: social organization and social structure, social interaction and culture. So, I conclude with the words of Everett Hughes (1952) whose spirit, within this case study, I hope to have represented well.

In so studying work, we are not merely applying sociology to work. We are studying work by sociological methods. We do not learn our method

in some pure or generalized society or part of a society and then apply it and the findings to industry, crime or religion. Rather, we study group life and process where they occur, learning our methods and developing knowledge of society as we go. We may learn about society by studying industry and human work generally. In our particular society, work organization looms so large as a separate and specialized system of things, and work experience is so fateful a part of every man's (sic) life, that we cannot make much headway as students of society and of social psychology without using work as one of our main laboratories.

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