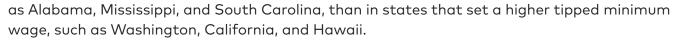
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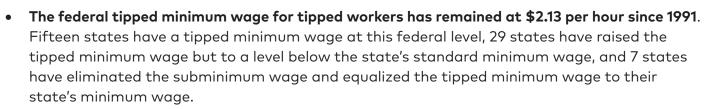
Want to Help Women? Get Rid of the Tipped Minimum Wage.

The Impact of Tipped Minimum Wage on Servers by State, Race, and Ethnicity

Research Highlights

- Servers (waitstaff and barkeepers) are the majority of workers in tipped minimum wage occupations, and women are the majority, making up almost two-thirds of servers (65.5 percent).
- While median earnings for full-time yearround work tend to be low irrespective of sex, women servers were paid just 78.5 percent of what men servers were paid, and women of each racial and ethnic group earned less than White men.
- Poverty levels of servers working full-time year-round are substantially higher in states with the federal subminimum wage for tipped workers of \$2.13 per hour, such

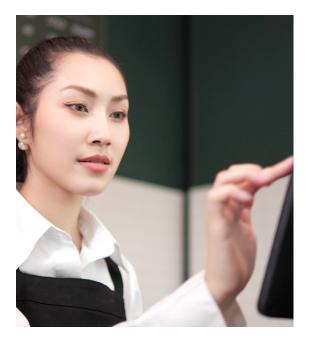






Tipping is a prevalent practice in the United States and has been subject to debate in recent years, partly amidst a global pandemic that drastically impacted the restaurant industry and triggered a cost-of-living crisis. Most employees who rely on tips work as servers in the restaurant industry—primarily as waitstaff and bartenders. Servers have a lower minimum wage that perpetuates gender and racial inequalities. Further exacerbating this, restaurant workers are positioned in a diverse restaurant landscape across the United States. Whether they work at high-end, affordable fast-food, or local "mom and pop" restaurants, the tipped minimum wage policies still in place expose these restaurant workers to unjust practices, more so when gender, race, and ethnicity are also considered. Servers² in the restaurant industry are primarily female and represent most tipped minimum wage workers. First established by Congress in 1966, the federal tipped minimum wage has not been





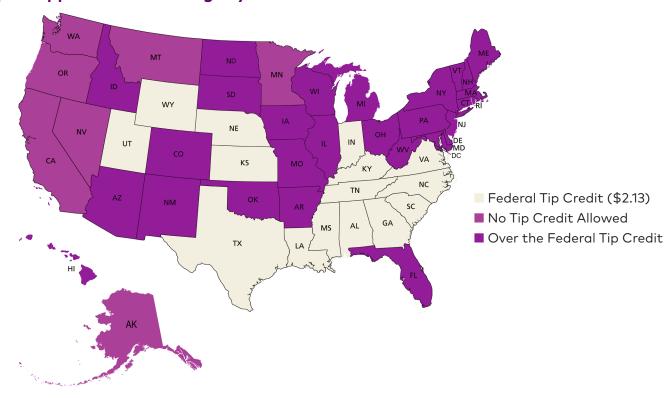
raised from \$2.13 since 1991. As a subminimum wage, the tipped minimum wage was introduced when Congress amended the Fair Labor Standard Act to add a "tip credit," which sets a dollar amount from tips "that an employer may count against its liability for the required payment of the full federal minimum wage."4 Under this amendment, a tipped employee may have their "cash wage from an employer reduced to \$2.13 per hour, as long as the combination of tips and wages from the employer equals the federal minimum wage."⁵ Prior to that, workers in tipping industries were excluded from minimum wage protections altogether. In 1996, the tipped minimum wage was tied to a percentage of the minimum wage (always at least half).6 That year, Congress raised the federal minimum wage to \$4.75 an hour but left the tipped minimum at \$2.13 an hour.7

The Department of Labor defines a tipped employee as someone who "customarily and regularly receives more than \$30 per month in tips," although certain states have established slightly different standards. According to federal law, if a tipped employee makes less than minimum wage during a pay period, the employer must make up the difference, and this difference is defined as the tip credit. While federal law says that employers should make up the difference, this law has been hard to enforce. Tipped workers in the US have recounted the many ways in which employers fail to pay them their full wage, such as by refusing to pay them the subminimum wage, requiring servers to work off the clock without pay, stealing tips, failing to pay for overtime, and refusing to pay the difference between the tipped subminimum wage and minimum wage, all of which constitute forms of wage theft.

As of 2024, seven states have abolished the tipped minimum wage and established a "one fair wage"¹³ for all. That means that tipped workers in these states are paid the standard minimum wage and keep their tips on top of that. These states are **Washington**, **Oregon**, **California**, **Nevada**, **Montana**, **Minnesota**, and **Alaska** (Map 1).¹⁴ The **District of Columbia** has been in the process of phasing out its tipped minimum wage since 2022 when voters passed a ballot for wage legislation for tipped workers. **Chicago** lawmakers also passed a fair wage legislation in 2023, and as of 2024, nearly a dozen states have pending ballot measures and legislation to establish a fair wage. Some of these states include **New York**, **Illinois**, **Massachusetts**, **Ohio**, **Arizona**, and **Michigan**.¹⁵ In July 2024, Michigan's Supreme Court passed legislation to phase out the tipped minimum wage over the next four years.¹⁶ Twenty-nine states have a tipped minimum wage above the federal tipped minimum wage but still below the minimum wage for non-tipped workers, ranging from \$2.23 in **Delaware** to \$12.75 in **Hawaii**. Fifteen states still operate under the federal tipped minimum wage.¹⁷

This fact sheet focuses on servers, specifically waitstaff and bartenders, because they are the largest tipped minimum wage occupations. Additionally, the majority of workers in these occupations are women. The fact sheet provides national and state-by-state estimates of the gender, racial, and ethnic composition of the server workforce, as well as estimates of median annual earnings for servers who worked full-time year-round, and the proportion of servers who earned below the federal poverty level even though they worked full-time year-round. These analyses are based

on pooled data of the two most recently available state-level earnings data from the American Community Survey (ACS) 2013–2017 and 2018–2022.



Map 1. Tipped Minimum Wage by State

Source: "Minimum Wages for Tipped Employees," U.S. Department of Labor. July 1, 2024, https://www.dol.gov/agencies/whd/state/minimum-wage/tipped#foot1.

Note: 'No tip credit allowed' means tipped workers must be paid the full state minimum wage, irrespective of tips earned.

Gender and Racial Bias in Tipped Minimum Wage Structures

The history of the tipped minimum wage is embedded in sexism and racism. Tipping originated in the South in the 1860s after the end of slavery as a way for employers to avoid paying their employees. When the Fair Labor Standard Act (FLSA) was introduced in 1938 to establish the first minimum wage, it excluded most restaurant and hotel workers, which at the time made up most of the tipped labor force. The FLSA excluded female-dominated industries, such as restaurant workers. At the time, it was common for specific employees such as servers, bellmen, and porters to receive little to no pay from their employers and rely solely on tips. For those who were covered by tips, the law did not specify whether tips received would count toward minimum wage until the Supreme Court specified it four years later through its 1942 ruling in *Williams v. Jacksonville Terminal* Co. 23

The introduction of the tipped subminimum wage in 1966 came at the height of the civil rights movement as a result of the objections of the hospitality and restaurant industries. The law required that tipped workers be paid at least half the minimum wage and make up the rest in tip credit. Further amendments in 1966 also ended the FLSA's exclusion of restaurant and hospitality workers.²⁴ While these extensions finally guaranteed tipped workers a statutory minimum wage for their work, its lower level reflected the continued impact of structural racism and sexism shaping the provisions of the FLSA.²⁵

Women Make Up Two-Thirds of All Servers

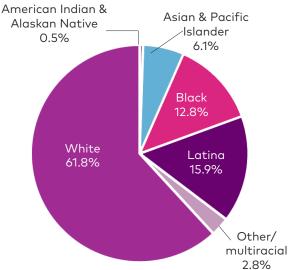
The restaurant industry is a low-wage industry that employs the majority of minimum wage and tipped minimum wage workers. ²⁶ In 2023, 2.2 million workers were classified as servers in the United States, of which almost two-thirds (65.5 percent) were women. ²⁷ Nationally, the racial and ethnic composition of the server workforce differs from that of the total workforce in some notable ways (Figures 1 and 2). Black women are substantially less likely to be servers, differing highly from their relative share of the total workforce (7.5 and 12.8 percent, respectively). The share of Latina, White, and Asian women servers more closely resembles their share of



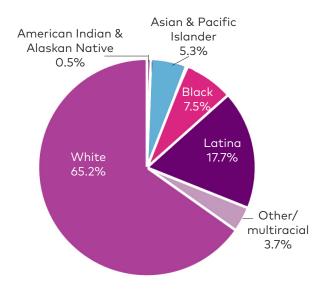
the workforce. White men, however, were substantially underrepresented among servers versus the overall workforce (54.6 and 62.6 percent, respectively), while Latino men were overrepresented (24.7 and 18.2 percent, respectively). Finally, White women made up most female servers (65.2 percent compared to 61.8 percent of the female workforce).

Figure 1. Racial and Ethnic Distribution of the Female Workforce: Servers and All Workers

Racial and Ethnic Breakdown of All Female Workers



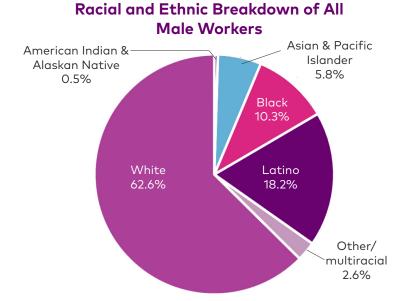
Racial and Ethnic Breakdown of All Female Servers



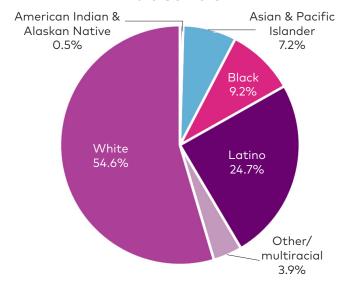
Source: IWPR analysis based on 10 years: two 5-year ACS (2013–2017 and 2018–2022) as provided by Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler. IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023, https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0.

Notes: All workers with median earnings above zero are counted regardless of how many hours worked. The workers were 16 years and older. Servers include both waitstaff and bartenders. Race categories are non-Hispanic; Hispanic or Latinas may be of any race.

Figure 2. Racial and Ethnic Distribution of the Male Workforce: Servers and All Workers



Racial and Ethnic Breakdown of All Male Servers



Source: IWPR analysis based on 10 years: two 5-year ACS (2013–2017 and 2018–2022) as provided by Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler. IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023, https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0.

Notes: All workers with median earnings above zero are counted regardless of how many hours worked. The workers were 16 years and older. Servers include both waitstaff and bartenders. Race categories are non-Hispanic; Hispanic or Latinas may be of any race.

At the state level, women outnumbered men among servers in each state, except in the District of Columbia (Table 1). Maine had the highest proportion of female servers at 78.7 percent, followed by Michigan at 77.9 percent. Women were also found to have the highest composition of the server workforce in states where the subminimum wage has not been eliminated (Table 1). The landscape of tipped wage policies across different states affects women servers and, particularly, Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) female servers' economic situation. There is a difference in earnings and poverty depending on the state that the tipped worker is in, whereby states that have abolished the tipped minimum have better earnings and lower poverty levels than the states that still operate under a tipped minimum wage structure.

A Persistent Wage Gap: Women Servers Paid Less than Their Male Counterparts

While women made up most servers, the pay of a typical female server was substantially less than that of a typical male server, regardless of her race or ethnicity. Among servers who worked full-time year-round, women's median earnings of \$23,569 were only 78.6 percent of those of male servers, at \$30,000 (IWPR calculations based on Figure 3). This gap in earnings is even greater than the gender wage gap for all women, at 84.0 percent in 2022 (IWPR calculations based on Figure 4).

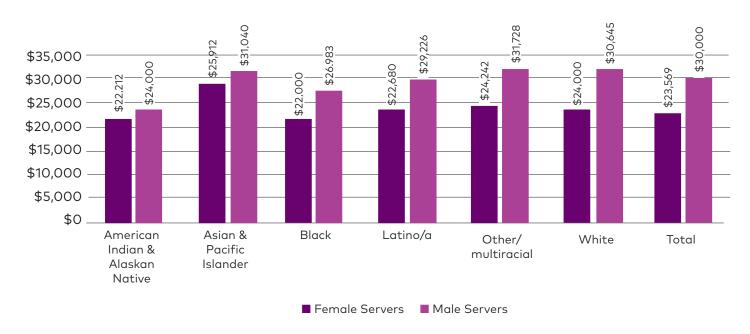
Women servers of all races and ethnicities earned less than White male servers. Asian and Pacific Islander female servers had the highest earnings ratio compared to White male servers' earnings at 84.6 percent, followed by multiracial women servers at 79.1 percent. Meanwhile, Black female servers had the widest wage gap, making 71.8 percent of what White male servers were paid, followed by

American Indian and Alaskan Native women servers, who made 72.5 percent compared to White male servers.



Full-time year-round male servers of each racial or ethnic group also earned more than women servers in the same group, with the earnings ratio ranging from 92.5 percent for a typical American Indian and Alaskan Native female server compared to an American Indian and Alaskan Native male server (with annual median earnings of \$22,212 and \$24,000, respectively), to 77.6 percent for a typical Latina²⁸ female server compared to a Latino male server (with annual median earnings \$22,680 to \$29,226, respectively, see Figure 3).

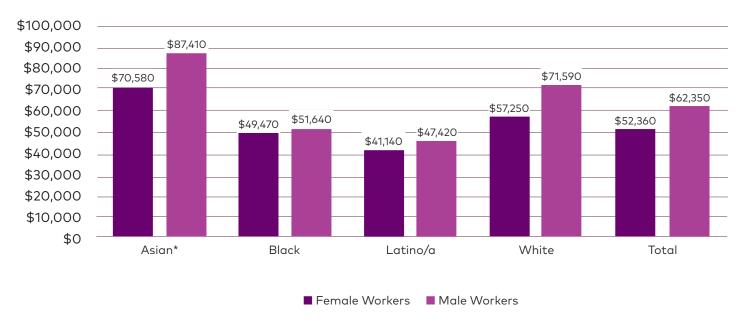
Figure 3. Median Earnings for Full-Time Year-Round Servers by Gender, Race, and Ethnicity



Source: IWPR analysis using a 10-year sample (two 5-year samples: 2013–2017 and 2018–2022) of American Community Survey (ACS) data. Data was downloaded using IPUMS. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler, IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023), https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0'.

Notes: Workers are 16 years and older. They are White alone, non-Hispanic; Black alone; Asian alone; and Hispanic (may be of any race). The median earnings were counted for servers who worked full-time year-round, defined as working at least 35 hours per week and at least 50 weeks per year. Earnings adjusted to 2022 dollars using R-CPI-U-RS, All items, 1977-2022 (XLSX) from https://www.bls.gov/cpi/research-series/r-cpi-u-rs-home.htm. Values reported correspond to the average median earnings for the ten years between 2013 and 2022.

Figure 4. Median Earnings for Full-Time Year-Round Workers by Gender, Race, and Ethnicity



Source: Ariane Hegewisch and Cristy Mendoza, "Gender and Racial Wage Gaps Marginally Improve in 2022 but Pay Equity Still Decades Away," (Institute for Women's Policy Research, September 2023), https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/2023-National-Wage-Gap-September-Factsheet-FINAL.pdf. Calculations made from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey. 2023, "Historical Income Tables: Table P-41. Work Experience—Workers by Median Earnings and Sex."

Notes: Workers ages 15 years and older. Hispanic/Latina/o workers may be of any race; White alone, not Hispanic; Black alone; and Asian alone. Median earnings correspond to the year 2022 for all demographics presented. *Data for Asian American, Hawaiian Natives, and Pacific Islanders (AAHNPI) were not available at time of publication of original fact sheet.

Full-time year-round BIPOC women and White female servers earned less than their male counterparts in every state (Table 2). The difference in earnings is mainly due to women and BIPOC workers being more likely to work in low-paying sectors of the restaurant industry, such as casual dining, instead of fine-dining establishments where tips are usually higher.²⁹ Jobs in fine dining, which pay higher wages, are disproportionately filled by White men, while in lower-tiered establishments like fast-food restaurants or casual dining, where wages are usually lower, women make up the majority of servers.³⁰ While women tend to receive more tips than men, customers at casual restaurants don't tip as well as customers at fine-dining restaurants.³¹ Another factor for the wage gap is customer bias in tipping based on the server's race, gender, and perceived attractiveness; as previous research has shown, customers of all races tend to give higher tips to White servers.³²

Full-time year-round BIPOC and White female servers both had the highest earnings in states that removed the subminimum wage. Similar to the median earnings of female servers, BIPOC and White male servers had the highest earnings in states that abolished the subminimum wage or in states where the tipped minimum wage is above the federal level (Table 2). This shows that all workers, regardless of race/ethnicity and gender, have higher earnings in states that have abolished the subminimum wage.

Furthermore, regarding racial equity more broadly, how much a server makes is dependent on their race and the state they are living in. Black servers are more likely to live in states with relatively lower tipped minimum wage policies, while Asian and Pacific Islander servers tend to live in states with a relatively higher tipped minimum wage or states where the tipped minimum wage has been eliminated. For Black female servers, 6.1 percent live in the seven states that have eliminated

the tipped minimum wage compared to 93.9 percent living in states that have not eliminated it. Meanwhile, 40.4 percent of Asian and Pacific Islander female servers live in the seven states that have eliminated the tipped minimum wage, and 59.6 percent live in states still operating under a tipped minimum wage (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Proportion of Female and Male Servers Residing in States That Have Eliminated the Tipped Minimum Wage Versus States That Still Have a Tipped Minimum Wage

Women servers							
Race/ethnicity	American Indian & Alaskan Native	Asian & Pacific Islander	Black	Latina	Other/ multiracial	White	Total female servers
States with no tipped minimum wage	22.8%	40.4%	6.1%	25.5%	19.9%	13.2%	16.6%
States with tipped minimum wage	77.2%	59.6%	93.9%	74.5%	80.1%	86.8%	83.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Male servers							
Race/ethnicity	American Indian & Alaskan Native	Asian & Pacific Islander	Black	Latino	Other/ multiracial	White	Total male servers
States with no tipped minimum wage	30.7%	40.2%	9.3%	28.9%	25.0%	17.2%	21.4%
States with tipped minimum wage	69.3%	59.8%	90.7%	71.1%	75.0%	82.8%	78.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: IWPR analysis using a 10-year sample (two 5-year samples: 2013–2017 and 2018–2022) of American Community Survey (ACS) data. Data was downloaded using IPUMS. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler, IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023), https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0'.

Notes: All workers with median earnings above zero are counted regardless of how many hours worked. BIPOC women and men were combined into one category due to small sample sizes. Servers count for both waiters/waitresses and bartenders.

Poverty Levels of Women Servers Lower in States That Have Abolished the Subminimum Wage

Tipped workers' poverty rates are three times higher than those of non-tipped workers.³³ The poverty threshold is the minimum amount of income deemed adequate for a person or a family to meet their basic needs.³⁴ The poverty threshold in 2022 for a single parent with two children was \$23,578.³⁵ Most female servers with a median income of \$23,659 would be left near poverty and unable to provide basic necessities to their kids. Black (\$22,000), Latina (\$22,680), and American Indian and Alaskan Native (\$22,212) female servers are particularly vulnerable (Figure 3).

Workers in tipped occupations often lack benefits such as paid leave or health insurance.³⁶ Only 35 percent of people working in service occupations earn paid sick time.³⁷ Furthermore, employers with less than 50 full-time employees are not required to provide health insurance. Without paid time off, workers in the service industry will usually continue to work while sick and will also most likely forgo

care for themselves and their families. Low earnings and lack of benefits will make servers more reliant on public benefits such as Medicaid and safety net programs such as SNAP in order to meet their basic needs.³⁸

A low minimum wage and the existence of a tipped minimum wage aggravate the already existing gender and racial economic disparities and increase the probability that workers—especially women—will live



in poverty. However, states that have abolished the tipped minimum wage also have higher median earnings and, therefore, have lowered poverty levels.³⁹

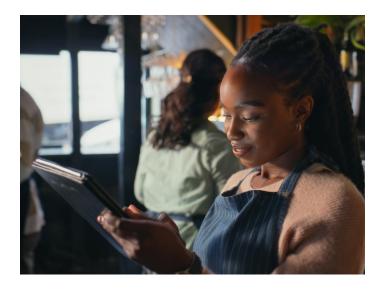
- Three of the five states with the lowest poverty rates for female servers have abolished the tipped minimum wage, while the other two—Hawaii and Colorado—have a tipped level above the federal minimum of \$2.13.⁴⁰ Hawaii (23.9 percent), Nevada (25.1 percent), and Washington (26.2 percent) currently have the lowest poverty levels for female servers, followed by Oregon (28.8 percent) and Colorado (30.0 percent, see Table 2).
- Of the five states with the highest poverty rates for female servers, three follow the federal tip credit of \$2.13—Alabama (62.8 percent), Mississippi (60.8 percent), and Kansas (60.7 percent).
- A similar pattern holds for male servers: Hawaii (13.6 percent), Washington (13.7 percent), and Minnesota (15.4 percent) have the lowest poverty levels for male servers, followed by Nevada (17.2 percent) and Colorado (21.0 percent). Meanwhile, Mississippi (60.5 percent), Arkansas (55.4 percent), and Kansas (51.8 percent) have the highest poverty levels for male servers, followed by Wisconsin (48.5 percent) and Alabama (47.5 percent)—all states where the tipped minimum wage is still operating (Table 3).

The state-level data show that the states that have abolished the tipped minimum wage were among the states that had lower poverty levels for servers, compared with states with an operating tipped minimum wage. Because servers are disproportionately women, particularly BIPOC women, abolishing the tipped minimum wage could help raise their earnings and lower the poverty rates, which in turn helps improve gender and racial inequality.

Wage Theft and Sexual Harassment Are Consequences of Tipped Minimum Wages

Having a low minimum wage for tipped workers aggravates racial and gender inequities and leads to worse economic outcomes for tipped workers. The data show that women, and especially BIPOC women, are likely to be affected the most by tipped minimum wages for servers due to lower earnings and higher poverty levels (Tables 2 and 3).

Forcing workers in the service industry to rely on tips creates economic instability for them and makes it difficult to budget or absorb financial shocks.⁴¹ Additionally, the uncertainty around their income makes workers more vulnerable to wage theft—an issue that is particularly acute in the food and drink industry. While the law requires restaurants to ensure that tipped workers receive at least the regular minimum wage⁴² when their tips are included, the reality is that huge numbers of restaurants



across the country—helped by weak enforcement efforts—ignore these requirements.

An investigation by the Department of Labor of over 9,000 restaurants in the US found that 84 percent were in violation of wage and hour laws, as well as 1,200 violations of meeting the minimum wage for their tipped employees. Furthermore, women and BIPOC servers are substantially more likely to experience wage theft than White men. 44

Because workers are required to ask their bosses for what they are owed, wage theft has been

historically challenging to prevent.⁴⁵ Moreover, penalties for wage theft are too low, even lower than those for other types of theft, such as shoplifting goods. From 2005 to 2016, the Department of Labor detected more than 66,000 FLSA minimum wage or overtime violations, of which 2,672 were considered deliberate and only 10 resulted in criminal convictions.⁴⁶ Wage theft exacerbates the economic status of low-wage workers, who are already underpaid and not receiving their owed wages in full.

Because women, particularly BIPOC women, are more likely to work tipped jobs, they are more likely to experience sexual harassment because the wages they earn are tied to the number of tips they receive. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found that "1 in 7 sexual harassment charges between 2005 and 2015 were brought by food service and accommodation workers, and these numbers are likely severely underreported."⁴⁷ A study from the Restaurant Opportunities Center United found that in states with a tipped wage of \$2.13, female tipped workers "reported experiencing sexual harassment twice as often" and were told by management "to wear 'sexier' clothing three times as often as workers in states without a tipped minimum wage."⁴⁸

When a server works for tips, the power dynamic between the service provider and receiver is fundamentally altered. The employee's income is dependent on the customer's satisfaction with their performance, allowing for far too many cases where the server has to put up with intrusive customers. ⁴⁹ The seven states that have abolished the tip credit were found to have half the rate of sexual harassment as the states that follow the federal tipped minimum wage. That is because in those states, women are paid a full minimum wage in addition to tips. That makes them less dependent on tips for their income and, therefore, may feel less obligated to put up with any form of harassment from customers. ⁵⁰

Female servers' vulnerability to sexual harassment is another reason to eliminate the subminimum wage. Paying workers an appropriate and fair wage would make them less reliant on tips and would create a more equal power dynamic between the customer and the employee.

Conclusion

The tipped minimum wage affects workers' livelihoods and economic well-being, with particular harms for women workers. Employees rely on tips as a substantial part of their income, and having a lower minimum wage for tipped employees can perpetuate gender and racial inequalities.⁵¹ Tipped workers' unstable incomes due to fluctuating tips also leave them in a state of financial insecurity.⁵² Phasing out the tipped minimum wage could reduce poverty for many tipped workers, especially where women servers have higher poverty rates, and leave them with stable wages.⁵³

Women are more likely than men to be servers, while male servers tend to earn more than female servers, regardless of race and ethnicity. Women outnumber men servers 2 to 1, but female servers were paid 78.5 percent of what male servers were paid. That also leaves them at a higher risk of poverty, having to deal with wage theft, and more likely to face sexual harassment on the job. Abolishing the tipped minimum wage and establishing a one fair minimum wage for all workers across the country will help prevent further gender, racial, and economic inequality. Seven states so far have passed a "one fair wage" policy that requires employers to pay the full minimum wage to all workers, regardless of industry. Adopting this has been shown to lead to lower poverty levels for tipped workers and better median earnings. Tipped workers are long overdue for a fair and livable wage.

This fact sheet was prepared by Noura Hassouna, Martha Susana Jaimes, PhD, and Kendal Lowrey, PhD, with assistance from Ariane Hegewisch. It was made possible with the support of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Table 1: Composition of the Server Workforce by Gender, Race, and Ethnicity						
State	All female servers	BIPOC female servers	White female servers	All male servers	BIPOC male servers	White male servers
Alabama	73.8%	22.2%	51.6%	26.2%	10.2%	16.0%
Alaska	70.3%	28.4%	41.9%	29.7%	9.0%	20.7%
Arizona	65.9%	27.8%	38.0%	34.1%	14.7%	19.4%
Arkansas	76.9%	20.0%	56.9%	23.1%	7.5%	15.6%
California	59.4%	36.1%	23.4%	40.6%	26.3%	14.3%
Colorado	62.7%	19.7%	43.0%	37.3%	11.6%	25.7%
Connecticut	70.0%	20.9%	49.1%	30.0%	11.6%	18.4%
Delaware	70.7%	19.1%	51.6%	29.3%	8.7%	20.6%
District of Columbia	49.5%	31.7%	17.8%	50.5%	33.0%	17.6%
Florida	64.9%	24.2%	40.7%	35.1%	17.1%	18.0%
Georgia	71.5%	30.3%	41.2%	28.5%	13.6%	14.9%
Hawaii	59.2%	44.1%	15.1%	40.8%	30.8%	10.1%
Idaho	77.0%	16.1%	60.8%	23.0%	3.9%	19.1%
Illinois	69.5%	22.6%	46.9%	30.5%	14.6%	15.9%
Indiana	76.0%	14.2%	61.8%	24.0%	6.1%	17.9%
lowa	76.9%	13.5%	63.4%	23.1%	6.1%	17.0%
Kansas	70.6%	19.3%	51.3%	29.4%	8.5%	20.9%
Kentucky	72.9%	10.4%	62.5%	27.1%	5.9%	21.3%
Louisiana	71.0%	24.0%	47.0%	29.0%	12.6%	16.4%
Maine	78.7%	5.8%	72.9%	21.3%	2.9%	18.4%
Maryland	64.6%	27.1%	37.5%	35.4%	18.1%	17.3%
Massachusetts	69.9%	15.4%	54.6%	30.1%	10.2%	19.8%
Michigan	77.9%	16.2%	61.7%	22.1%	6.1%	16.1%
Minnesota	70.3%	13.9%	56.4%	29.7%	8.3%	21.5%
Mississippi	75.9%	25.7%	50.2%	24.1%	8.8%	15.3%
Missouri	72.8%	12.8%	60.0%	27.2%	7.7%	19.6%
Montana	75.2%	13.1%	62.1%	24.8%	4.2%	20.6%
Nebraska	74.3%	15.0%	59.3%	25.7%	6.7%	19.0%
Nevada	55.9%	26.3%	29.6%	44.1%	25.6%	18.4%
New Hampshire	75.8%	8.2%	67.6%	24.2%	2.8%	21.4%
New Jersey	64.8%	23.4%	41.4%	35.2%	16.8%	18.4%
New Mexico	71.8%	49.9%	21.9%	28.2%	17.3%	10.8%
New York	60.3%	23.5%	36.8%	39.7%	21.5%	18.2%
North Carolina	72.2%	21.9%	50.3%	27.8%	10.7%	17.1%
North Dakota	76.2%	12.9%	63.3%	23.8%	5.0%	18.7%
Ohio	76.5%	12.1%	64.4%	23.5%	5.6%	17.9%
Oklahoma	72.1%	26.2%	45.9%	27.9%	12.4%	15.5%
Oregon	69.1%	19.6%	49.5%	30.9%	8.6%	22.3%
Pennsylvania	74.1%	13.0%	61.2%	25.9%	6.8%	19.0%
Rhode Island	73.0%	16.1%	56.9%	27.0%	5.9%	21.1%
South Carolina	71.4%	19.4%	52.0%	28.6%	8.7%	19.9%
South Dakota	74.2%	12.0%	62.3%	25.8%	6.7%	19.1%
Tennessee	72.7%	16.3%	56.4%	27.3%	8.6%	18.7%
Texas	63.9%	36.5%	27.4%	36.1%	22.2%	13.9%
Utah	66.5%	18.4%	48.1%	33.5%	9.2%	24.3%
Vermont	72.8%	5.1%	67.7%	27.2%	2.3%	24.9%
Virginia	65.9%	24.5%	41.4%	34.1%	15.0%	19.2%
Washington	68.5%	22.9%	45.6%	31.5%	12.5%	19.0%
West Virginia	74.4%	9.4%	65.0%	25.6%	3.6%	22.0%
Wisconsin	75.3%	12.7%	62.6%	24.7%	5.1%	19.6%
Wyoming	76.8%	14.9%	61.9%	23.2%	3.7%	19.5%
All	68.0%	23.7%	44.3%	32.0%	14.5%	17.5%

Source: IWPR analysis using a 10-year sample (two 5-year samples: 2013–2017 and 2018–2022) of American Community Survey (ACS) data. Data was downloaded using IPUMS. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler, IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023), https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0'. **Notes**: All workers with median earnings above zero are counted regardless of how many hours worked. BIPOC women and men were combined into one category due to small sample sizes. Servers count for both waiters/waitresses and bartenders.

State BIPOC White BIPOC White Alabama \$19,589 \$18,796 n/a \$25,538 Alaska n/a	Table 2: Median Earnings of BIPOC and White FTYR Servers by Gender					
Alabama \$19,589 \$18,796 n/a \$25,538 Alaska n/a	Sharks	Female	servers	Male servers		
Alaska	State	BIPOC	White	BIPOC	White	
Arizona \$22,159 \$28,000 \$27,581 \$33,669 Arizona \$22,763 \$18,107 n/a n/a California \$25,719 \$30,472 \$32,427 \$38,913 Colorado \$27,700 \$30,000 n/a \$33,167 \$34,255 Connecticut \$29,700 \$30,000 n/a \$33,475 \$34,255 Connecticut n/a	Alabama	\$19,589	\$18,796	n/a	\$25,538	
Arkansos \$22,763 \$18,107	Alaska	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
California \$25,719 \$30,072 \$32,427 \$38,913 Colorado \$27,700 \$30,000 \$33,167 \$34,255 Cannecticut \$29,700 \$30,000 n/a \$324447 Delaware n/a \$28,057 n/a n/a Plorida \$24,000 \$26,281 \$29,000 \$31,716 Georgia \$23,381 \$20,668 \$25,753 \$29,021 Hawaii \$30,000 n/a \$44,775 n/a Idahe n/a \$19659 n/a n/a n/a Idahe n/a \$19659 n/a n/a n/a n/a Iladiana \$20,279 \$20,279 \$24,000 \$25,350 \$33,710 Indiana \$28,755 \$33,710 Indiana \$22,4315 \$24,516 \$28,705 \$33,710 Indiana \$22,4315 \$24,516 \$28,705 \$33,710 Indiana \$22,431 \$24,000 \$22,400 \$22,400 \$22,5350 Indiana \$22,040 n/a \$24,004 <th>Arizona</th> <th>\$22,159</th> <th>\$28,000</th> <th>\$27,581</th> <th>\$33,669</th>	Arizona	\$22,159	\$28,000	\$27,581	\$33,669	
California \$25,719 \$30,072 \$32,427 \$38,913 Colorado \$27,700 \$30,000 \$33,167 \$34,255 Cannecticut \$29,700 \$30,000 n/a \$324447 Delaware n/a \$28,057 n/a n/a Plorida \$24,000 \$26,281 \$29,000 \$31,716 Georgia \$23,381 \$20,668 \$25,753 \$29,021 Hawaii \$30,000 n/a \$44,775 n/a Idahe n/a \$19659 n/a n/a n/a Idahe n/a \$19659 n/a n/a n/a n/a Iladiana \$20,279 \$20,279 \$24,000 \$25,350 \$33,710 Indiana \$28,755 \$33,710 Indiana \$22,4315 \$24,516 \$28,705 \$33,710 Indiana \$22,4315 \$24,516 \$28,705 \$33,710 Indiana \$22,431 \$24,000 \$22,400 \$22,400 \$22,5350 Indiana \$22,040 n/a \$24,004 <th>Arkansas</th> <th>\$22,763</th> <th>\$18,107</th> <th>n/a</th> <th>n/a</th>	Arkansas	\$22,763	\$18,107	n/a	n/a	
Colorado \$27,700 \$30,000 \$33,167 \$34,255 Connecticut \$29,700 \$30,000 n/a \$34447 Delaware n/a \$28,057 n/a n/a Plorida \$24,000 \$25,281 \$29,000 \$31,716 Georgia \$23,381 \$20,668 \$25,953 \$29,021 Idado n/a \$19659 n/a n/a Idado n/a \$19659 n/a n/a Illinois \$24,315 \$24,516 \$28,705 \$33,710 Indiana \$20,729 \$20,729 \$22,029 \$24,000 \$26,350 Indiana \$20,729 \$20,2729 \$24,000 \$26,350 n/a n/a <th>California</th> <th></th> <th>\$30,472</th> <th>\$32,427</th> <th>\$38,913</th>	California		\$30,472	\$32,427	\$38,913	
Connecticut \$29,700 \$30,000 n/a \$34447 Delaware n/a 196.68 \$25,953 \$29,021 \$3176 \$30,000 n/a \$44,775 n/a n/a n/a n/a \$19659 n/a n/a n/a n/a n/a n/a \$20,029 \$20,200 \$26,350 n/a	Colorado	\$27,700	\$30,000	\$33,167	\$34,255	
District of Columbia	Connecticut	\$29,700	\$30,000	n/a	\$34447	
Florida	Delaware	n/a	\$28,057	n/a	n/a	
\$20,668 \$25,953 \$29,021	District of Columbia		n/a	n/a	n/a	
Hawaii	Florida	\$24,000	\$26,281	\$29,000	\$31,716	
Idaho	Georgia		\$20,668	\$25,953	\$29,021	
Illinois	Hawaii	\$30,000	n/a	\$44,775	n/a	
Indiana \$20,729 \$20,729 \$24,000 \$26,350 lowa n/a \$22,964 n/a n/a	Idaho	n/a	\$19659	n/a	n/a	
Indiana \$20,729 \$20,729 \$24,000 \$26,350 lowa n/a \$22,964 n/a n/a	Illinois		\$24,516			
Note						
Kansas n/a \$20,694 n/a n/a Kentucky n/a \$20,400 n/a \$24,046 Louisiana \$20,430 \$20,630 \$25,942 \$27,557 Maine n/a \$28,705 n/a n/a Maryland \$25,000 \$25,000 \$30,000 \$29,462 Massachusetts \$27,328 \$28,971 \$28,973 \$36,891 Michigan \$21,618 \$21,618 \$28,602 \$27,557 Minnesota n/a \$28,705 n/a \$31,620 Mississippi \$18,972 \$20,013 n/a n/a Missouri \$21,100 \$22,000 \$25,660 \$25,912 Montana n/a \$24,413 n/a n/a Nebraska n/a \$22,000 \$25,660 \$25,912 Mortana n/a \$24,413 n/a n/a New Hampshire n/a 28100 n/a n/a New Hampshire n/a 28100						
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\$4.000 \$24.000 \$24.000 \$27.000 \$30.645	All	\$23,000	\$24,000	\$29,000	\$30,645	

Source: IWPR analysis using a 10-year sample (two 5-year samples: 2013–2017 and 2018–2022) of American Community Survey (ACS) data. Data was downloaded using IPUMS. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler, IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023), https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0'. **Notes:** Workers are 16 years and older. The median earnings were counted for servers who worked full-time year-round, defined as working at least 35 hours per week and at least 50 weeks per year. States that showed small sample sizes (under 100) were marked as n/a. Adjustment to 2022 dollars is done using R-CPI-U-RS, All items, 1977-2022 (XLSX) from: https://www.bls.gov/

cpi/research-series/r-cpi-u-rs-home.htm.

State	Female servers	Male servers	State tipped minimum wage
Alabama	62.8%	47.5%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Alaska	n/a	n/a	No tip credit allowed
Arizona	38.5%	30.8%	Over the federal tip credit
Arkansas	61.0%	55.4%	Over the federal tip credit
California	34.3%	21.0%	No tip credit allowed
Colorado	30.0%	21.0%	Over the federal tip credit
Connecticut	32.1%	26.1%	Over the federal tip credit
Delaware	39.7%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
District of Columbia	n/a	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Florida	39.3%	27.7%	Over the federal tip credit
Georgia	51.9%	34.3%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Hawaii	23.9%	13.6%	Over the federal tip credit
Idaho	56.7%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Illinois	42.0%	26.0%	Over the federal tip credit
Indiana	55.6%	40.3%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
lowa	49.0%	37.3%	Over the federal tip credit
Kansas	60.7%	51.8%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Kentucky	56.9%	47.4%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Louisiana	55.7%	39.6%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Maine	34.7%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Maryland	42.3%	29.7%	Over the federal tip credit
Massachusetts	30.1%	22.5%	Over the federal tip credit
Michigan	51.5%	32.5%	Over the federal tip credit
Minnesota	31.2%	15.4%	No tip credit allowed
Mississippi	60.8%	60.5%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Missouri	51.9%	36.7%	Over the federal tip credit
Montana	41.6%	n/a	No tip credit allowed
Nebraska	54.8%	n/a	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Nevada	25.1%	17.2%	No tip credit allowed
New Hampshire	36.7%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
New Jersey	42.4%	32.2%	Over the federal tip credit
New Mexico	57.6%	29.4%	Over the federal tip credit
New York	37.7%	22.7%	Over the federal tip credit
North Carolina	55.4%	42.0%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
North Dakota	54.9%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Ohio	47.3%	34.3%	Over the federal tip credit
Oklahoma	54.2%	41.7%	Over the federal tip credit
Oregon	28.8%	29.0%	No tip credit allowed
Pennsylvania	50.0%	30.3%	Over the federal tip credit
Rhode Island	38.5%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
South Carolina	51.0%	40.3%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
South Dakota	41.9%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Tennessee	57.1%	36.4%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Texas	54.2%	36.9%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Utah	47.3%	35.6%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Vermont	n/a	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Virginia	46.2%	30.6%	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)
Washington	26.2%	13.7%	No tip credit allowed
West Virginia	54.8%	n/a	Over the federal tip credit
Wisconsin	49.4%	48.5%	Over the federal tip credit
Wyoming	n/a	n/a	Federal tip credit (\$2.13)

Source: IWPR analysis using a 10-year sample (two 5-year samples: 2013–2017 and 2018–2022) of American Community Survey (ACS) data. Data was downloaded using IPUMS. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Matthew Sobek, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Renae Rogers, and Megan Schouweiler, IPUMS USA: Version 14.0 2013-2017 and 2018-2022 American Community Survey 5-year estimates (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2023), https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V14.0'.

29.7%

Federal tip credit (\$2.13)

44.9%

All

Notes: Workers are 16 years and older. The median earnings were counted for servers who worked full-time year-round, defined as working at least 35 hours per week and at least 50 weeks per year. States that showed small sample sizes (under 100) were marked as n/a. Poverty is defined for a single parent with two kids as making less than \$23,578 in 2022, https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/historical-poverty-thresholds.html. For tipped minimum wage information, see Minimum Wages for Tipped Employees, U.S. Department of Labor, https://www.dol.gov/agencies/whd/state/minimum-wage/tipped.

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