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University of the Witwatersrand

School of Development Studies

Research Report

What are the experiences of service workers in urban informal economy workplaces?

A study of informal hairdressing operations in the Johannesburg CBD



Submitted to the faculty of humanities in partial fulfillment of

Master of Arts (MA) in Development Studies

By Dipalesa Xoliswa Mpye

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March 2013

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University.

Signed_____ This 22 day of March 2013

Dipalesa Xoliswa Mpye

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Abstract

This research study examines the experiences of service workers in the informal economy by exploring informal hairdressing operations within the Johannesburg CBD. Drawing on ethnography at a hairsalon in Braamfontein and semi-structured interviews with hairdressers, customers, hairsalon owners and City of Johannesburg officials, it argues that the emotional and affective labour in this kind of work offers hairdressers an important basis for them to weave meaning into their work. The affective relationships that they create through hairdressing present them with the potential for the self-constitution of their work and lives.

Abbreviations

CIDS – City Improvement Districts

CID – Central Improvement District

CJP - Central Johannesburg Partnership

COJ – City of Johannesburg

ILO – International Labour Organisation

JMPD – Johannesburg Metro Police Department

RID – Retail Improvement District

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The informal economy in developing countries has been the subject of much attention and debate. This is reflected in the sheer volume of literature that has tried to define it, understand the reasons for its origins, its size and its persistence (Godfrey, 2011). Even though there continues to be much contestation around it, the informal economy is nevertheless a very important part of developing economies because it supports millions of poor, unskilled, and formally unemployed households. In South Africa it is reported that approximately 60% of the total incomes earned by households in 2007 were earned through the wages of informal sector workers (Wills, 2009).

It is also reported that a significant proportion of these workers occupy a range of service orientated informal trading jobs (Wills, 2009). The City of Johannesburg's (COJ) informal trading policy sees the informal sector as being one that is important for economic growth, employment and poverty alleviation. It proposes the introduction of demarcated trading zones for informal activity, the registration of traders through the allocation of informal trading smart card permits and the roll-out of business management skills development programmes. These interventions are aimed at regulating, formalising and improving the economic performance of informal traders (City of Johannesburg Informal Trading Policy, 2007). Like the policy, much of the literature on the informal economy has approached it from an economistic perspective and as such does not necessarily capture and explore the social dynamics within this economic activity.

This research seeks to understand service work in the informal economy not from an economistic perspective but rather as a set of work processes, which constitute social relations and subjectivities. It uses the lens of emotional labour to do this. Emotional labour is defined as the effort that service workers have to undertake in aligning their emotions and the display thereof to those stipulated and managed by the organisations that they work for (Hochschild, 1983). This labour is an important but invisible part of service work; this labour satisfies customers; this labour produces value; this labour is effort intensive but is seldom remunerated and has potentially negative consequences for those that perform it (Hochschild, 1983).

This concept has also been expanded and developed through various case studies (Wissinger, 2007; Carls, 2007; Dowling, 2006) to explore the creative potential of service workers through what has been termed 'affective labour' (Hardt, 1999). Affective labour is the labour that is undertaken by a service worker to produce certain emotional experiences in others. According to Hardt (1999: p96), it "involves the creation and manipulation of

affects...its products are intangible, a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement or passion; even a sense of connectedness and community".

Emotional labour has been typically used to understand service work within the formal economy, an economy where the rules and guidelines around *how* a service is delivered are captured in company branding, mission statements, and operational manuals. In informal economy operations, these rules and guidelines are not so clear, as such, neither are the emotional labour expectations and outcomes.

This research examines and illuminates the experiences of hairdressers in informal service work. It explores the four types of informal operations in the city, namely street based hairdressers, hairdressers employed informally in a formal hairsalon, hairdressers renting space in an underground makeshift salon and hairdressers that travel to their customers. It asks what the rules and guidelines are that govern each of these operations and whether they differ. It explores the emotional labour required from the hairdressers. It asks how this emotional labour is regulated and by whom. It asks to what extent hairdressers are in control of the service that they render. It asks what the consequences of this emotional labour are to the hairdressers. It examines how hairdressers form relationships through this service work. This research contributes towards broadening the understanding of the informal economy by extending the use of emotional labour to explore the experiences of service workers in the informal economy. This contribution can help enrich the quality of the policy steps taken with regard to the informal economy, and this will in turn be of benefit to those within it.

The core findings of this research are detailed in Chapter's 4,5 and 6. Chapter 4 locates informal hairdressing operations within the informal economy of Johannesburg. It describes the City of Johannesburg's policy and argues that the location bias in the policy causes it to miss the full spectrum of the city's informal economy. The COJ focuses on street based hairdressers and prescribes policy interventions for this space only. In doing so it does not address in any way the decent work deficiencies in the informal economy. Poor working conditions are present in these informal hairdressing operations but these are missed by the policy. Despite these conditions however, Chapter 5 argues that the informal service work and the emotional labour within hairdressing, provides all hairdressers with positive consequences and a basis for them to construct themselves as respectable individuals. Chapter 6 argues that the nature of hair is highly emotive and an informal hairdresser is a skilled affective worker. This affective labour produces networks and sociality that allows hairdressers to control and shape their own lives. There is more to the experience of being a hairdresser than what policy, control and poor working conditions might suggest.

Explanation of Terms used

Braids: Hair (synthetic, human or an individuals own) that is plaited into 3 strands to create length.



Figure 1: Woman with synthetic braids

Cornrows: Patterned rows of plaits braided close to one's scalp either with or without the use of a hairpiece.

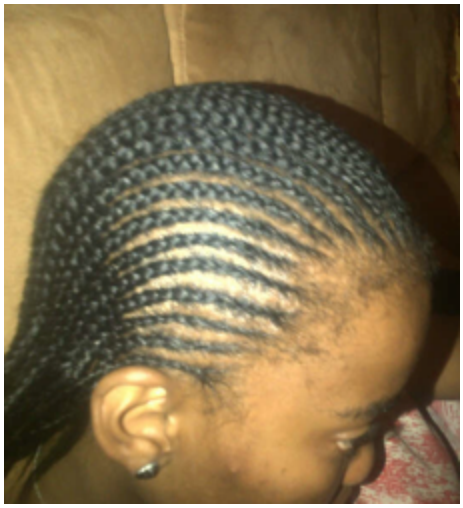


Figure 2: Client with cornrows

Weave: Human hair or synthetic hairpiece that is sewn or glued onto to one's real hair



Figure 3: International pop star Rihanna with a weave

Hairpiece: Synthetic or human hair extensions used in the braiding, cornrowing and weaving processes to add length to one's own hair. Hairpieces are available in a variety of colours and textures.

2 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Hair salons are a part of our everyday lives. Either you visit them regularly or you pass by them in the midst of your daily routine. This chapter explores several bodies of literature useful for conceptualising this study. The bodies of literature will be reviewed under the broad headings of the informal economy, emotional labour, the meaning of hair and the hairsalon. This literature review serves to provide, as far as possible, a comprehensive discussion of each body of literature and how it relates to this research.

2.1 The Informal Economy

The hair salons studied in the research range in informality from underground shops to mobile entrepreneurs to partially "compliant" formal stores. The concept of the informal economy, then, is a useful overarching one to begin to understand the diversity of this form of economic activity. The origins of the term informal economy are attributable to Keith Hart and his "discovery" of this economy in Ghana in the early 1970s. Since then the informal economy has been studied extensively. Various attempts have been made by states in developing economies to identify and harness its potential for employment creation, poverty alleviation and economic growth. There are three dominant approaches that have been taken by scholars in understanding the informal economy, namely the legalist, structuralist and dualist approaches (Godfrey, 2011).

The legalist approach is heavily informed by the work of Hernando de Soto in Latin America. The core argument made by de Soto (1989: p 6) is that informality is a "revolution against the state" and that the poor find themselves in a system that excludes them from participating in the formal economy because developing states are highly bureaucratised, overly legalistic and more concerned with the redistribution of wealth to a small group of elites. The poor in this context cannot officially register their businesses and property, as it is costly, time consuming and complicated. As such this approach prescribes that a package of legal reforms is required, in order to make it easier for everyone to do business, by reducing the administrative overhead in registering businesses and also providing the means by which the property held by the poor is legally recognised. These reforms then will facilitate the economic growth and development required in developing economies (de Soto, 1989; 2000).

The structuralist approach, by contrast, attributes the existence and growth of the informal economy, not to barriers posed by the state but as a result of the capitalist system and the nature of the linkages that exist between the informal and formal economies. The global capitalist system has tended toward the informalization of labour through the lowering of wages and increasingly flexible labour practices. These have resulted in the significant casualization of labour through the various outsourcing strategies taken by firms especially in times of economic crisis. This has resulted in not only the growth of informality but also the persistence of it (Meagher, 1995; Portes, Castells and Benton, 1989).

In direct contrast to the structuralist position, the dualist approach differs in that it sees the informal and formal economies as two independent and different economies. The formal economy has a more urban orientation with high productivity levels whereas the informal economy has low productivity, low profits and is found in the rural setting. The informal sector exists because there are no opportunities for those in the informal economy to enter the formal economy (Lewis 1954/1958).

These approaches have informed the policy positions taken by governments, including the South African government in dealing with the informal economy. At this point it is important to emphasise that this study is not aimed at interrogating why informal hairdressing operations exist in the first place but rather it is focused on what it means to be a hairdresser working within them. The ILO (2011: p 2), deals with informality as,

> "*employment in the informal sector and informal employment.... Employment in the informal sector is an enterprise-based concept which is defined as jobs in unregistered and/or small unincorporated private enterprises; such enterprises are not constituted as separate legal entities (and are thus not officially registered) and do not maintain a complete set of accounts. Informal employment is a job-based concept and encompasses those jobs that generally lack basic social or legal protections or employment benefits and may be found in the formal sector, informal sector or households".*

This view of the informal is integral to this study because it gets us beyond the stalemate of the three approaches as it looks at the economy as a set of employment relationships. Inasmuch as the three approaches to the informal economy are important to our understanding of what informs the nature of the mechanisms that make up policy around this economy, it is also crucial to recognise the potential for heterogeneous employment relationships and the resultant working conditions for those hairdressers in the various types of hair braiding operations in the inner city of Johannesburg. What it also implies is that the hairdressers referred to in this study include those hairdressers that work in informal hairdressing operations as well as those that are informally employed within formal

hairdressing operations. Tied closely to this is the expanded statistical definition of the informal economy released in 2003 at the International Conference of Labour Statisticians, as summarized by Chen (2012: p7) in the table below.

Table 1: Expanded Statistical Definition of the Informal Economy

Informal self-employment including:
▪ employers in informal enterprises ▪ own account workers in informal enterprises ▪ contributing family workers (in informal and formal enterprises) ▪ members of informal producers' cooperatives (where these exist)
Informal wage employment: Employees hired without social protection contributions by formal or informal enterprises or as paid domestic workers by households. Certain types of wage work are more likely than others to be informal. These include:
▪ employees of informal enterprises ▪ casual or day labourers ▪ temporary or part-time workers ▪ paid domestic workers ▪ contract workers ▪ unregistered or undeclared workers ▪ industrial outworkers (also called homeworkers)

The ILO concept of Decent Work is also one, which is relevant to any discussion on the informal economy. The Decent Work Agenda emphasises that all workers have rights regardless of where they work and that decent work must be promoted through the "entire continuum from the informal to the formal end of the economy, and in development oriented, poverty reduction-focused and gender-equitable ways" (ILO, 2002: p4).

In terms of this Decent Work Agenda, the ILO (2002) argues that it is essential that the conditions within the informal economy be examined through what they term, Decent Work Deficits. It contends that Decent Work Deficits are most pronounced within this economy. A 2012 collaborative initiative of the South African Local Economic Development Network (SA LED Network) on local government practices in managing informality in Africa specifically highlights these deficits as being most pronounced in informal activities where workers:

- "Have ambiguous or disguised employment status;
- Have high illiteracy levels, low skill levels and inadequate training opportunities;
- Have more uncertain, less regular and lower incomes;
- Are exposed to inadequate and unsafe working conditions, including longer working hours;
- Are often excluded from or not reachable by social security schemes or safety and

health, maternity and other labour protection legislation; and

- Lack collective bargaining and representation rights" (SA LED Network, 2012: p16).

In line with addressing Decent Work Deficits, the South African National Government adopted a Decent Work Country Programme in 2010 which states its priorities as follows:

- "Strengthening fundamental principles and rights at work through the ratification and implementation of International Labour Standards; and improved labour administration for effective employment services
- Promotion of employment creation through an enabling environment for job rich growth, sustainable enterprises, including formalization of the informal sector and skills development
- Strengthening and broadening social protection coverage through better managed and more equitable access to social security and health benefits, occupational safety and health, and improved workplace responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic " (Nedlac, 2010: p23).

Valodia (2001) argues that the growth of the informal economy also has a very gendered dimension to it in that women make up 57% of persons employed within the informal economy. He argues that although South Africa's macro-economic policies have led to the progressive informalization of the labour force at large; it is women that are at the greatest disadvantage as it is the sectors that employ the most number of women that have been most impacted by the countries' trade liberalization policies. This has forced many women into survivalist activity within the informal economy as evidenced by 70% of women occupying domestic work and other elementary occupations. These are the lowest earning and lowest skilled occupations in the informal economy. It is not by coincidence that women occupy these positions in the informal economy. Women are unfavourably included in the informal economy and various ideological and social processes have resulted in women being constructed as unskilled labourers and the extent to which work is seen as skilled bears heavily on the power of the workers to demand better pay and working conditions (Kantor, 2005). Women typically dominate hairdressing occupations and thus the skill of doing hair provides crucial income, especially in the informal economy, where it is a matter of survival for the women that are involved in this particular activity.

This body of literature provides a basis by which to begin to understand the informal hairdressing operations that this research studies and also serves to shed some light on the kind of thinking that has informed the City of Johannesburg's informal trading policy and its by-laws and how they have chosen to define and approach the informal economy. The policy will be reviewed in Chapter 4 of this study.

2.2 Emotional and Affective labour

The concept of emotional labour is one that was first introduced by Arlie Hochschild in her ground - breaking work, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* in 1983. Hochschild (1983) argues that emotional labour is the process that an individual intentionally undertakes in managing their emotions such that they align not only with societal norms around what should be felt and expressed within particular situations but also with the rules as defined and managed by the organizations that they work for. She argues that emotional labour is a fundamental requirement in service jobs and that understanding it as well as its implications for those that work in these jobs is crucial because of the significant shift in the orientation of work within the American economy and indeed the global economy, from production orientated work to more service orientated work. She studied emotional labour within the context of the work performed by flight attendants. Since then, the concept of emotional labour has been used by various scholars (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Gimlin, 1996; Schuler and Sypher, 2004; Steinberg and Figart, 1999; Toerien and Kitzenger, 2007; Wharton, 2009) as the lens through which to explore various dimensions of service work within diverse work settings ranging from nursing homes to 911 emergency call center operations and even professional beauty salons.

Emotional labour is performed in two ways, namely through "surface acting" and "deep acting" (Hochschild, 1983: p35). Surface acting occurs when a service worker attempts to align the actual emotions that they experience while delivering their service with the emotions that they are expected to feel by just *putting on* a display of the required emotion; a smile will be put on while trying to serve a rude customer for example because that is what is expected. Deep acting however, occurs when a service worker attempts to align the actual emotions that she experiences while delivering her service with the emotions that she is expected to feel by intentionally working to feel the required emotion and as such express it authentically. In this case, service workers will for example, talk themselves out of being upset at a rude customer, or perhaps think happy thoughts until they actually feel happy and then smile in order to give the customer a good service experience (Hochschild, 1983).

Both this surface and deep acting are argued to over time have negative consequences on service workers. Hochschild (1983: p 90) contends that emotional labour results in an "emotive dissonance", where this daily labour of separating ones self from their feelings over time impacts negatively on the emotional and physical well-being of service workers. Various studies have argued that stress and burnout are some of the other negative consequences of emotional labour. In addition to this, the emotional labour required in

service work is problematic in that the effort and the value that this labour creates for organisations it is not well compensated because it is an implicit requirement in service jobs and the labour itself is invisible. Service workers, then, have been referred to as the "emotional proletariat" (Macdonald and Sirianni, 1996: p 3; Steinberg and Figart, 1999). Hochschild (1983: p187) thus argues, "the harm [caused by emotional labour] could be reduced if workers could feel a greater sense of control over their work lives".

"Collective emotional labour" also takes place in the workplace because interaction between service workers is a job requirement (Hochschild 1983: p 114). Because interaction is often used as a means to share complaints about customers, it can boost low morale and in turn improve service. It allows for service workers to collectively align their emotions with the emotional labour expectations within their organisations. In Hochschild's (1983: p 115) example, a flight attendant was quoted as saying "Oh we banter a lot. It keeps you going. You last longer".

What Toerien and Kitzenger (2007) point to in their ethnographic study of emotional labour in beauty salons in the United Kingdom is that, not only is emotional labour effort intensive but it requires skill and is a skill in itself. They argue that beauty therapists have to manage "multiple involvements", these involvements are chatting to the customer, providing the actual beauty treatment and managing the tensions that could arise between these and this requires a high degree of emotional labour. The emotional labour here is performed while chatting to the customer and also in managing the tensions that arise between the tasks of chatting and providing the beauty treatment and this is in itself a skill. Women are more likely to perform jobs that require more emotional labour than men and gender does shape how this emotional labour is performed. More women as opposed to men are found in service jobs that require for them to be friendly and caring towards customers and thus women disproportionately bear the burden of the negative consequences of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983).

Schuler and Sypher (2004) have criticised Hochschild (1983) by arguing that she has focussed so much on the negative consequences of emotional labour that the potential of there being any positive consequences is hard to envisage. As such, through their exploration of service workers at a 911 emergency dispatch centre, Schuler and Sypher (2004) show that there are positive consequences to emotional labour and that at times service workers pursue emotional labour because they find it rewarding. Schuler and Sypher (2004) found that 911 emergency dispatch service workers looked forward to the emergency calls that challenged the requirement for them to be emotionally neutral over the phone because these calls at times provided them with the enjoyment of "comic relief" and an "adrenalin fix" (p 752 -

753). Hill and Bradley (2010) also study what emotional labour involves as well as what the consequences of it are for female hairdressers in their ethnography of hairsalons in Britain. Their research reveals that interaction with customers during the service encounter is conducive to both positive and negative emotional consequences, with hairdressers feeling a sense of pride and happiness when they have been able to manage their emotions in such a way that meets the needs of customers. To cheer a customer up, to patiently and calmly listen to the requests of a difficult customer are all seen as the emotional labour required or expected from hairdressers (Bradley and Hill, 2010).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) explore the link between identity and emotional labour in service roles. They argue that the consequences of emotional labour are mediated by an individual's ability to identify with the service role expectations, feeling and display rules. The stronger the identification with the role, the more likely it is that the service worker will experience enjoyment and fulfilment from their work. Emotional labour in this instance leads to what they term as an "identity enhancing" experience (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993: p 98). In contrast however, the less an individual is able to identify with the role, the more likely they are to suffer the negative consequences of emotional labour as described by Hochschild, namely, "emotive dissonance (the sense of strain caused by portraying feelings that are not felt) and self-alienation (the loss of one's sense of authentic self)" and this would be an "identity-threatening" experience (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993: p 98 - 100).

'Affective Labour' expands on the concept of emotional labour in that it observes, "unlike emotions, which are mental phenomena, affects refer equally to body and mind...affects, such as joy and sadness, reveal...a certain state of the body along with a certain mode of thinking. Affective labor, then, is labor that produces or manipulates affects...a worker with a good attitude and social skills is another way of saying a worker is adept at affective labor" (Hardt and Negri, 2004: p 108). Affective labour is also seen as immaterial labour, in the sense that it does not produce tangible goods, but is rather the labour that is required in the production of the intangibles of information, knowledge and services which have become the foundations of global capitalist production today. The service-orientation of global capitalist production has come to mean that affective labour has become one of the most important forms of labour. "Affective labour produces social networks, forms of community...[where] the instrumental action of economic production has merged with the communicative action of human relations" (Hardt, 1999: p96).

It is argued that this labour "produces collective subjectivities, sociality and society itself" and inasmuch as this has become a core component of capitalist accumulation, and thus

open to its exploitation, it also presents tremendous potential for the liberation of workers because it relies deeply on the service worker's own social skills and creativity (Hardt, 1999: p96). To explain the potential of affective labour, Hardt (1999) uses the concept of biopower. He argues that he borrows the notion of biopower from Foucault but that his usage of it is an inversion thereof. He asserts that like Foucault he understands biopower to be "the power to manage life" or the "production of life" however he emphasises that this power is not only instituted from above as stressed by Foucault (Hardt, 1999: p98). His argument is that affective labour holds immense potential for "bio-power from below", that the networks of affective labour produce a "form-of-life" (Hardt, 1999: p 96 -100). Thus affective labour holds the potential for resistance precisely because of how it is built upon affective relations between people that cannot be fully brought within the control of wage labour (Hardt, 1999).

Despite the limitations of the concept of emotional labour as highlighted by some scholars, emotional labour is used in this research as a means by which to explore the relations and rules that govern hairdressing operations within the informal economy. Some of the sub questions that this research asks are; what are the emotional labour expectations of hairdressers in the informal sector? What are the rules and guidelines that hairdressers must adhere to, who sets these rules and how do they regulate them? Does collective emotional labour take place? How does collective emotional labour take place? What are the consequences (negative or positive) of emotional labour within this space? Is emotional labour recognised and remunerated, if at all? How might emotional and affective labour provide support, build collectives, and be appealing to informal workers in their daily relations in this work?

2.3 The meaning of hair

When one takes a walk in Braamfontein and the inner city of Johannesburg, it is impossible not to notice the number of barbershops and hairsalons and also how busy they are. These salons sell a range of hairdressing services, hair products and hair extensions catering to black women specifically. A tremendous amount of time, energy and money is poured into hair, with market research into the personal care industry revealing that the South African black haircare market is worth R9.7 billion a year (Durham, 2011). This begs the question as to why hair and hairstyling matters so much to black women? This is not to suggest that hairstyling matters any less to women of other races but since the informal hairdressing operations, which are the focus of this study, cater specifically for black women, it is a relevant question to ask.

For Erasmus (1997) hair is more than just dead strands growing out of ones head but rather it is "political, gendered and sexualised" (Erasmus, 1997: p11) and that "hair is socially constructed, imbued with meanings, and with *multiple* identities" (Erasmus, 1997: p16). Often the discourse on black women's hair focuses on the straightening of hair (chemically or mechanically), and frames it as reflecting black women's desire for whiteness and to conform to the beauty standards that are seen to accompany whiteness, i.e. long, straight hair. This discourse has been shaped by processes of colonialism and its oppression of black people. The rise of the Black Power Movement in the 1960s rejected this self-alienation and hairstyles that were seen as more 'naturally' black such as the afro and dreadlocks became popular among black communities and activists (Mercer, 1987).

Through her own reflection on what hairstyling meant for her as a young coloured girl growing up in a coloured community in Port Elizabeth, Erasmus (1997) contends that hair regardless of what is being done to it is constantly being shaped by cultural practice. Both her and Mercer (1987) argue that focusing on a particular style not only serves to deny the complexity of cultural practice; what it also does is that it lays the foundation for a very essentialist and simplistic judgement that "black women who straighten their hair are reactionary and black women who do not are progressive" (Erasmus, 1997: p 15). When her hair was straightened, Erasmus (1997) recalls that she, "...felt proud and confident. I felt beautiful. I did not feel white. And I did not look white either " and on her Saturday hair washing days where her hair would "gaan huis toe" (revert to its natural tightly curled state when wet) she also relates her experience and awkward feelings toward her hair to "aspirations of whiteness" in her coloured community (Erasmus, 1997: p 16). Today she no longer straightens her hair as she did then and when she receives compliments on how it looks, she feels a sense of freedom in knowing that she can "have her hair worked on" in different ways (Erasmus, 1997: p 16).

This ties into what Rooks (1996) argues when she asserts that from a young age, a black girl's hair is imbued with messages and influences on how she sees herself as well as how she is received by society. Hair plays a large role in the formation of identity and self worth. It is and can both be reflective of individual's self-expression as well as the embodiment of social expectations and norms. Today black women have an array of hairstyling options, which, as argued by Mercer (1987) and Erasmus (1997), is something to be proud of. Styling one's hair is reflective of a creativity and inventiveness, and challenges us "to cherish plurality..." (Mercer, 1987: p53).

These arguments on the significance of hair and hairstyling are relevant in the exploration of the reasons why the customers at the informal hairdressing operations chose to do their

hair in the ways that they do. The meanings customers attach to hair also determine what the work of a hairdresser is and also how this plurality that Mercer (1987) refers to defines what a hairdresser does.

2.4 The hairsalon

Studies on hairsalons and beauty salons at large have focussed on them for a variety of reasons. These spaces have certainly served as a " microcosm" through which various sociological issues have been illuminated " (Black, 2002: p3). These studies on hairsalons will be used as a means to understand the relevance of the hairsalon to both its customers and workers.

Black (2002) argues that the salon is not merely about beauty. Instead the reasons why women access salons are linked to wider discourses within their personal and social lives. She uses the different categories of treatments offered at beauty salons as a means to highlight these. She groups the treatments under the categories of pampering, routine grooming, health treatments and corrective treatments. She argues that pampering treatments (such as manicures, pedicures and massages) are linked to the discourse of stress. Women justify these treatments because they see them as an escape from the stress of the daily balancing of multiple responsibilities in their lives, especially those that have paid employment. These treatments help them feel relaxed and better able to cope with stress. Routine grooming treatments (such as eyebrow shaping, waxing, hairdressing) are less about feeling but more about appearance and the maintenance thereof. Black (2002: p 8) asserts that this appearance is "related to a sense of appropriateness", timesaving and that satisfaction is derived from the achievement of a desired look. This measure of what is appropriate is linked to the physical spaces that a woman finds herself in, as much as it is to her class, age and ethnicity. This point is brought into sharp focus when considering women that have paid employment. Even though both men and women feel that looking appropriate for work is an important investment and both justify this kind of treatment as such, the benefits of these beauty treatments accrue disproportionately to men because of the highly gendered nature of workplaces. This "looking appropriate" for work, is a naturally expected part of being a woman (Black, 2002: p8). In her study, Black (2002) argues that the health treatments category (such as aromatherapy) tie into the growing discourse around the dissatisfaction around traditional medical treatments that has seen a growth in holistic and complementary health treatment strategies. She also highlights that corrective treatments (such as laser vein removal and electrolysis) are directly linked to the discourse of normative femininity in the sense that women see these treatments as a must and there

is also a sense of shame and secrecy that surrounds their use. Ultimately, what Black's (2002) study does is that it emphasises that women access salons for different reasons at various points in their lives but that the everyday practice of entering a salon speaks to the social significance of gendered identity and work.

In her ethnographic study at a hairsalon in rural Ontario, Soulliere (1997), sets out to answer the question of how hairstyling gets done at a hairsalon. She argues that hairstyling at a hairsalon takes place through various processes of interaction. According to her study hairstyling involves a constant process of negotiation between hairstylist and customer. This process of interaction builds trust and that this trust is a very necessary part of relationship building. Hairstyling also requires that hairdressers assert themselves as professionals (they are usually not seen as such) and this skills claim is done through their display of knowledge of hair techniques, styles as well as "salon quality products" during the hairstyling interaction. This professionalism however is constantly being challenged as customers negotiate and dictate what they want a hairstylist to produce. Hairstyling is also a commercial service and the hair salon serves as a marketplace. Hairstylists are financially dependant on their customers and the establishment of a following is a crucial part of success. She asserts that change is the "lifeblood" of the business, that is, clients wanting to change the appearance of their hair. As such talking about trends and fashion and convincing clients to try new styles is a critical part of how hairstyling gets done (Soulliere, 1997: p 58). This is consistent with Gimlin's (1996) findings in her ethnography of a hairsalon in "Pamela's Place", she argues that "the hairstylist...bridges the gap between those who pursue beauty and those who define what beauty is; [the hairstylist] becomes the route to those standards and the embodiment of them in everyday life" (Gimlin, 1996: p505). The hairstylist is thus a very integral part of how hair is given meaning and its multiple identities. However this capacity is limited because of the emotional labour required in this service work. The hairstylists are required to listen to their client's problems and stories and also make them feel good by being caring. Part of this emotional labour means then that a hairstylist must produce what the customer wants regardless of what their ideas or feelings on the hairstyle may be in order to make the customer feel good and come back to the hairsalon (Gimlin, 1996).

Spaces where beauty service work is performed are highly gendered spaces and hairsalons are no different. Kang (2003) argues that the work in these spaces is gendered in four dimensions: both the service providers and the customers are women; the work itself is centred around that of creation of beauty according to norms that are feminine; it usually takes place in semi-private and feminized spaces; and, the emotional labour performed is

gendered. Gender as a social institution lays the "groundwork for the very existence of these businesses..." (Kang, 2003: p 834).

Cohen (2010) offers a very different exploration of hairsalons, by focussing on mobile hairstyling instead. She defines mobile hairstylists as those stylists that do not work from a designated salon or any other fixed workspace. These stylists are self-employed, own-account workers. Some work informally but in the context of her study, the majority are registered taxpayers and are eligible for formal tax deductions with regard to their travel expenses and equipment. Mobile hairstyling falls under the broad area of mobile work. There are three different types of mobile work, namely, "mobility as work, mobility for work and working while mobile" (Cohen, 2010: p 66). Mobile hairstyling is said to fall under the category of mobility for work because stylists travel to their customer's homes in order to perform their work there. This entering into the private spaces that belong to others coupled with insecurity of income, presents the challenge of "maintenance of spatial, social and temporal boundaries" for a stylist (Cohen, 2010: p 78). Stylists may find it difficult to set their own work hours and define their work as work. This is pronounced in situations of what Cohen (2010) terms as "unbounded mobile styling" where a stylist's clientele is comprised of and dependent on her network of friends and family. Here, work seepage and social alienation are said to occur because of the blurring of social and work boundaries. In contrast, "bounded mobile styling", where a stylist is able to construct reliable or "well trained" clients and predictable "workplaces" (Cohen, 2010: p78) allows for greater control over ones work life balance and satisfaction. It is argued that this is possible in situations where the clientele is very dependent on the stylist travelling to them. In Cohen's study the example used is that of the elderly and immobile.

This body of literature on hairsalons offers a rich basis for the exploration of the informal hairdressing operations in this study. This study will also inquire into the reasons why customers access hairsalons and what getting their hair done at a hairsalon might mean to them. The role played by the hairdresser in how hair is given meaning and the negotiation involved in hairdressing within these informal operations will be examined as a means of highlighting what emotional labour takes place in this work. The literature on mobile hairstyling is very relevant toward providing some understanding of how mobile hairdressers organise their work and what this means for their experience as service workers. The next sections of this report discuss the methods (Chapter 3) used in conducting this study and then the findings of this study (Chapter 4,5,6 and 7).

3 CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of hairdressers that work in informal hairdressing operations found in the inner city of Johannesburg. In order to uncover the hairdresser's experiences, this research applied a qualitative approach. Qualitative research specifically investigates the behaviours of human beings and social phenomena, both of which are not easily predictable, or quantifiable (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This type of research enables a rich understanding of human behaviours because it contextualizes the relations within the socio-economic, political and historical settings in which they take place (Straus & Corbin, 1990).

The fieldwork for the study was conducted from August to December of 2012. Due to the lack of scholarship and statistical data on informal hairdressing in Johannesburg, the months of August and September were used as the initial investigation period to gain an understanding of the range of informal hairdressing operations in the city. During this period the researcher conducted a preliminary interview with her own hairdresser, two customers of the same hairdresser as well as a key informant interview with a student director of a documentary film which explores the lives of hairdressers working in the Johannesburg inner city. This preliminary research aided in the site selection for this study. The rest of this chapter will describe the site selection, data collection and sampling technique used. It also explains the study's ethical considerations and limitations.

3.1 Site Selection

From preliminary research, I identified four different informal hairdressing operations which can be found in the Johannesburg CBD, namely, formal hairsalons in which hairdressers are informally employed, informal underground makeshift hairsalons, hairdressers that work on the street in spaces demarcated for informal trading activities and mobile hairdressers that travel to their customers' homes. All four types of operations were explored in this study in order to, firstly, investigate and describe the working conditions across these operations and to also understand the similarities and differences that might exist in the experiences of the hairdressers that work in them. The researcher gained access to one of the busiest hairsalons located in the heart of Braamfontein, which for reasons of anonymity will be referred to as the "Braamfontein Hair Cafe" from this point onwards. The salon is a formally registered business that informally employs 24 hairdressers. The second hairdressing operation was an underground makeshift hairsalon that 6 hairdressers rent from a shop owner on Kerk street. The third was an open-air informal trading market on Kerk street that

groups of hairdressers operate from and the fourth were mobile hairbraiders that travel to their customer's homes.

3.2 Data Collection Techniques

The two main data collection techniques used in this study were ethnography and in-depth semi-structured interviews. The utilization of interviews and ethnography as data collection methods provided in-depth knowledge of the dynamics within informal hairdressing operations as well as an understanding of the experiences of the hairdressers within them (Straus & Corbin, 1990).

Ethnography

Ethnography was conducted at Braamfontein Hair Cafe over a period of six and a half weeks with the researcher spending an average of 6 hours at the salon every Thursday and Friday during this period. Ethnography was chosen as a data collection technique as it allows the researcher to directly and systematically observe, participate in and document how things occur as they occur. Adler and Adler (2003:p 42) assert that "superficial relationships yield superficial insights" thus enough time must be spent in a particular setting in order to build relationships. As such, the researcher gained permission to work as an unpaid assistant at the salon and was paired up to assist and be shown around the space by one of the hairdressers. The researcher spent majority of the time observing the hairdresser at work and interacting with the other hairdressers in the space. A total of six hours was also spent at the front reception of the hairsalon. This area of the salon is where the owner spends most of his time and also where the cash register and the area where various hair products and hair extensions are sold. This area serves as the first and last point of contact that customers make with the hairsalon. The researcher made sure that participant observations took place over busy as well as quiet periods at the hair salon. Field notes were jotted onto the researcher's mobile phone and expanded upon at the end of each workday. During the observation periods, the researcher went to the bathroom to jot down notes or did this during periods when the hairdressers themselves were texting on their mobile phones.

Interviews

A total of 32 interviews were conducted for this study. These ranged across hairdressers working at the different hairdressing operations, the owner of Braamfontein Hair Cafe, a manager at Braamfontein Hair Cafe, customers that frequent the different operations, a

block leader for hairdressers at the Kerk street market space as well as officials from the City of Johannesburg Informal Trading unit and its implementing partners.

The complex nature of this study's research objectives required that multiple purposive and sequential sampling techniques be used in order to collect an in-depth amount of data on the experience of the hairdressers. The study used opportunistic sampling (the selection of units as and when they present themselves during the research based on their likely contribution to important data), snowball sampling (the selection of units on the basis that they determine aspects that may provide valuable information and these aspects are investigated and in turn also point to other possible units and this process continues until no other new aspects can be found) and theoretical sampling (the selection of units based on their significance in describing or illuminating upon manifestations of aspects being studied) (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The units in this study sample were gradually selected as opposed to being fixed at the beginning of the research.

All interviews were semi-structured in-depth interviews, which lasted 20 minutes to an hour. During the interviews leading questions were avoided, close attention was paid to markers, and rapport established with the interviewees. A breakdown of the interviews conducted with each group of interviews, the objectives of the interviews, how interviews were carried out and how interviewees were selected will be discussed below.

*** Hairdressers**

Hairdressers from the four different hairdressing operations were interviewed. The primary objectives of these semi-structured in-depth interviews were to discover what hairdressers feel when they go about their work; why they feel that way; how they adjust their feelings according to what is expected of them and also to gain an understanding of what is expected of them. In other words, the interviews sought to understand what the emotional labour is and the kind of relations produced in their workspaces.

Braamfontein Hair Cafe

A total of eight hairdressers were interviewed at the hairsalon. These interviews took place in semi-private corners of the hairsalon during times when the individual hairdressers were not busy with customers. One of the interviews was conducted with a manager who is also a hairdresser. All of the interviews were tape-recorded and conducted in English. An interview with the owner of the hairsalon was also conducted, and he did not grant permission for his interview to be tape-recorded.

Underground Salon

The researcher discovered this hairsalon while walking through the inner city's informal trading areas with a manager who works for Urban Genesis, the City of Johannesburg's informal trade management partner. A small group interview was conducted with three of the hairdressers at this salon. The three women requested that they be interviewed together as they felt more comfortable this way. The women were interviewed in a private corner of the hairsalon, however at times they shouted across to the other hairdressers requesting their input. The presence of the Urban Genesis manager served to assist the researcher in gaining the trust of the hairdressers as they knew and trusted her. The hairdressers spoke a mixture of predominately English and a few Shangaan words. Here the Urban Genesis manager assisted the researcher in the translation of the Shangaan. The hairdressers did not grant the researcher permission to tape-record the interview. The researcher made sure to write her notes on the same day.

Kerk Street Hairdressers

A total of five hairdressers were interviewed at the informal trading market on Kerk Street. The Urban Genesis manager introduced the researcher to the hairdressers. One of the hairdressers was also a block leader representing the interests of the hairdressers at the particular market. The researcher also spent 6 hours spread over two days at this site with the Urban Genesis manager.

Mobile Hairdressers

Two mobile hairdressers were interviewed. One of the interviews was conducted telephonically and the other was conducted in person. The interview conducted in person took place as the researcher had her hair done by the hairdresser. This particular hairdresser is based on a street corner in Braamfontein but also conducts housecalls. On account of the weather, the researcher and hairdresser decided to do the hair and interview at the researcher's home.

The same challenges experienced by Cohen (2010) in her study of mobile stylists were experienced by the researcher. The mobile hairdressers were difficult to locate because they have no clearly identifiable workplaces. It was the hairdresser's customers that referred the researcher to them. The researcher had to rely on her own social network to locate these customers.

*** Customers**

A total of ten interviews were conducted with customers across all the hairdressing operations. Five of these were conducted with customers of the Braamfontein Hair Cafe at a quiet and private corner of the salon while they were waiting to get their hair done or after their hair was done. Three mobile hairdressing customers were interviewed at the their homes as per arrangement with the researcher. Two customers who get their hair done at both the street hairdressers and underground salon operations were interviewed. These customers were interviewed in the researcher's car during their lunch breaks because this was most convenient for them, due to their time constraints. The interviews with the customers were done with the objective of understanding what their experiences and expectations of hairdressers are in terms of customer service, as well as to establish what hair means to them and why they choose to do hair at these informal hairdressing operations.

*** Key Informant Interviews**

A total of three key informant interviews were conducted: an interview with a City of Johannesburg official in charge of Informal Trading Policy, a manager at Urban Genesis (an implementing partner to the City of Johannesburg informal trading policy), and an industry leader and owner of a hairdressing training academy located in the inner city. These interviews were conducted with the purpose of understanding the City of Johannesburg position on the informal economy and as a means to locate hairdressing within this.

The above techniques were supplemented by government policy and legal documents, secondary literature, including newspapers, and websites of City of Johannesburg and its implementation partners. The government policies and legal documents that were analysed were the City of Johannesburg's informal trading policy as well the City of Johannesburg's Informal Trading By-laws in order to understand how the state views and engages the informal economy. The content of a short documentary directed by a student filmmaker at the Big Fish Film Academy was reviewed in order to inspire interview questions and locate street hairdressers.

Table 2: Schedule of Interviews Conducted *

Interviewee	Date	Place
Hairdressers		
Braamfontein Hair Café		
Naomi (Manager)	13/09/2012	Braamfontein
Melda	04/10/2012	Braamfontein
Letisha	04/10/2012	Braamfontein
Juliet	04/10/2012	Braamfontein
Thandi	11/10/2012	Braamfontein
Lindiwe	11/10/2012	Braamfontein
Zandile	12/10/2012	Braamfontein
Fari	12/10/2012	Braamfontein
Underground Salon (Group interview)		
Neli	20/11/2012	Johannesburg CBD
Dudu	20/11/2012	Johannesburg CBD
Sandra	20/11/2012	Johannesburg CBD
Kerk Street		
Nqobile	19/11/2012	Kerk Street Linear Market
Thembi	19/11/2012	Kerk Street Linear Market
Annah	19/11/2012	Kerk Street Linear Market
Thobi	20/11/2012	Kerk Street Linear Market
Cecilia (Block Leader)	20/11/2012	Kerk Street Linear Market
Mobile		
Zintle	10/11/2012	Mobile
Cebo	21/09/2012 and follow-up on 01/12/2012	Mobile (Telephonic)
Customers		
Braamfontein Hair Café customers		
Palesa	11/10/2012	Braamfontein
Malebo	11/10/2012	Braamfontein
Unathi	12/10/2012	Braamfontein

Nomti	12/10/2012	Braamfontein
Sophia	18/10/2012	Braamfontein
Underground Salon and Street hairdresser customers		
Lulu	20/10/2012	Sandton
Feziwe	19/10/2012	Hilbrow
Mobile hairdresser customers		
Kgomotso	20/09/2012	Sandton
Bongiwe	21/09/2012	Braamfontein
Tumelo	20/09/2012	Sandton
Braamfontein Hair Cafe Owner		
Alfred	13/09/2012	Braamfontein
Key Informants		
COJ Informal Trading: Manager	17/09/2012	Braamfontein
Urban Genesis: Manager	19/11/2012	Johannesburg CBD
Hairdressing Training Academy Owner	19/11/2012	Johannesburg CBD

*The names of all interviewees are pseudonyms.

3.3 Limits on Methods and Problems Arising

Time and data limits

Time limits meant that the researcher was not able to spend as much time as planned at the hairsalon and conduct interviews with a wider range of customers. Customers that exclusively frequent underground salon customers were particularly difficult to locate, hence the researcher had to interview street hairdresser customers that also make use of underground salons. Some of the interviewees did not want to be tape-recorded, and the researcher had to make sure that notes taken during the interviews were as detailed as possible. The researcher also ensured that these notes were analysed immediately after the interviews had taken place. A few of the tape-recorded interviews at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe were not of the best sound quality due to background noise. This meant that the

researcher had to follow up with the hairdressers and rely on her handwritten notes in the case of customer interviews.

The ethnography at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe

The researcher did not really do as much work at the hairsalon as anticipated because she had to rely on the hairdresser that she was paired up to assist to allocate tasks to her. These were the terms that the owner had stipulated. This gap however did allow for rich observation to take place, interaction with customers as they were waiting for hairdressers and with the hairdressers themselves. The researcher was also able to spend time at the front reception and retail product area of the hairsalon as a result.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Throughout the research, all participants were guaranteed confidentiality of the information they provided, given an information sheet informing them of the details of the study and their rights to discontinue participation at any time, and asked to sign consent forms for all interviews. The researcher made sure to read through the information and consent forms with all interviews so as to ensure that no information was misunderstood. The researcher obtained permission to conduct ethnography at Braamfontein Hair Cafe from the owner and made it clear that she would not be paid for this work and that she would not in any way be competing with the hairdressers. The owner consented to the researcher interviewing both customers and hairdressers at his salon.

Wassenaar (2006) postulates that the most important obligations of a researcher are to at all times ensure that the research does no harm to the participants, that it respects the dignity of the participants, that taking part in the research benefits the participants. As such, in this research the researcher lessened the burden of the hairdressers taking part in the research by working around their schedules and conducting interviews at locations and times that are most suitable and comfortable for them. The same was done for customers and key informants. No ethical problems arose during this research and a detailed ethics application was submitted to and clearance attained from the WITS Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC Non-Medical). In order to ensure anonymity, the names of interviewees will not be used. Hairdressers and customers will be referred to by pseudonyms and key informants will be referred to by their job or role titles.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: LOCATING HAIRDRESSERS WITHIN JOHANNESBURG'S INFORMAL ECONOMY

The term informal does not in any way mean that the informal economy has no rules to regulate how work is conducted. Informal workers have their own " 'political economy'...their own informal or group rules, arrangements, institutions and structures for mutual help and trust, providing loans, organizing training, transferring technology and skills, trading and market access, enforcing obligation" (ILO, 2002: p3). This chapter specifically aims to describe the hairdressing operations in terms of their working conditions, how the work is organised as well as the forms of regulation and control that govern the hairdressers within them. This chapter will also locate the informal hairdressing operations in terms of the COJ's policy and by-laws, in order to explore how this might shape the experiences of hairdressers.

4.1 The City of Johannesburg and the Informal Economy

The COJ's *Informal Trading Policy* of 2007 falls in line with local government's overarching *Johannesburg Growth and Development Strategy*, which was adopted in 2006. The strategy is one that seeks to develop Johannesburg into a world- class African city. A city where the benefits of economic growth are equitably shared, where poverty is eradicated, where all residents have access to decent accommodation that is spatially integrated and where all enjoy access to quality services. The strategy seeks to create a platform for governance that is participatory in nature and to create vibrant urban spaces throughout the city (COJ Informal Trading Policy, 2007: p 3).

The COJ sees the informal economy as an important contributor to the success of the city's development strategy. As such it sees its key task as one of creating opportunities for those in the informal economy to share and participate in the economic growth of the city. For the COJ the creation of these opportunities rests upon it creating a stable and reliable regulatory environment, facilitating the migration of informal traders from the informal to the formal economy and also ensuring that the unemployed poor gain access to the job and entrepreneurial opportunities presented by the informal economy. The COJ also seeks to nurture the relationship that it has with the private sector so that the informal and formal economies can work alongside each other harmoniously (COJ Informal Trading Policy, 2007: p4). The key policy mechanisms through which the COJ wishes to achieve its outcomes are described in Part C to Part F of the policy.

Part C addresses the spatial planning and development approach that the COJ will employ. It states that all spatial development in the city must take into account the spatial needs of informal traders and that this applies to both private developers and the state. It goes on to prescribe that infrastructure development must be focused on improving poorly developed informal trading spaces through the development of various market spaces and that these markets must address informal traders' access to storage and sanitation facilities. Demarcated trading areas and the allocation of space in those areas is based on the type of trade to be carried out by the trader and the level of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The COJ together with its partners are required to administer the allocation of smartcards which hold all trading permit information for each trader and traders are required to pay rent for the spaces allocated to them. All of this information is to be held on these smartcards. Although the rental amounts are not stipulated in the policy, the Urban Genesis manager explained that currently all street traders are required to pay a levy for the spaces demarcated to them. This levy goes toward paying the street cleaners and security guards within the CIDS. Levies vary from R40 to R100 per month based on the size of the demarcated area and whether the area is located in the RID or the CID.

Part D of the policy speaks to the training and mentoring informal traders. The COJ together with its partners seek to set up programmes to train traders in business development and profit making as well as on informal trading legislation, in particular legislation on street trading by-laws and public health. Part E of the policy addresses law enforcement and how it will be carried out. It prescribes that the monitoring and policing of illegal and prohibited trading activities will be conducted by the JMPD in accordance with the country's laws, COJ *Street Trading By-laws* and environmental health and safety regulations. This section of the policy also stipulates that the JMPD hold the responsibility of impounding and confiscating the goods of any traders that are in contravention with any legislation around informal street trading.

Part F of the policy addresses stakeholder involvement and consultation. Here the policy makes provision for the establishment of an Informal Trading Chamber that will under its own terms of reference bring together duly appointed representatives from informal trader organisations, from street market committees, representatives from the COJ and property owners and developers. The purpose of the forum is to provide a platform for the discussion of all developments affecting informal trade.

4.2 Informal hairdressing operations and the COJ

The policy defines informal trading as " the sale of legal goods and/or services by individuals and/or groups, in locations designated for informal trading and which requires little more than the actual goods and/or services to commence" (COJ Informal Trading Policy, 2007: p9). Clause 4.2 of the policy specifically states that criminal and illegal activity is not seen as informal trading whilst Clause 5.2 specifically excludes all informal trading taking place on private property. What this means then is that the policy only affects street based hairdressers. The policy is a location focused one. The COJ has thus far concentrated mainly on the development of infrastructure and the demarcation of spaces for informal trade. Spatial issues have been the focus of the COJ because these are seen as the starting point for the effectively regulation of how space is used and how informal activity conducted in the inner city (Tissington, 2009). The COJ is currently making revisions to the policy which will focus on spaza shops and informal traders that trade out of mobile containers (Manager, COJ).

According to the manager at Urban Genesis, there are approximately 333 hairbraiders working from the street pavements of the inner city. They are mostly located in various linear markets and at taxi ranks in the Retail Improvement District (RID) and Commercial Improvement District (CID) of the city. The RID is located between Jeppe Street, Harrison Street, Commissioner Street and von Brandis Street. The CID is located between Jeppe Street, Rissik Street, Marshall Street and von Weilligh Street. Property owners in the RID and CID, as in the other CIDS in Johannesburg, are expected to pay levies into a fund that was established for the delivery of supplementary services like security patrolling and clean ups in the CIDS. The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) set up in 1998 is responsible for the management of the establishment and administration of the CIDS in Johannesburg. Urban Genesis, a privately-owned for profit organisation provides strategic advisory services to the CJP and also manages the street traders in the RID and CID on the CJP's behalf (Manager: Urban Genesis).



Figure 4: The Retail Improvement District (Johannesburg)

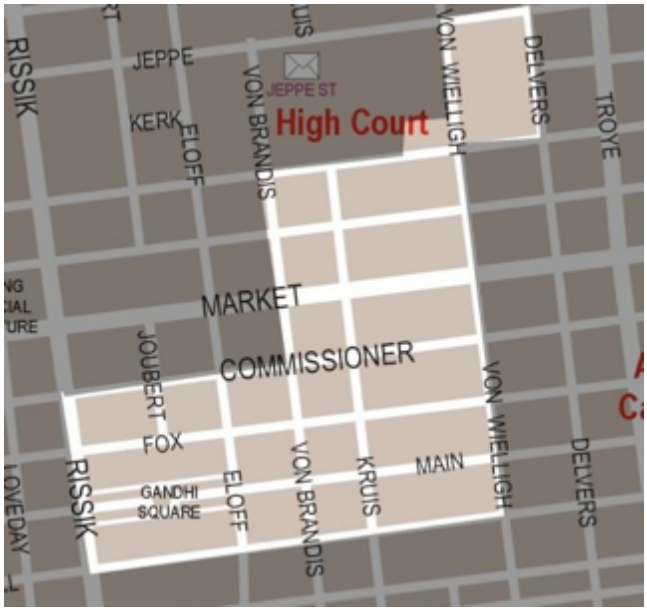


Figure 5: The Central Improvement District (Johannesburg)

4.3 The COJ's implementation of policy mechanisms

Two main challenges faced by the city in regards to implementation of the policy have been around regulation and sustainably of management in the informal economy. "There are illegal stores and stalls set up on a daily basis" (Manager: COJ).

Part C of the policy addresses the spatial planning and development approach of the COJ. It also addresses the demarcation and allocation of space. In terms of the demarcation and allocation of space, the city initially undertook a verification process where it attempted to register all informal traders and issue them with temporary trading cards and permits. Meetings were held on the street and cards issued to traders as space was demarcated to them. The COJ faced problems with this because some traders would fraudulently use and replicate the cards of others. The COJ could not confidently verify the validity of cards and the permits that were attached to them. This made it difficult for the by-laws to be enforced because traders would produce fraudulent cards and argue that they had been officially registered when confronted by the JMPD. All cards have now been taken back and at this point smart cards have not yet been issued to the traders (Manager: Urban Genesis).

The traders in the markets are managed in terms of the by-laws around street trade. The very real issue posed by the hairdressers on the street is that of by-law enforcement. The hairdressers are not supposed to be on the street as this contravenes public space and environmental by-laws. The hairdressers are not supposed to be doing hair in open spaces, as hair is a pollutant. Hair extensions get stuck in drains, are blown into the stalls of food traders and they also endanger the birds in the city. " Birds legs get caught in the stray hair extensions and the birds feet get broken off, this then causes the birds to eventually die" (Manager: Urban Genesis).

Despite this, the COJ recognises that hairdressing activity supports the lives of many poor and unemployed women as such it has adopted a short-term strategy to accommodate the hairdressers. The hairdressers have been placed in groups of 10 and allocated space at linear markets and taxi ranks. " We try to educate them to keep their spaces clean and they know that they must not move closer to the food traders" (Manager: Urban Genesis). The city has been trying to devise a long-term strategy for the hairdressers. The strategy entails relocating the hairdressers to buildings where they can rent chairs and have the proper facilities to do hair. The hairdressers will also be trained on the proper and hygienic techniques around taking care of hair. " At the moment these hairdressers don't have formal knowledge and this poses a risk to customers...the hairdressers do not render a professional service and this must be changed" (Owner, Hair Training Academy).

The hairdressers however complain that they were not included in this strategy formulation. They argue that the buildings suggested by the COJ are too far from their current locations and this is risk for them because visibility is important. Hairdressers need to see their potential customers and sell their service to them. They also argue that their existing customers need to see them and know where they are and being in a building close to their current location helps in this. The hairdressers are also afraid of the high rentals that they would need to pay every month (Cecelia).

Part D of the policy addresses the mentoring and training of traders. The hairdressers say that they have only been trained on the by-laws and have not been trained on running businesses. Block Leader Cecelia says that part of this is because of the fear of being scammed. " Many people come and make promises and then disappear with money" and hairdressers are afraid of this.

Part E of the policy addresses the law enforcement within the informal economy. The COJ by its own admission, says that the by-laws need to be further developed because the informal economy itself is growing and presenting challenges around its regulation. By-laws around the regulation of spaza shops are currently being drafted. "As the economy grows our approach needs to change because everyday we are presented with new challenges" (Manager COJ, 2012). The by-laws do not address hairdressing directly and this does pose an issue with enforcement. Hairdressers complain that they are harassed by the JMPD even though they are not doing anything wrong. They complain that the JMPD confiscates their hair boards and sometimes even arrests them because they say that they are contravening the by-laws (Cecelia, Thobi, Nqobile). The underground salon hairdressers say that despite their poor working conditions being on the street is terrible and all three of them have been arrested by the JMPD together with their customers (Neli, Dudu, Sandra).

Part F of the policy addresses the consultation and involvement of traders and all stakeholders. In general the hairdressers do not attend the monthly meeting at the informal Trading forum. Some of them don't want any representation because they feel that nothing changes for them. Instead, the hairdressers direct all issues and grievances to the block leader or the office of the Urban Genesis manager directly (Manager: Urban Genesis).

4.4 A description of the Informal Hairdressing operations

Kerk Street Informal Hairdressers

These hairdressers work from the Kerk Street linear market located in the RID. A linear market is a trading area that has been demarcated for informal and is in a 'pedestrianised' environment. A market has a roof providing permanent shelter to traders (COJ Informal Trading Policy, 2007). Three of the hairdressers say that they used to work at hairsalons, renting chairs but have been forced onto the streets due to high cost or rentals from between the periods of 2003 – 2006. Two of them say that they have been working on Kerk street since before 1994.



Figure 6: Hairdressers at Kerk street linear market

Description of operations

These hairdressers are situated in demarcated zones in the linear market and are placed in groups of ten by the COJ. They however work individually with each hairdresser having their own chair and board depicting various popular hairstyles so that customers can decide on a style and enquire on price.



Figure 7: A Kerk Street hairdresser's board

Employment relationships

These hairdressers are self employed, own account holders. They are required to pay a levy to the COJ for the space that has been allocated to them but this is not currently happening. The hairdressers' income is highly unstable and vulnerable. Weather conditions dictate the supply of customers and the busiest time of the month being from the 20th – 5th of each month. The busiest months are said to be April, November and December.

Training

These hairdressers do not have any formal training. Of the hairdressers interviewed from this market, half of them have completed high school. The hairdressers are educated on the COJ's street trading by-laws every month.

Working hours and working times

The hairdressers work as and when they want to. They do not have predetermined hours. Majority do not work on Sundays. There are no set leave arrangements in this space.

Code of conduct

The hairdressers have to adhere to the informal street trading by-ways of the COJ, which requires for them to not encroach pedestrian walkways or streets. The hairdressers are required to maintain a pollution free area. The hairdressers state that no one is permitted to occupy a space that has not been allocated to them by the COJ and can only do this upon agreement with them and must notify the manager at Urban Genesis. These spaces were initially allocated to the hairdressers when the market was built and new hairdressers cannot simply occupy a space in the market. They have to be granted permission to do so by the existing hairdressers and also engage the Urban Genesis manager. Hairdressers serve customers on a first come first serve basis. The only rule that they have set themselves in this regard is that fighting for customers in front of customers will not be tolerated. Hairdressers channel grievances to their block leader, who conveys these to Urban Genesis and according to the Informal Trading Policy, this block leader also has the right to attend meetings of the Informal Trading Forum.

Braamfontein Hair Cafe

The Braamfontein Hair Cafe is located on a busy street corner in the heart of Braamfontein. The hairsalon has colourful branding and boasts that it offers any hairstyle, product and any type hair extension. There are 24 hairdressers, 12 of them on each wing of the salon. There are 2 managers, one on each wing who also work as hairdressers. They are placed there to address any confusion as customers walk in to enquire on prices and hairstyles and to manage complaints that arise. The salon also has an area where hair products and cold drinks are sold. This area separates the two wings of the salon and this is also where the cash register is located. The business is formally registered as a Close Corporation and has the required trading permit for hairdressing activity.

Employment relationships

The hairdressers at the salon are employed on a commission basis and the managers earn a basic salary. The total commission earned depends on the number of customers a hairdresser sees a month. The commission earned ranges between 15% - 30% per customer and this varies based on how long a hairdresser has been working at the hairsalon. There is however no clear standard on how the commission per hairdresser is determined. The commission is all that a hairdresser earns for the month. They are no formal employment contracts. These hairdressers do not have any social protection contributions. All hairdressers report to an employer who is also the owner of the hairsalon.

Code of conduct

Hairdressers are required to wear the hairsalons branded t-shirts. They are not permitted to give their cellphone number out to customers. Hairdressers have to replace anything that they break and must inform the manager or owner if they need to leave the premises during the course of the working day.

Working hours

Standard working hours for the salon are 08:00 – 18:00 daily. Closing time varies depending on the time the last customer leaves. There are no specified lunch breaks for the hairdressers; their workload dictates when they can take lunch, which is usually taken at the hairsalon. Hairdressers are allowed 2 Sundays off per month, a half-day off every 2 weeks and 2 weeks annual leave in the year. All leave is unpaid.

Recruitment process and disciplinary processes

All recruitment happens through word of mouth or advertising on the salon's reception window. Hairdressers are required to produce a brief CV, if they are able to. A demo of ability is conducted and if the owner and one of the managers are happy, the hairdresser is hired. A 2 week to a month probation period is placed on all new hairdressers. The purpose of this period is for the hairdresser to prove themselves and the owner to decide whether or not to offer the hairdresser a permanent position at the salon.

There is no standard procedure around how conflict management or any disciplinary procedure is carried out. The owner asks for managers to handle any issues as they arise, should there be perceived as detrimental to business, the owner will dismiss the hairdresser. No notice period is served in this space. The owner will at times ask the hairdressers to explain themselves and determine whether or not to dismiss them, at his discretion. The owner says that he has only ever had to dismiss one hairdresser that was disrespectful to customers and the other hairdressers.

Underground hairsalon

This location is currently occupied by 6 hairdressers. The salon is located in the basement level of a retail building just below a kitchenware shop. The salon is not visible from ground/ pedestrian level of the building, only the kitchenware shop is. Hairdressers pay R6000 rent in total per month to a Pakistani couple that runs the kitchenware shop. The salon is demarcated into three areas that are available for rent at R2000 per month. Hairdressers

work in pairs and split the cost and income with each other. The hairdressers found out about the space through word of mouth.



Figure 8: Underground Hairsalon Space for R2000 pm rent

Employment Relationships

These hairdressers are self employed, own account workers. There are no standard working hours. The salon closes when the kitchenware shop closes which is 08:00 – 17:00 (Monday – Saturday) and 09:00 – 14:00 on a Sunday. The hairdressers stated that they did not usually work on Sundays and they also have no specific leave days.

Training

These hairdressers do not have any formal training. Only one of them has completed high school.

Health and Safety

The underground salon, has no windows, no running water and no toilet. The space does not meet the environmental standards for hairdressing work. Its owners do not maintain the space.

Mobile Hairdressers

The two mobile hairdressers interviewed work on an appointment basis and travel to customers all over the city. One of them, Cebo works with two other women, whilst Zintle works alone. Zintle also works on a street pavement on Empire road (Braamfontein) when she is not working from the home of a customer.

Working Hours

Cebo works for 9 hours each day, the start and end times are flexible. Zintle, has no working hours, she tries not to work on Sundays. Cebo does not work on Sundays. Zintle has no specific leave times. Cebo has an informal agreement with her colleagues; they take leave at the same time, mainly over major public holiday periods.

Training

Cebo has completed school and did a training course in hairdressing. Her colleagues have only completed high school. Zintle has completed high school but has not formal training in hairdressing.

4.5 What the COJ Informal Trading Policy does not address

When asked about the scope of informal activity defined by the policy, the COJ Manager explained that the policy is a location focused one in that it deals only with street trade. He further explained that all informal activity taking place on private property is addressed through legislation that requires for all buildings to be zoned for commercial activity and that relevant business permits that cover that particular activity must applied for by business owners (Manager: COJ).

Scholars, like Tissington (2009) who have studied the Johannesburg inner city, argue that this location bias is driven very much by the city's imperatives around urban regeneration. Traders on the streets have been widely criticized as having contributed to the flight of formal business in the inner city. Street traders have been seen as bringing chaos, pollution and crime to the inner city. In as much as the COJ says that it sees the informal economy as important and seeks to support it, there is also a view to restrict, clean up and control its activities through by-laws that specify what can be done, where it can be done and also

what cannot be done by street traders. This is underpinned by the objective of creating an environment that is attractive to private sector investment.

By implication then the policy does not take into account those that may be employed by informal traders because the assumption is that all traders are individual own account holders. This policy does not address the employees of those that own informal trading operations and it misses those that are informally employed in the formal economy. The bias towards own account holders in a way is in line with the arguments of the Legalist school of thought that the informal economy is made up of entrepreneurs and all barriers for them to do business must be removed and one of those barriers being access to training on business management as detailed in Part D of the policy. It also completely misses those that work informally on private property.

The policy is silent on gender and issues affecting cross-border migrants. All the hairdressers interviewed were women and their customers were also women. The COJ says that it wants to devise a strategy for hairdressers and that it wants to further develop the by-laws and policy. A gender sensitive policy might be a key starting point, instead of perhaps the allocation of smartcards. Out of the 18 hairdressers interviewed, only four of them were South African. The policy is also silent on this issue despite the evidence that "cross-border migrants...tend to concentrate in the informal economy because there are few other jobs open to them" (ILO, 2002: p 33).

The policy also does not look at the Decent Work Agenda of South Africa. It does not address the working conditions of those employed in the sector because of its focus on self employed, own account holder traders. The description of the operations points to some of the deficiencies that this economy suffers from. There are low levels of education, instable incomes, no basic conditions in employment such as entitlement to paid sick leave, annual leave, unsafe working environments and no platforms for the collective bargaining and engagement with regard to these deficits.

A look at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe in particular, points to the deficiencies around fair wages and the rights of workers around the determination thereof. Apart from the manager of the salon, the hairdressers at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe don't earn a fixed wage. They earn a commission, which is unstable because it is based on how many customers they see every month and this too is unstable because it is dependent on the specific periods in each month. There is also no clear standard on how this commission is determined. As a result it is difficult to quantify exactly how much the hairdressers earn because the hairdressers interviewed were not able to provide consistent figures. The commissions earned by the

hairdressers ranged between 15% to 30% of the price charged to each customer. The hairdressers stated that on an average weekday they see about 3 customers (this does vary significantly however on the month and time of month). Nonetheless, if we assume the maximum commission of 30% at an average charge per braided or cornrowed hairstyle of R200, a hairdresser makes an estimated R180 per day.

An examination of the main collective agreement of the Hairdressing and Cosmetology Services Bargaining Council which regulates the terms and conditions of employment within formal hairdressing, suggests that a hairdresser working on commission in Gauteng as of 2010 should be earning a minimum of 30% commission and all hairdressers that have been working before 2010 should be earning a minimum of 40% (Government Gazette, 2012). What this shows is that the hairdressers, most of which have been working at the hairsalon since 2010 earn either below or just the bare minimum of what a hairdresser that is formally employed earns. The fact that the hairdressers and the salon owner do not participate in this bargaining council exacerbates this deficiency. There is no platform for transparent, fair, participatory and consistent wage determination for informally employed hairdressers.

4.6 Conclusion

The working conditions within this economy not favorable. Informal hairdressing suffers from decent work deficits. The policy however deals with only one part of this economy, street traders. It misses the nuances in the employment relationships and what this might mean for hairdressers. The policy is silent on issues of gender and migration, which is surprising given that the informal economy and most especially hair dressing is highly gendered and occupied by cross-border migrants. The next chapter focuses on the emotional labour in this space and what it offers hairdressers across the board.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: EMOTIONAL LABOUR, IDENTITY AND RESPECTABILITY

This chapter explores the emotional labour carried out by the hairdressers in this study. It argues that for these hairdressers the overall consequences of this emotional labour are positive and that this emotional labour provides an important basis for the construction of respectability. Despite the poor working conditions and decent work deficits within informal hairdressing discussed in Chapter 4, this work allows these hairdressers to construct their work, themselves and their lives as respectable because of their high degree of identification with the role of being a hairdresser.

5.1 The key arguments on emotional labour

Emotional labour is the task that a service worker undertakes in order to align their emotions and the display thereof to what is expected of them in their respective work environments and roles (Hochschild, 1983). The expectations of employers, customers and the service workers themselves all shape the display of emotion that is required from the service worker during the service encounter. It is argued that emotional labour can have both negative and positive consequences. On one hand it can over time lead to emotional strain and physical stress because of the "emotive dissonance" and self-alienation that service workers tend to experience (Hochschild, 1983: p 90). On the other hand it has also been argued that it can provide a service worker with positive consequences such as a deep sense of job satisfaction and enhanced well – being (Schuler and Sypher, 2004). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argue that how service workers experience emotional labour is linked to the extent to which they identify with their role and the display rules that govern it. Put simply, the stronger the identification, the greater the service worker's overall propensity to have a positive "identity enhancing" experience of their work (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993: p78).

5.2 Emotional labour and the work of informal hairdressing

The expectations of customers, the salon owner (in the case of the Braamfontein Hair Cafe) and those of the hairdressers themselves around how a hairdresser should be informs and shapes the display rules for the role and thus the emotional labour involved in informal hairdressing.

Hairdressers are expected to be caring, attentive listeners, friendly, honest and flexible to the requests of customers.

Feziwe who is both a customer of a street hairdresser and also an underground salon says that she likes her hairdresser because she is neat and also very gentle with her hair. She explains that she always had a problem with getting her hair braided and only discovered that she was in fact allergic to some hair extensions when she started doing her hair with her current hairdresser. She says that when she did her hair at an underground hair salon she never understood why her scalp would hurt so much after having her hair done. Her current hairdresser explained that sometimes this is because some hairdressers don't pay attention while they are doing a customers hair, their attention is divided and as a result they pull hair too tightly and that they will use any available hair extension without considering the customers needs. Feziwe says that her hairdresser was very gentle with her hair and that she could see that "she has ubuntu"... "she cares for her customers (and) she does not just do anything without caring". Malebo, a customer at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe, echoed this sentiment by saying that "I want a hairdresser to make eye contact with me" as this shows that she is listening to her and that she actually cares.

Tumelo expects a hairdresser to communicate when she does her hair. She says that she is very adventurous with her hair and will allow a hairdresser try new things on her hair but requires that the hairdresser talks her through what she is doing as she is doing it. She adds, "I like my hairdresser because she has a warm personality...she actually doesn't have to talk a lot but her being warm is important". Similarly, Lulu expects a hairdresser to be friendly, have a sense of humour and "just be nice to me".

For Nomti, honesty is very important. She wants a hairdresser to be honest about her mistakes and be flexible enough to try and fix her hair and if she is unable to " want(s) her to ... not just keep quiet and do a bad job".

Kgomotso expects a hairdresser to try and understand what she wants and also to be flexible because sometimes she is not sure exactly what she wants, she adds that " I want them to do what I ask for or at least try to". Hairdressers must be flexible enough to change a hairstyle at the request of a customer, "they must not be rude" (Palesa) and they must "understand that sometimes if you can see that a hairstyle does not suit you as she is doing your hair...you will want to change it a bit so that its suits you" (Bongiwe).

Hairdressers are expected to treat the customer as if they are always right

Alfred, the owner of the Braamfontein Hair Cafe explained that he expects for his employees to make customers happy. He expects his employees to respect the customer and respect his business because for him the customer is always right. But what happens when the customer is not right?

I observed one such occasion when hairdresser, Letisha, had to deal with a customer that was very particular about the style that she wanted. On this afternoon the hairsalon was busy, with each of the 12 hair stations filled with customers and there were three customers waiting to have their hair done. Letisha was busy plaiting the hair of a customer into cornrows. This customer had a picture of Goapele (an American musician) in her left hand as she pointed to her half done cornrows with the her right hand. What looked liked a WITS university student card was swinging off a lanyard wrapped around her right wrist as she did this.



Figure 9: American musician Goapele with cornrows

Letisha listened closely and looked at the picture, she then undid a few rows of the customer's cornrows and stopped again to look at the picture now resting on the customers lap. Letisha then continued with the cornrows as the customer closely observed her work through the mirror directly in front of her seat. The customer stopped Letisha, shaking her head and frowning slightly as she did this. She pointed to the picture once again. At this point, Naomi, the manager who was busy braiding the hair of a customer one workstation to the right of Letisha's had noticed what was happening. Letisha gestured for Naomi to move closer and help her understand what the customer wanted. The customer showed Naomi

the picture and pointed to her hair, instructing Naomi on what she wanted. Naomi frowned as she listened, pointed at the picture and then back at the customer's hair as she explained to the customer that her hair was too thin and short to have it look exactly the same as Goapele's. The cornrows would be painful and would not hold well without the addition of hair extensions but the customer insisted that she did not want these and that the hairstyle would work. Naomi then took over and finished the cornrows as Letisha moved over to Naomi's workstation. The customer observed vigilantly as Naomi carefully plaited each of the intricate cornrows. When the style was complete, Naomi wrote a receipt out for the customer and accompanied her to the front reception to pay. When Naomi returned to the hairstyling area, she shrugged her shoulders while looking at Letisha. Letisha did the same, muttered something in Shona and both hairdressers giggled and shook their heads. Naomi carried on with her customer and another had now taken a seat at Letisha's work station. This observation was one of several that I observed at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe. The hairdressers would often try to deliver what the customer wanted and then call on Naomi or any other available colleague to assist in trying to understand what the customer's request and explain why it cannot be delivered. They would often end up either reaching a compromise or simply giving the customer what they want in order to make them happy despite their own reservations. The hairdressers never refused to do a customers hair. I observed that the hairdressers would always exchange glances across mirrors with each other, they would also speak in Shona, frown and giggle after dealing with customers that were difficult or complained.

This observation ties in with Hochschild (1983) assertion that collective emotional labour also takes place because service work requires interaction between the service workers themselves. This interaction is often used as a means to share complaints about customers and can serve to boost morale and improve service delivery. It allows for service workers to collectively align their emotions with the emotional labour expectations within their organisations. Hairdressers have to display calmness despite any frustration they may have with customers. They are expected to be friendly. Juliet a hairdresser at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe says "you cannot take out your anger at another customer"..."you must let it go". In that space, the interaction between the hairdressers is very much a part of them aligning their emotions with what is expected of them.

Hairdressers must be patient, polite and understanding

A common thread across all the interviews with the hairdressers is that their role requires patience, politeness and understanding. Hairdressers at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe felt that their customers were friendly and because of this they did not mind being patient, polite

and understanding of their wants. For Thandi being patient and understanding was not difficult or strenuous because she feels that she understands her customers. She explained that at times customers do not know what they want exactly or what will suit them and at times think they do until they are convinced otherwise. She enjoys convincing customers to try new products and hairstyles when they are unsure of what it is that they want. To do this a hairdresser must be patient and understanding in her approach. Naomi, the manager at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe, said that her job is stressful because she is on her feet the whole day but not necessarily as a result of interactions with customers, even the fussy ones. When asked about how she deals with difficult customers, Zintle, a mobile hairdresser explained that it is important to let the customer "take control" because they are the ones walking away with the hairstyle on their heads and that she understood why they would be difficult as a result.

Cebo, another mobile hairdresser, explained that at times customers don't really understand how they work. She explained that they work on a very tight schedule and move from customer to customer on an appointment basis. " Because you are in the customer's space, they are comfortable and want to do things like taking a break and making tea...we are sometimes patient with them but sometimes we also explain to them that we have to finish and go to another customer...they understand this" (Cebo).

The hairdressers on Kerk Street all complained that they do have customers that refuse to pay the price that they had agreed upfront. Some also say that they have been "crooked" by customers and have to be careful of this (Thembi). However, overall they enjoyed their work because it allowed them to work with their hands and to talk to people. Nqobile explained that she likes "working with hair" and giving the customer what they want is enjoyable for her and she makes sure that she "do[es] a perfect job" and if one is patient customers will always come back.

What stood out clearly across all the interviews is that the hairdressers enjoyed their jobs despite the frustration and stress that they encounter while delivering the service to customers. What the role requires from them emotionally is not difficult for them. The consequences of emotional labour in their work are positive. This is because emotional labour for them is an identity enhancing experience and it also provides a means by which they construct themselves as respectable.

5.3 Emotional labour as an Identity enhancing experience for hairdressers

Hairdressers are required to be **caring, attentive listeners, friendly, honest and flexible to the requests of customers as well as patient, polite and understanding.** The hairdressers identify strongly with these role requirements because these are in line with their spiritual beliefs. All of the hairdressers stated that church is an important part of their lives. They attend charismatic churches in the inner city and try not to work on Sundays in order to attend church. Those that do work on Sundays attend church services on evenings during the week or on Saturday evenings. There is a strong sentiment among the hairdressers that they are somehow blessed and that their ability to do hair is from God. They believe that being patient, understanding and honest is a part of who they are. The requirements of the work align with who they are and how they believe they should be. This is reflected in some of the following quotes:

Neli, felt that her work was not easy and that "prayer is what gets [her] through anything in life".

" No matter what, I don't judge the customer because this is not right...I am not the judge" (Cecelia).

When asked what she does when customers don't want to pay her, Annah stated that, "I just leave them because at the end of the day...izandla azipheli (Zulu for...my hands will not be diminished)...we didn't get this from them".

" I have something in my hands" and "I know that I am blessed with hair" (Dudu).

This ability to identify with the role might also be explained by how the skill of hairdressing was initially acquired for many of them. Seven out of the eight hairdressers interviewed from the Braamfontein Hair Cafe stated that they learnt the skill of braiding hair when they were young girls growing up in Zimbabwe. Most hairdressers did not study hairdressing, they all learnt how to do hair when they were in high school. Fari explained that "Its just something you learn growing up, especially if you went to a girls school in Zim" and that "we grew up with it". This to a certain degree explains their understanding of the behaviour of customers. Another factor that could explain this is that they themselves get their hair done. All of the hairdressers at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe had braids or some sort of hairstyle. During quiet times at the salon hairdressers would often do each other's hair. Naomi, for example, had changed her cornrowed hair at least 3 times throughout my observation at the salon.

5.4 Respectability

When I asked the hairdressers what they felt is important in their work, they all said that a hairdresser must be patient. “Braiding is easy, even I can show you and you can learn that...what is difficult is that you have to be patient (Nqobile). “Sometimes you will have no customers because of the weather but if you do a perfect job, customers will only come to you... but you must be patient” (Cecelia).

An observation I made at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe revealed that there is a strong sense of pride in the hairdressers’ ability to be patient. Two of the hairdressers were standing in a corner of the salon giggling and shaking their heads as they looked at a cellphone belonging to a hairdresser that was stationed at the other wing of the hairsalon. As they passed the phone around, there was a lot of head shaking and disapproving looks. At the time, Naomi was fixing my braids as there were no customers. As the phone was passed around back and forth, I noticed that they were looking at naked pictures of a lady and pictures of her engaging in sexual acts with a man. They knew this lady; she is a sex worker. I heard them say “see they like to take shortcuts”, “ they like the fast life in joburg”, “amashortcuts”.

The hairdressers on Kerk street, four of whom were South African seemed to link the issue of xenophobia with a lack of patience. Thembi explained that there is a lot of competition on the street but “you can’t do this thing of xenophobia and hurt people...it means you are not being patient”, “They see foreigners are charging low prices because they know that they can send more home...their money will be more when they take it home but if you take care of customers and have a way of talking to them you don’t have to worry about those things”.

It is clear that the hairdressers see their patience and hard work as being respectable. In a way this patience allows for them to distance themselves from others in the informal economy and there is a sense of pride in this and their work. The hairdressers view sex work as an unrespectable way of earning a living. To them sex work, unlike hairdressing is not respectable because selling sex to customers is the “easy” way out and does not require one to exercise the patience that a hairdresser has to exercise. The hairdressers say that building relationships with customers, improving on hairdressing technique and managing their vulnerable incomes takes time and this requires patience. This patience to them is what makes them respectable and they are proud of this.

The hairdressers also see themselves as people that enjoy diversity and are tolerant of others. There is a strong sense of pride in this. All the hairdressers, stated that they enjoy their jobs because they get the opportunity to interact with different people everyday. Three of the hairdressers I interviewed at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe as well as the underground salon say that they like their work as it has allowed for them to learn new languages. Juliet, who is Cameroonian said, “I can speak any language now” and “ I can improve my English and I can also teach customers how to speak French...even you”. She smiled as she said this. I observed on several occasions that the hairdressers enjoyed sharing music with each other, customers and even myself. Lindiwe and Fari would often play music from their cellphones as they were doing hair or when they were not busy. They would ask customers or myself if we knew this music. They said it was Zimbabwean music and were keen to share it with me. They also played South African music and would often share with me that they liked it very much.

The hairdressers see themselves as professionals. This came up strongly with the mobile hairdressers. These hairdressers equate their mobility with professionalism. They say that they are very punctual and keep to their appointments and they also believe that being able to travel to their customers makes them professional. Cebo also proudly said “our clients don’t have to pick us up or drop us off because we have a car” and “we can charge more because it is convenient for them”. This is in direct contrast with what the COJ thinks of informal hairdressers: they want to train them and make them more professional. Of course this is also the group of hairbraiders that they city does not see.

The hairdressers also all have dreams and aspirations. All the hairdressers have dreams beyond the space they find themselves in. None of them are actively looking for a formal job. Sandra at the underground salon said, “ I don’t have a problem with my job, every job has its problems so why should l leave”, but she also aspires to own her own salon one day. Some of the hairdressers on Kerk street also make beaded jewellery and say that if the COJ were to bring tourists to them they would focus on producing more jewellery as they enjoy that too. All the hairdressers have children and aside from Zintle and Annah are all single mothers. There was a sense of pride in them being able to educate and take care of their children and help their extended families through the income generated from hairdressing. They expressed that they wanted to continue being supportive to their families.

5.5 Conclusion

What this chapter illuminated is that the work of a hairdresser indeed does require a high degree of emotional labour. This however is not a source of strain and self-alienation for them as argued by Hochschild (1983). Hairdressers experience positive consequences in their service work. They are able to enjoy their work despite frustrations with difficult customers. This is explained by their degree of identification with the role itself. Further to this, hairdressers are able to see themselves as respectable because of their work and what is required of them. Overall there is a sense of pride in who they are able to become through their work. They are able to experience diversity, be professionals and also have dreams and aspirations.

6 CHAPTER SIX: BEYOND EMOTIONAL LABOUR: AFFECTIVE LABOUR, HAIR AND NETWORKS

As argued in chapter 5, the emotional labour in informal hairdressing operations has positive consequences for hairdressers. Emotional labour only really addresses how hairdressers manage their own emotions in order to conform to what is expected of them. This chapter argues that hairdressing however extends beyond this, in that the hairdressers through their work, evoke and produce certain affects in customers. Hair holds an important place in the lives of these customers and a high degree of trust is placed in the hands of hairdressers. As such, hairdressers across all the informal hairdressing operations are able to create strong relationships with their customers, and it is this element of hairdressing that allows hairdressers to build a degree of control and ownership over their own lives and their work.

6.1 Affective labour

In the literature, affective labor, is defined as "labor that produces or manipulates affects...a worker with a good attitude and social skills is another way of saying a worker is adept at affective labor" (Hardt and Negri, 2004: p 108). Affective labour is also seen as immaterial labour, in the sense that it does not produce tangible goods, but is rather the labour that is required in the production of the intangibles of information, knowledge. "Affective labour produces social networks, forms of community..." (Hardt, 1999: p96).

Hairdressing holds a promise...the promise of the production of affect

Hair is highly emotive and holds a variety of meanings for customers. Every single customer interviewed was able to recall very vividly how she felt when she had her hair done as child. Although most did not really remember the hairstyles, they did remember how they felt and that there was a sense of occasion attached to visiting a hairsalon. The common factor for all of the customers was that their first hairdresser was their mother or grandmother, an older sister or a female caregiver and this continued until either their hair become too much for their mothers to handle on their own or when a special occasion presented itself.



Figure 10: Young girl getting her hair braided by her mother

Kgomotso recalls how her mother used to plait her hair every two weeks and how much this used to hurt. She also recalls how pretty she felt once her hair was done and how her mother would say that “you must suffer for your beauty”. She laughs at how she rejects this completely now because there is no need for hair styling to hurt. She says it is no coincidence that one of her first instructions to her hairdresser is always “please remember not to pull my hair”. Kgomotso says that she has to have her hair in cornrows because this saves her time in the mornings and makes her happy because she looks neat.

Tumelo also recalls how her mother used to do her hair at home and that this stopped when she was in primary school and wanted to braid her hair. She remembers how a hairdresser would come to her house and braid her hair. She would fall asleep while this was happening and then wake up when her hair was done. She remembers feeling very excited about her new hairstyle. She says that her worst hairdressing memory was when her hairdresser brought along her sister and the two ladies both did her hair and for her she still gets very nervous when more than one person braids her hair.

Unathi recalls how her grandmother took her to the hairsalon near her house the day before a concert at her school. She was extremely excited because her hair would be straightened and spray-painted for the concert. She remembers how she thought that the hairdresser would make her look like her beauty queen mother who was considered very beautiful in her community. Unathi also says that going to the hairsalon for her is not a chore; she knows that she will feel better after her hair is done and she enjoys the experience and also the compliments she receives from others.

The customers all shared common memories around doing their hair and all felt a sense of joy in the end product. They remember feeling beautiful. What emerges from these memories is that from an early age, hairdressing holds the promise of feeling beautiful and this is not necessarily attached to any one hairstyle in particular although the end product does matters very much. Every customer I interviewed said that their favourite part of the process of getting their hair done was looking at themselves in the mirror and liking what they saw once the hairstyle was complete. The end result is the ultimate "make or break" moment for customers and for the hairdressers the end product is also what underground hairdressers, Neli and Sandra said "speaks for you on the street" and brings more customers.

The end product and the promise it holds is mediated through a negotiation at the beginning of the hairdressing, during the hairdressing process and afterwards. This ties into Soulliere's (1997) contention that hairstyling involves a constant process of negotiation between a hairstylist and customer. This negotiation however also involves other customers too. I observed that customers at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe would ask other customers and the hairdresser whether they thought a hairstyle would suit them or not before they started. Sophia, a customer at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe also said that she enjoyed watching other customers getting their hair done, she looks at the reflection of the other customer's head in the mirror in front of her and she always compliments them before they leave the hairsalon. The customer, the hairdresser and other customers shape what the end product may look like. How well a hairdresser manages all of this is what establishes the basis for trust, which is ultimately what makes customers return to a hairdresser and this is what creates networks.

6.2 Networks

Referrals

The owner of the Braamfontein Hair Cafe has a rule in place that prevents hairdressers from giving out their numbers to customers, which means that customers and hairdressers lose contact with each other when the hairdresser is not at the salon. Despite this rule, customers say that they are willing to track down a hairdresser and will follow them to any salon that they work for. It is about the hairdresser and not the hairsalon. Palesa said that this is because “when you find a good hairdresser, it is hard to just let them go and that is why I travel to have my hair done here”. Even at the hairsalon customers would wait until a specific hairdresser is free or even come back the next day instead of letting someone else handle their hair. New customers would come into the salon looking for a specific hairdresser that was referred to them by a friend. This was also true for the hairdressers on Kerk street: customers would look for them and ask the other hairdressers where they are. The underground hairdressers say that they started on the street and still have the same customers that they had then. They make sure that they inform customers of their whereabouts and also ensure that they remember the faces of every customer, so that when they bump into them on the street they let them know where they are located.

Stokvels and Tupperware

Mobile hairdresser Zintle, has managed to tap into her customer network to ensure stability in her income. She says that she runs two stokvels (group saving schemes) that she started with some of her long-term customers and friends. She explains that she has six members in each stokvel and the contributions range from R150 to R300 a week. Each member receives a lumpsum on a rotational basis each month. However, should a member urgently require cash, i.e. in the event of a family emergency or funeral, they would be supported by the stokvel. Zintle says that the stokvel has helped her out in various times of need and the lumpsums have also helped her purchase furniture for her house and her mothers home. She also sells Tupperware to her customers in order to supplement her income. She says that her customers refer their friends to her for Tupperware sales as well. Zintle says that she also rewards her long-term customers with free Tupperware gifts.

Customer loyalty and informality

There is a connection of sorts between customer loyalty and informality. It appears that the flexibility that informal operations allows in terms of appointments and negotiation of prices and payment arrangements is a meaningful contributor to customer loyalty and trust. Customers said that they know that their hairdresser will make a plan to fit them in when they need to do their hair urgently and when they have budget constraints. Unathi stated that "yes, you can go to Sandton and get massages and champagne at the salon but they won't give you what you get here. You wont get affordably and there you must make an appointment". The Braamfontein Hair Cafe Owner, said that they do not like to chase customers away, especially students. They ask how much a customer can pay and "try to make a plan". The fact that there are no visible pricelists at the salon, also makes this easier to do because customers have no point of reference except for their own memory of how much a style cost the last time they did their hair or how much their referee to the salon said the hairstyle cost. This allows room for prices to be negotiated to suit their budget.

6.3 Potential

Hardt (1999) argues that affective labour has the potential for bio-power from below and the possible liberation of workers from exploitation and control by capital. The mobile hairdressers have managed to use their networks to support their lives. They exercise a high degree of control over their work. Cebo who works with two other hairdressers does provide some support for Hardt's claim.

Cebo's success as a hairdresser is directly determined by the strength of relationship with her customer network as well as her ability to understand and meet their need for convenience. She says that she started off on the pavement at Noord Taxi Rank in the inner city of Johannesburg. She realised very quickly that most of her customers preferred for her to do their hair at their homes. She also realised that customers are willing to pay more if one is fast. She decided to ask two other hairdressers based on the street to accompany her to the homes of customers in order to braid the hair of customers in the shortest time possible. She started doing this in 1999 and still has the same customers that she started off with. Her operation is solely referrals based, since they have no premises where customers can just walk in. She says that they have at least 5 new customers calling them every week and that she has back-to- back appointments every day.

Cebo has also managed to maintain control of her working hours. She determines when she wants to work and when she wants to take leave. Cohen (2010), refers to this as bounded mobility which is when a hairdresser is able to ensure the "maintenance of spatial, social and temporal boundaries" (p. 78). Cebo has managed to construct these "well-trained" clients that the successful hairdresser in Cohen's study also managed to do. Cebo says that she works on an appoints only basis and that she works in 3 hour shifts and only sees 3 customers a day. She does not take appointments for customers that cause her any frustration; she simply ignores their phone calls or informs them that she is fully booked. Her customers mainly consist of working women and stay-at-home moms and their children. These customers she says "will pay for the convenience". Cebo has managed to buy herself a car and support many family members. She says that she is considering branching out of hair dressing into other lines of work such as beauty therapy. It is her network that has afforded her the opportunity to make these choices and construct her life in a way that suits her. She realised that she could turn her passion for "making women look and feel good" into something that would change her life. What is interesting is that the hairdresser that has never worked at a salon, held any formal job or had any business management training is the one to realise this.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that hairdressing is highly affective work because hair holds strong emotive meanings for customers and that these can be traced back to their childhoods. The work of hairdressing involves creating hairstyles that produce certain feelings in customers. Customers are very much a part of this process which is exactly what forms the basis for trust. Trust builds networks and some hairdressers have harnessed these so that they have very tangible impacts on their lives and how their work is structured. All of this aligns with Hardt's (1999) assertion that affective labour creates "forms of life". The story of Cebo also provides an example of how the networks produced by affective workers can present them with the potential for some liberation from capitalist control. The elements of this work examined in this chapter also point to the idea that this work cannot simply be understood through the lens of decent work deficits. Cebo for example is able to manage her work hours, her customer base and to a large extent the stability of her income. The hairdressers working at the Braamfontein Hair Cafe may not be able to directly do this but the combination of the positive consequences of their emotional labour discussed in Chapter 5 as well as the affective relations they create offers them intangible meaning and satisfaction in their work. In a sense, it can be argued that there is a sort of decency to this work that cannot be quantified or legislated through a Decent work Agenda.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This report asked: What are the experiences of service workers in informal economy work places? This report first explored the COJ's informal Trading policy and how it views the informal economy and then how this applies to informal hairdressing operations. The COJ clearly has a location bias in that it only focuses on street based trade and as such only really affects the experiences of the hairdressers on Kerk Street. This focus is linked to a view that this work is survivalist and also disorderly. It is work that needs to be regulated in order for it to make any meaningful contribution to the city's economy and the lives of those that carry it out.

These hairdressers are a "problem" for the COJ, they contravene by-laws but must be accommodated because they align the view that the city holds. The COJ sees the informal economy as one that is an important conduit toward the alleviation of poverty. The COJ has focussed its attention on the development of infrastructure for street traders and have devised a short-term strategy for the hairbraiders. What the COJ has not done is to take into account the gender bias as well as the needs of the many migrants that occupy the informal economy. The effects of the policy only impact on the experience of street hairbraiders and ignore the poor working conditions experience by the underground hairbraiders especially. The policy does not address Decent Work and is blind to the employment relationships that exist within this work. The policy stance is reflective of the arguments that present the informal economy as being made up of a vibrant set of entrepreneurs. This is not true of the entire economy.

Despite the working conditions, emotional labour was used as a vehicle to explore the dimension of services within these spaces. Like any service worker that has extended service encounters with customers, hairdressers do carry out emotional labour. Hairdressers are expected to be caring, patient, friendly and make sure that the customer is happy. Unlike Hochschild's (1983) argument that this emotional labour leads to negative consequences, these hairdressers experienced very positive effects as a result of this emotional labour. This is because of their high identification with the role and that this role in fact allowed them to construct and experience themselves as respectable individuals. The patience that is required from a hairdresser aligned with their spiritual beliefs and allowed hairdressers the room to experience satisfaction within their work. All the hairdressers also had a deep sense of pride in the fact that they had dreams and aspirations because of this.

Hairdressers dreamed of starting their own businesses, using their other skills and continuing to provide for and support their families through this work. Aside from emotional labour in the space, hairdressers are highly affective workers. They are able to produce and evoke strong affects in their customers. The material with which they work is also highly emotive and holds different meanings for customers, meanings that stretch as far back as childhood. An examination of the affective components of hairdressing provides a different and important view of this work. This work is more than just economic activity that is undertaken simply for the survival of the poor and unemployed. The relationship between a client and a hairdresser goes beyond being a purely economistic one. This relationship holds a deep and special meaning in that for customers, hairdressers "took over" the duty of doing their hair from mothers and grandmothers. The affective elements of the work cannot be measured but they add meaning to the experience of being a service worker in these informal hairdressing operations.

Hairdressers are skilled in the negotiation that is required in working with hair. This negotiation forms the basis for trust, which is the catalyst for the formation of the social networks that customer referrals create. These networks hold immense potential for the shaping of how hairdressers experience their work. This is especially pronounced in the case of mobile hairdressers, these hairdressers do not work from any fixed location, these hairdressers are virtually invisible to the COJ and it is these hairdressers that support the arguments of Hardt (1999), when he asserts that affective networks possess the potential for "bio-power from below" and the potential for that emancipation of workers from the control of capital. These mobile hairdressers, have managed to control and structure their lives in a way that minimizes the instability and vulnerability of their incomes. These workers have done so without the policy interventions proposed by the COJ.

The experience of the mobile hairdressers ties into the arguments of scholars like Caroline Kihato. Kihato (2011) asserts that the importance of examining the everyday experience of female workers in the informal sector cannot be underestimated in that it is crucial to any understanding of the urban governance landscape and informal economy policy implementations. Through her in-depth examination of the day-to-day activities of female street traders in Johannesburg, Kihato (2011) argues that the governance of informal urban spaces can never be determined and controlled solely by local government and its policies. The social relations, norms and codes on the ground are also important in shaping how these informal trading spaces are governed. Despite the COJ focussing purely on regulating informal street trade, women traders in informal markets have constructed ways of making themselves "invisible" to a local government that has dedicated much of its effort and

resources in making them “visible” through the demarcation of trading space. The mobile hairdressers in this study started their work on the street but through their customer refferal networks, they have established a way to make themselves not only invisible to the COJ but also successful.

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9 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDES

APPENDIX A

HAIRDRESSERS INTERVIEW GUIDE

What is your age?

What is your nationality?

Are you married?

Do you have children?

Where do you live?

Do your children live with you? (if applicable)

How long have you been working as a hairdresser?

Please describe how you got into this line of work?

Did you have any formal training?

Was hairdressing your first career choice?

Please describe how you ended up working in this operation and why?

Have you held any other formal job elsewhere in the past?

Are you actively looking for another job?

What other income do you earn aside from this job?

Do have an employer?

If yes, please describe your relationship with your employer?

Do you receive any benefits? (if applicable)

Do you have a contract? (if applicable)

What are the rules regarding how you do your job?

Who decides on the rules?

Please describe what you feel is the most important part of your job?

How many customers do you attend to a day?

Please describe how do you deal with customers?

What don't you enjoy about your job?

What do you enjoy about your job?

How do you ensure that your customers return to you?

Do you chat to your customers?

What do you chat about?

What advice would you give to a new hairdresser?

APPENDIX B

CLIENT INTERVIEW GUIDE

What is your age?

What is your nationality?

What is your occupation?

Where do you get your hair done?

For how long?

Why do you braid your hair?

What does doing your hair mean to you?

What is your earliest childhood memory of getting your hair done?

Please describe how you found out about this hairdressing operation/hairdresser?

Do you have a specific hairdresser that does your hair?

What do you expect from the hairdresser?

What don't you expect from the hairdresser?

Do you allow the hairdresser space to be creative?

Please describe your relationship with the hairdresser?

What makes you come back here?

Do you trust your hairdresser?

What breaks trust?

Do you chat to your hairdresser while getting your hair done?

What do you chat about?

What do you enjoy about getting you hair done?

How often do you get your hair done?

Describe your best and worst experience of getting your hair done?

APPENDIX C

BRAAMFONTEIN HAIR CAFE OWNER INTERVIEW GUIDE

What is your nationality?

How long have you owned this hairsalon?

Please describe how you got into this line of work and why you did?

Do you have training in hairdressing?

Have you held any other formal job elsewhere in the past?

What other income do you earn aside from this operation?

Are you aware of any programme run by the city of Johannesburg to support small businesses?

Is your business registered?

How many employees do you have?

Please describe your relationship with your employees?

Do you have formal contractual agreements with them?

How do you recruit your hairdressers?

How do you deal with conflict in the hairsalon?

What are the rules regarding how hairdressers conduct their work?

Please describe what you feel is the most important part of their jobs?

Please describe how hairdressers are expected to deal with customers.

How do you ensure that your customers return?

Is it up to the hairdressers to do this?

APPENDIX D

CITY OF JOBURG OFFICIAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

What is your position?

Please describe what you job entails?

What was the process of drafting the policy?

Who was involved in drafting the Policy?

How did it develop over time?

To what extent were hairdressers involved in this? If not, why?

What worked well during this process?

What did not work well?

How does the City of Johannesburg view the informal sector?

Why does the policy exclude informal activity taking place on private property?

Has the policy achieved its objectives? Why?

Please describe the relationship that the City of Johannesburg has with informal hairdressing operations?

Please describe the relationship that the City of Johannesburg has with street traders associations?

What kind of support do you offer hairdressing operations?

Please provide examples of this

CITY OF JOBURG IMPLEMENTING PARTNER (STREET TRADER MANAGER) INTERVIEW GUIDE

What is your position?

Please describe what you job entails?

Please take me through the policy around the informal sector?

Are hairdressers aware of the city's by-laws?

How do you educate them on these?

What are the challenges regarding hairdressers?

Do you believe the City of Johannesburg has achieved its objectives regarding the informal economy/ street traders? Why?

Please describe the relationship that the City of Johannesburg and your company has with informal hairdressing operations?

Please describe the relationship that the City of Johannesburg has with street traders associations?

What kind of support do you offer hairdressing operations?

Please provide examples of this.

APPENDIX E

STREET TRADER BLOCK LEADER INTERVIEW GUIDE

What is your nationality?

How long have you been a block leader?

How many hairdressers do you represent?

Do your also braid hair here?

How long have you been doing this for?

What does your work as block leader entail?

How did you become a block leader?

What kind of support do you offer hairdressers?

Please describe your relationship with the city of Johannesburg?

What are the main issues/grievances of hairdressers?

What are the rules regarding how hairdressers conduct their work?

How are hairdressers made aware of the city's by-laws?

How do they adhere to these?

How do hairdressers ensure that your customers return?

How do customers treat the hairdressers?

How do the hairdressers treat each other? Please provide examples.