



Construction of masculinity by hairdressers in Braamfontein

By

Ngoni Junior Kamhuka

Student number: 838319

Supervisor: Prof. Malose Langa

A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts in Community-Based Counselling Psychology in the Humanities Faculty,
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my work and that full references have been made to all sources used throughout. I, further, declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree at any other university.



Ngoni Junior Kamhuka

October 2022

Acknowledgements

My mother and sister. *Mhamha*, you are and have been my biggest supporter. Thank you for the difficult talks and the uplifting words. *Ro*, thank you for guiding me through my moments of panic and sharing the moments of celebration with me.

To Shayanne and Yvonne. Thank you for the love and support that you offered me then and now. You gave me a home away from home.

Prof. Malose Langa. The guidance you provided me on this journey has made this possible, thank you.

Lyndall Booth and Claudie Munyai, I thank you for being critical and encouraging.

To Shamiso, Mncedisi, Lerato and Shinola, thank you. With your support, putting this together became possible.

To the participants that were willing to engage with me, thank you as this study would not have been possible without you. Your time has been greatly appreciated.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and thank myself. It has not been easy but here I am.

Abstract

There is a general understanding of the concept of masculinity, as it has been spoken about and is still spoken about today. Fundamentally, masculinity is an integral aspect of the experience known as manhood. Due to its constructed nature, masculinity has many facets, such as not being singular but plural (Connell, 1987; Morrell, 2001). This is of great significance in general but, more specifically, to men who work as hairdressers in hair salons. This is because hair salons are seen as traditionally feminine spaces, and thus, there is an expected impact that working in these spaces can have on one's sense of masculinity. This study, therefore, explores how men who work as hairdressers navigate their masculine identities in these traditionally feminine spaces. This is important as this version of masculinity may prove to be healthier and more progressive to all whom it affects – the men and those around them. This qualitative study aims to explore male hairdressers' lived experiences and the resultant construction of masculinity in Braamfontein. In order to achieve this, 10 male hairdressers that work in hair salons in Braamfontein were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. Thematic analysis was used to make sense of the findings. The findings suggest that these men aspire towards hegemonic standards of masculinity; however, they are placed in a marginalised position by others due to their occupations. This results in them developing a model of masculinity befitting them. Moreover, their aspirations towards hegemonic masculinity help legitimise it as the standard, but also, their model of masculinity suggests that there are progressive ways in which men can change that.

List of Abbreviations

COVID-19 – Coronavirus pandemic

Contents

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Abbreviations	v
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Research aim	2
Research questions	2
Rationale.....	2
Overview of the thesis	4
Chapter 2: Literature Review	5
Introduction.....	5
Masculinity and gender identity.....	5
Hegemonic masculinity	8
Multiple masculinities	10
Traditionally Female Occupations and Masculinity.....	14
Impact of Traditionally Female Occupations on Masculinity	15
Gender role strain	17
Conclusion	20
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework	21
Social constructionism	21
Chapter 4: Methodology	24
Research design.....	24
Participants.....	25
Participant information.....	25
Data collection.....	26
Procedure	27
Research setting	27
Data analysis.....	29
Ethical Considerations.....	30
Reflexivity	31

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion	34
Introduction.....	34
Experiences of men as hairdressers.....	34
<i>The reasons why men become hairdressers</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Challenges these men experience being hairdressers.....</i>	<i>44</i>
Male hairdressers' construction of masculinity	50
<i>Perpetuating hegemonic masculinity</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Departures from hegemonic masculinity</i>	<i>57</i>
Chapter 6: Conclusion	63
Limitations of the study	65
Suggestions for future research.....	66
References.....	67
Appendix 1: Subject Information Sheet.....	85
Appendix 2: Interview Consent Form	87
Appendix 3: Audio Recording Consent Form	89
Appendix 4: Interview Schedule	90
Appendix 5: Ethics Certificate	92

Chapter 1: Introduction

The concept of masculinity is a socially constructed collective gender identity (October, 2019; Kerfoot and Knights, 1993). It can be understood as behaviours and practices in broader cultural and organisational structures (Mutunda, 2009; Ratele, 2008). Behaviours and practices are commonly associated with men and require them to act in particular ways, and those who do not are seen as less masculine and/or 'other' (October, 2019). Masculinity is, however, also situational and dynamic (Morrell, 2001). This highlights the fact that there are different kinds of masculinities in a given society, and the one particular to this study is hegemonic masculinity (Ademiluka, 2018; Jackson & Balaji, 2011).

Hegemonic masculinity is a concept used worldwide across a wide range of research regarding gender. It was built on the work of Connell (1987; 1995), whose work on hegemonic masculinity is considered seminal. It is a powerful concept that has proven to be pivotal in allowing the analysis of the societal hierarchy with men in differing positions of power (Ademiluka, 2018). The term has been found problematic, especially in the South African context, due to its failure to take issues of class and race into account (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012). This is an issue as it implies that hegemonic masculinity is universal and is the same for all men across the world. Despite the valid criticisms against this term, it has remained useful and is used by many researchers (Morrell et al., 2012). Therefore, this term is important, and this was considered for the study.

This study looked at the construction of masculinity by hairdressers in Braamfontein in Johannesburg to understand how men who work in salons position themselves in terms of hegemonic masculinity. Capitalism encourages behaviours that are associated with masculinity, such as male aggressiveness and competitiveness (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). These traits are sought after in the economic system; however, one's socioeconomic positioning has a great impact on their masculine sense of self (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). This is significant, especially when one considers the South African context, where, according to Statistics South Africa (2019b), the unemployment rate in South Africa is 29%. This means that 6.7-million people in South Africa are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2019b). Ergo, this limited availability of employment

partially explains why men would work as hairdressers (Itulua-Abumere, 2013). This, however, is compounded by the widely accepted view that men and women are fundamentally different with distinct traits that characterise masculine and feminine archetypes (Itulua-Abumere, 2013).

Research aim

The study aims to determine how masculinity is constructed amongst men working as hairdressers in the suburban area of Braamfontein in Johannesburg. In order to do this, the following objectives will be used as guidance:

- Research what male hairdressers consider to be masculine and if it fits with the hegemonic ideal.
- Research how they negotiate their social and gender identities within their line of work.
- Research how and why they started doing such a job.

Research questions

- Why do men become hairdressers?
- How do male hairdressers construct their masculinity?
- Do these individuals align more with hegemonic masculinity or masculinities befitting their occupation?

Rationale

Substantial research has been done on the topic of masculinity locally and internationally. The term has remained popular in South African studies, and many of the studies focus on aspects such as men and violence (Morrell et al., 2012) and men as absent fathers (Langa, 2017). Few studies have focused on men and beauty work: Leopeng and Langa (2017) looked at how a popular magazine characterised expressions of masculinity, and how this related to fatherhood; Richards and Langa (2018) looked at the subculture

called *izikhothane* concerning aspects such as masculinity, class, and fashion and; Ramdeo's (2011) exploration of how individuals spoke about the 'metrosexual' male and the change masculinity has undergone because of this. Although hegemonic masculinity is often thought of as the norm, it is rather an ideal as very few men meet up with its criteria (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). This study adds to existing literature but specifically focuses on men who work as hairdressers in salons. As more men are becoming hairdressers, they need to negotiate these traditionally feminine spaces whilst maintaining their sense of masculinity. This study seeks to develop an understanding of how men manage to do that task. There are aspects such as masculinity in hairdressing (Hall et al., 2007), the doing and undoing of gender (Butler, 2004) and gender role strain (Simpson, 2005) that can affect one's sense of masculinity. This may require them to construct their own masculinity, which is not hegemonic. There is also an exploration of how these men came into this line of work and why and how they make sense of it.

The study was situated in Braamfontein, often shortened to just "Braam," it is an area in which there was a multitude of hair salons in which men work as hairdressers. It is a melting pot of culture and class due to the populous that inhabit and frequent the area. There are approximately 40,000 people within the area; 92% are Black, 56% are South African citizens, 53% are male, 49% are employed, and 41% have completed Matric (Wazimap, 2019). In part, this is a result of some of the socio-political changes within the South African landscape, such as the downfall of apartheid (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2008) and the mass migration of foreign nationals from different African countries (Oluwafemi, 2011). Therefore, many social, cultural, economic, and physical transformations have occurred in Braam, an urban area (Smith, 2005). Whilst Braam is a meeting point for different cultures and classes, so are the numerous salons situated within it. Salons embody characteristics specific to their location and the culture around them. They signify the politics in location, salons, and hair, especially since women's hair symbolises social location, allowing them to associate with those of a certain race, age, and class (Weitz, 2004).

As stated by Shefer, Stevens & Clowes (2010) men face great complex social pressures. By looking at these men entering such spaces, they can be considered positive role models through such actions as they make it more socially acceptable and

bridge the gendered divide. Therefore, this research intends to contribute to the literature and the interventions that want to empower people to construct and enact forms of masculinity that are beneficial to all. Forms of masculinity that are, therefore, life-affirming, non-violent, and non-abusive.

Overview of the thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory overview of masculinity and its construction. It provides perspective regarding the significance of the study and its location, which is detailed within the aim and objectives, the research questions and the study's rationale.

Chapter 2 reviews the extensive literature on masculinity. This is done by exploring the concept to reveal its multifaceted nature and the dominant discourse around it. This is followed by exploring traditionally female occupations and their subsequent impact on masculinity. The chapter concludes by delving into the strain that arises from this complex relationship.

Chapter 3 delves into the theoretical framework of social construction underpinning this study.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology used in this study. It provides an understanding of the qualitative design of the study, followed by the data collection method through the use of semi-structured interviews, the procedure, analysis, reflexivity, and the ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter 5 provides the analysis and discussion of the finding, which is done by providing the lived experiences of the male hairdressers from Braamfontein and juxtaposing this with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 6 serves as the conclusion to the thesis. It summarises the findings and outlines the limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The following literature review will examine the concept of masculinity and subsequent theories used to understand it. Therefore, it will be divided into the following sections: Masculinity and gender identity; Hegemonic masculinity; Multiple masculinities; Traditionally Female Occupations and Masculinity; Impact of Traditionally Female Occupations on Masculinity and; Gender role strain. The first three sections explore the broader concept of masculinity by looking at aspects such as its construction and development and the various forms it may take. The last three sections focus on the significance of the influx of men into occupations traditionally considered for females. It then attempts to consolidate the impact of traditionally female occupations on masculinity. This will be concluded by looking at men's strain due to gender roles and masculinity.

Masculinity and gender identity

Masculinity, sometimes referred to as manliness, refers to general ways of being, such as attitudes and behaviours commonly associated with boys and men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). These ways of being can be seen as a gender role schema that men are predisposed to and are reinforced by others (Arrindell, 2005). These schemas eventually begin to function on a self-evaluation basis whereby men "view the world through masculine-tinted cognitive lenses" (Arrindell, 2005, p.1) and try to live by a culturally approved masculine gender role. The above highlights two significant aspects of masculinity: the first is that masculinity (like femininity) is an acquired social identity. People are socialised by interactions with members of the mainstream culture and their institutions (Laurie, 1999). As this socialisation is based on their biological sex, they develop gender identity and are made to understand what it means to be a man or a woman (Hofstede, Dignum, Prada, Student & Vanhée, 2015; Laurie, 1999). The second aspect relates to gender identities being naturalised and thus based on the idea of

biological differences (Hofstede et al., 2015; Laurie, 1999). For example, masculinity is thought of as being a provider, suppressing emotions and being tough, whereas femininity is thought of as being subordinated, expressing emotions and being a caregiver.

Scholars (Butler, 2014; Connell, n.d., 1987, 1997; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Jackson & Balaji, 2011; Laurie, 1999; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005) typically consider masculinity to be socially constructed. There is also the belief that the general way of being referred to as masculinity is also influenced by biological factors (Butler, 2014; Hofstede et al., 2015). One of the criticisms against the concept of masculinity is due to this notion of biological factors as they essentialise male-female differences (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). With that in mind, masculinity can be considered to be a “socially generated set of behaviours and practices surrounding the group named men” (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993), and therefore, it is neither the property of any one individual man (Lindegger and Maxwell, 2007) nor a fixed characteristic of individuals of the male sex (Lupton, 2000). What this means is that although masculinity is typically associated with men, other individuals can exhibit traits considered to be traditionally masculine. Scholars such as Halberstam (1998) and Butler (2014) argue that discussions of the body and those around gender identity should be separate. Regardless of how one defines the biological being, the identity is not linked, nor should it be, seeing as women can be masculine and men can be feminine (Butler, 2014; Halberstam, 1998).

Due to this socially constructed nature, masculinity has been socially and historically constructed in a process involving “contestation between rival understandings of what being a man should be” (Morrell, 2001, p.7). For instance, Africa is a continent that is immensely diverse in aspects such as culture, language, climate, religion, and governance (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). Commonalities exist despite this diversity, such as men having access to patriarchy which affords them power over women and children. This power even extends to power over other men (Ademiluka, 2018). Colonisation and neo-colonisation are examples of this power extending over other men. Each of the aforementioned diverse groups (and their infinite variations) may have had its own definitions and understandings of African manhood. In his studies of masculinity within the settings of colonialism and postcolonialism, Fanon stated that “his [the Negro] metaphysics or, less pretentiously, his customs and the source on which they were based,

were wiped out because they were in conflict with a civilisation that he did not know and that imposed itself on him.” (Fanon, 1982, p.110). Therefore, stating that the precolonial definitions of masculinity were negated and restructured by colonisation as power and superiority was now signified by “whiteness,” (Jackson & Balaji, 2011). In a way, African men were denied masculinity by colonisation as they were demoted to boys and labelled savages (Moolman, 2013). In addition to all this, masculinity has to contend with the current impact of globalisation which has resulted in a new type of global citizenship. The significance of this globalisation and the legacy of colonialism, the current way Africans define masculinity, has roots in the Western idea of masculinity (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). This is significant, especially since traditional Western norms are seen as hegemonic due to their contributions to maintaining men’s position in the gender hierarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2019).

Due to the constructed nature of masculinity, it can therefore be dynamic, meaning that it can change over time, and as mentioned above, it can be seen as something that can be performed by men and women (Butler, 2014; Halberstam, 1998). This constructed nature opens it up to several possibilities, such as the existence of multiple masculinities. These masculinities have been identified in studies examining different countries, institutional settings, and cultural settings. These differing masculinities were presented as being more socially central or more concerned with social power, as gender relations in those settings determined the socially admired masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Alternatively, masculinities can also be seen as ways in which gendered power relations are not only maintained but are also re-established (Lupton, 2000). As Connell (1992, p.736) stated, “certain constructions of masculinity are hegemonic, while others are subordinated or marginalised.” Ultimately, the concept of masculinity lends itself to the social-constructionist paradigm. It is located within a system of social relations, and because of this, occupations and organisations are significant examples of the institutions above. These are spaces in which masculinities are not only constructed and reconstructed but challenged as well. This occurs in relation to other masculinities and even femininities and through efforts to obtain power and resources within the bigger picture of gender relations. An example of such construction, reconstruction and challenges is when men enter occupations considered to be traditionally female (Lupton,

2000; Morgan, 1992). Perhaps another way to view this is that when these individuals enter the space, they are doing gender. They construct their identity at work by mediating what their work role specifies and the amount of appropriate participation they take part in at their place of work (McDowell, 2015).

Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity describes the dominant form of masculinity (Connell, 1987). Although only a minority of men enact it as it is not easily performed or necessarily desirable, it is viewed as the ideal way of being a man (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; McVittie, Hepworth & Goodall, 2017). Connell (1987) proposed a model describing four types of masculinity. These types refer to the positioning of said masculinities with hegemony considered the dominant male ideal (Connell, 1987; Langa, 2017). The four types are hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, and marginalised (Connell, 1987). This section focuses on hegemony, with the other three being discussed in the section on multiple masculinities. Overall, regarding the types, Connell states, “[w]e must recognise the relations between the different kinds of masculinity: relations of alliance, dominance, and subordination. These relations are constructed through relations that exclude and include, that intimidate, exploit, and so on. There is a gender politics within masculinity” (Connell, 2005, p.37). This dominant male ideal is then maintained through homosociality, which are spaces with male group interactions whereby meanings associated with hegemonic identities are reinforced (Bird, 1996).

As the domineering position, hegemonic masculinity encapsulates the most influential cultural stereotypes of being a *real* man. “[It] provides a way of explaining that though a number of masculinities coexist, a particular version of masculinity holds sway, bestowing power and privilege on men who espouse it and claim it as their own” (Morrell, 1998, p.608). This position includes: heterosexism, having sex with multiple women to prove one’s heterosexuality; physical dominance; competitiveness and; control (Bowleg, Teti, Massie, Patel, Malebranche & Tschann, 2011; Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2004; Kimmel, 1997; Langa, 2017). Along with this, *real* men are also defined by other abilities such as self-reliance, pain endurance, household decision-making and, ultimately,

avoiding anything that may make them look feminine (Mutunda, 2009; Ratele, 2008; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). Furthermore, behaviours that discourage the expression of feelings, seeking help from others and acknowledging weaknesses are characteristics of being a *real* man (McVittie et al., 2017). As a representative of those mentioned above, hegemonic masculinity constructs the “other,” which includes the subordination of women, femininity, alternative forms of masculinity and gay men (Connell, 1987; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Men thus distance themselves from anything they consider to be “other,” which can be done through homosociality. The above-mentioned traits, abilities and behaviours are then used as a base to build on and maintain superiority over the “other”. Whereas identifying with them would remove the distance symbolically and allow for the destruction of the oppression of “other” (Bird, 1996).

This seminal work on hegemonic masculinity developed by Connell (1987; 1995) is primarily influenced by Gramsci’s (1971) writing on hegemony. This writing proposed hegemony as a system of ideas and ideals that served the powerful people in society by sustaining and legitimising their interests at a particular point in time (McVittie et al., 2017). Furthermore, this dominant position is obtained through relative agreement amongst people, but it is underpinned by force (Gramsci, 1971; Jewkes, Morrell, Hearn, Lundqvist, Blackbeard, Lindegger, Quayle, Sikweyiya, & Gottzén, 2015). This relative agreement is developed among those who stand to benefit from masculinity’s promotion but also those, such as women, that are oppressed by it. Like men, hegemonic masculinity is also women’s ideal version of manhood. It is reinforced through rewards such as women’s attention and their efforts to replicate it in other males (Gramsci, 1971; Jewkes et al., 2015).

Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987) is widely used and debated. It has proven to be very useful as an analytical instrument (Jewkes et al., 2015). Examples of its uses include identifying beliefs and actions that serve to perpetuate gender inequality (Ademiluka, 2018), explaining men’s risky health behaviours (Tseole & Vermaak, 2020), use of violence (Frosh et al., 2004) and even how some men have power over other men (Connell, 1987; Jewkes et al., 2015; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Although this may be the case, there is criticism of this concept. For example, Connell argues for hegemonic masculinity as prescribed and idealised norms rather than reflecting the lived

reality of the lives of men (McVittie et al., 2017). He, however, does not provide an explanation for their origins, as no man ever meets the criteria. This questions how appropriate the definition is if there is no man to actually live up to it (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Even though this may be the case, hegemonic masculinity is something men strive to exhibit through cultural discourse (McDowell, 2015). This is partly because the concept affords them a normative standard to aspire towards and one with which individual men can assess their own identities (McVittie et al., 2017).

The criticism is valid and thus led to the concept being refined over the years, but the basis has remained (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity represents the culturally idealised form of manhood and is both a personal and collective notion (Jewkes et al., 2015). Within the context of South Africa, there remains a challenge with the use of the concept, even if refined. The shortcoming of appropriating a fixed understanding of hegemonic masculinity is that it reproduces a moralistic binary whereby hegemony is intrinsically linked with bad men and demonises them. This fixed aspect means it has lost its fluidity and flexibility (Langa, 2017; Morrell et al., 2012). The individuals are constructed as inherently problematic without providing a greater understanding of the complexities of the social construction and contradictory experiences of masculinity for boys and men (Shefer et al., 2010). Since certain types of male behaviours in the African context are stigmatised, this allows prominent politicians in the South African sphere to push back on what they consider to be the demonising effects of gender equality (Morrell et al., 2012). Examples of this include Jacob Zuma and Julius Malema. They both assert and promote “traditional” masculinity through glorifying ideas of male sexual entitlement. They serve as figureheads that celebrate brute strength and assertions of power and present gender equality as “anti-African,” (Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele, 2006, 2008). This may highlight the need to recognise differing constructions of masculinity, which can be multiple, fluid, and flexible (Langa, 2017).

Multiple masculinities

Considering masculinity is socially constructed and a by-product of each social, cultural, and historical context, it is fair to expect that there would be multiple masculinities (Morrell,

2001). For example, the aforementioned types of masculinity by Connell (1987) delineate a hierarchical relationship among them. This relationship exists because the position of hegemony is not the only one in a particular social, cultural, and historical space. Meaning that masculinities are multiple, fluid and dynamic given the situation (Jewkes et al., 2015; Langa, 2008). The three other types of masculinity are complicit, marginalised, and subordinated (Connell, 1987).

The majority of men align with the second type, complicit. Tseole & Vermaak (2020) consider it a passive expression of masculinity that does not challenge the gender system. On the other hand, Wojnicka (2021) views it as not only playing a role in affirming hegemony (as hegemony exists through complicit men's approval) but also, through its existence, aids with defining marginalised and subordinated masculinities. However, both understandings build on the understanding established by Connell (2005). These men do not meet the hegemony criteria and do not challenge it because they are afforded the male privilege. The benefits may be physical and symbolic. The primary benefit is that they experience a sense of hegemony and ultimately avoid subordination (Connell, 1995; Gómez, 2007; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). Complicit masculinity can be seen as being synonymous with male privilege. Male privilege refers to the rights and benefits (such as social and political assets) afforded because they are men in societies organised around male supremacy (O'Brien, 2009). Although males are often unaware of this privilege due to its seeming naturalness, it is both taken for granted as the way of being and thus perpetuated (O'Brien, 2009). Ultimately, even though the number of men meeting the criteria and therefore practising hegemony are low, most men still benefit from it due to subordinating the "other" (Connell, 2005).

The third type of masculinity is marginalised. It is a subculture of hegemony wherein the intersection of structures such as race, gender and class create more relationships between masculinities (Connell, 2005). This type still places men in a position that affords them control over the "other" (Kumar & Mukherjee, 2021). Although they may demonstrate traits similar to hegemony, it does not include them due to their inability to show some important characteristics, such as control (Mincey, Alfonso, Hackney & Luque, 2014; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). With Black men, for example, this may be a result of their socio-historical position of being marginalised (Mincey et al.,

2014). In Western and Westernised societies, among the myriad of aspects associated with hegemony (listed prior), another one of importance is being White (Evans, Frank, Oliffe & Gregory, 2011). Race relations play a significant role in the relationship between masculinities (Connell, 2005). Ultimately, the men in this category emerge due to their complex social identities that embody the intersectionality of their race, class, ability, and religion, which places them lower in the relational hierarchy than other men (Kumar & Mukherjee, 2021; Roberts & Elliott, 2020). This logic draws on the concept of intersectionality, a “discourse about identity that acknowledges how identities are constructed through the intersection of multiple dimensions” (Crenshaw, 1991, p.1299).

The last type of masculinity identified by Connell (1987), is subordinated. Although these men may possess the physical characteristics typical of hegemony, they embody traits considered to be the opposite of hegemony (Connell, 1995; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). An example of this is gay men. Stereotypically, gay men display traits typically associated with femininity, such as expressing their feelings and being physically weak (Connell, 1995; Roberts & Elliott, 2020; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020;). Therefore, this type of masculinity is viewed as the antithesis of hegemony because, according to hegemony, it is easily assimilated into femininity. It goes beyond mere stigmatisation as there are legalised practices in place for the subordination of gay men (Connell, 2005). The practices include physical and psychological abuse through exclusion, insult, and humiliation; punishment through legalised forms of violence such as imprisonment and death and; varying forms of discrimination such as social, cultural, and economic (Connell, 2005; Gómez, 2007). This brings to the foreground the oppressive performance of power through the practices mentioned above (Gómez, 2007).

An alternative conceptualisation of multiple masculinities by Wetherell and Edley (1999) is built on the work of *imaginary positioning* by Barthes (1991). This conceptualisation also asserts that men have differing positions regarding masculinity. This is done through heroic, ordinary, and rebellious positions (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Men in the heroic position aspire towards hegemonic masculinity as they align with prescriptive norms of masculinity. These men use an imaginary position to place their lives parallel to hegemonic standards (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). The ordinary position occurs when men are allowed to position themselves within society. They position

themselves as ordinary or normal as they reconstruct the prescriptive norms as social stereotypes they can avoid (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Finally, the rebellious position whereby they place themselves unconventionally as they disregard the prescriptive norms and social expectations in general. This implies a sense of comfort with their ways of being (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). The above highlights that by allowing for complicity and resistance by other men, the conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity allows for diversity within masculinity. Reinforcing the notion that masculine identities can and should be studied in the plural (Connell, 1987; Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

South African work on masculinity has focused on race and violence because race functions as a proxy for culture and privilege (Morrell et al., 2012). The importance of race cannot be understated, especially since it continues to change and shape social identities and environments in a country that has endured political challenges such as apartheid (Dolby, 2001). In such a context, however, the perspective of intersectionality is paramount. This is because it asserts that structures such as race and gender build upon each other as one structure alone cannot fully encapsulate the challenges of social identity in a country such as this (Levine-Rasky, 2011). Contemporary South African social identities are built on the intersection of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, place, and history, which can and should help to shape masculinities in this context (Moolman, 2013). Hegemony has often been used as a way of explaining the levels of violence in the country. This has been done through historic and institutional demonstration of ideal forms of masculinity for White and Black men. These forms of masculinity include cultural legitimacy for violence and even gendered practices that use widespread violence (Morrell et al., 2012). The impact and dominance of hegemony are evident in the pervasiveness of gender-based violence (Moolman, 2013).

Studies of men (Hall et al., 2007; Jewkes et al., 2015; Langa, 2008, 2017) look at masculinities in a manner that is exploratory to acknowledge the social construction of gendered identities and their subjectivities but also to foreground them (Shefer et al., 2010). These critical studies foreground ways in which particular dominant versions of masculinity have been and are problematic (Shefer et al., 2010). Given the fact that lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) identities and their issues have become more visible in South Africa post-apartheid, this ensures a continued

interrogation of taken-for-granted identities and their privileges (Moolman, 2013). This further emphasises the need for progressive masculinities to eclipse hegemonic masculinity as it is currently constituted. These progressive masculinities are not afraid to share power and are nonviolent (Iacoviello, Valsecchi, Berent, Borinca, & Falomir-Pichastor, 2021; Moolman, 2013). This is compounded by South Africa's ability to increasingly recognise and include women, as female bodies actively practice masculinity by embodying authority through their access to and use of education, politics, or employment (Moolman, 2013). Overall, there are efforts to recognise multiple masculinities despite men being expected to conform to prevailing masculinities that are detrimental to themselves and others (Iacoviello et al., 2021; Shefer et al., 2010).

Traditionally Female Occupations and Masculinity

Traditionally female occupations have been undergoing changes that have made them more appealing, even to males. Although these occupations are experiencing these changes, people still consider them to be jobs for females (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). An example of such a job is a hairdresser. This is partly because salons are considered locations where social expectations of women culminate. This ranges from hair and looks and providing a space in which they define their relationships with other women (Weitz, 2004).

Working in such spaces creates challenges for men (Agadjanian, 2005). These challenges include: being viewed as effeminate; being stigmatised; experiencing misalignment, and; receiving less support from clients, family, and friends due to their choice of a non-traditional occupation (Agadjanian, 2005; Lupton, 2000; van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). They are viewed as effeminate and receive less support because such an occupation is categorised as feminine, reinforcing, and reifying the gender-based stereotypes and differences between men and women (McDonald, 2013). Regarding stigma, this depends on the number of men in that non-traditional occupation. For as long as they are a token minority, less than 15%, they will continue to face the stigma and subsequent discrimination (Agadjanian, 2005). Misalignment may occur when one has to transition from gender identity to occupational identity (Lupton, 2000). These men attempt

to realign the two through rationalisation. In this study, rationalisation refers to using what appears to be logical reasoning to justify untoward behaviour in an effort to quell one's sense of guilt whilst maintaining a level of self-respect (American Psychological Association, 2022). This may involve reconstructing what their occupation entails or redefining their self-conception of manhood. Although it may seem like a solution, the problem with reconstructing is that it reinforces the stereotypical views of what is considered appropriate regarding male and female occupations (Lupton, 2000; McDonald, 2013).

Despite the challenges, men may be motivated to pursue these non-traditional occupations due to major technological changes and socioeconomic decline compounded by the limited availability of employment (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). According to Statistics South Africa (2021a), the unemployment rate in this country is 46,6%. Moreover, the average salary within the country is below the level of the middle-class or upper-class (National Bargaining Council, 2022). This may motivate some of these men to enter these occupations as a means to an end. The UCT Liberty Institute (2020) categorises them as “survivors” and “skilled strugglers” as their income range is typically between R6,000 and R12,000 per month (National Bargaining Council, 2022). In looking at other potential avenues for motivation, Simpson (2005) categorised men in non-typical occupations into three groups- seekers, finders, and settlers. According to Simpson (2005), seekers actively pursue the non-traditional career through compromise, finders end up in the non-traditional career due to its availability and having left a traditionally masculine occupation, and settlers actively pursue a non-traditional occupation (Simpson, 2005; Williams & Villemez, 1993).

Impact of Traditionally Female Occupations on Masculinity

An example of the above-mentioned complex nature of negotiations within salons is the relationship between hairdressers and clients. While commodified profit is the motivation, this relationship typically resembles friendship (Black, 2004). With this comes the expectation of emotional labour, and this is providing informal emotional counselling, a naturalised aspect of women's characteristics (Barber, 2008; Black, 2004). It is, however,

not interpreted as labour because although the relationship is mediated by money, people may feel as though the relationship is less legitimate (Barber, 2008). This informal therapy directly opposes masculinity as men strive to be detached emotionally to emphasise that they are men and not women (Bird, 1996).

Due to their association with “women’s culture,” hair salons were seen as spaces that men either completely avoided or infrequently visited as they were dominated and governed by women (Barber, 2008; Kumalo, 2019). These spaces treat women’s concerns and perspectives as fundamental instead of rendering them invisible, unimportant, and irrelevant through marginalisation (Feagin, 2020). There was an ideological regime in which hair salons were for women and barbershops were for men. Under this regime, a straight man inside a salon was considered an abnormality because he infringed on gendered boundaries (Barber, 2008). Perhaps, this is how the stereotype of men who work in salons being gay came about. This stereotype also appears unsettling and problematic for some men in these spaces (Hall et al., 2007). Thus, to navigate their careers, men had to and may still have to do and undo gender in ways that benefit their social and occupational lives (Hall et al., 2007). As stated by Bird (1996), if one wishes to be different and avoid the default meanings, the burden is placed on them to express the difference, which becomes a valued part of their identity.

Given the performative nature of gender, maintaining masculine ideals can be challenging for men because their manliness is measured by continually proving it (Evans et al., 2011). This may be easier in barbershops as they are homosocial spaces considered men’s equivalent of the hair salon. However, they are not as established in South Africa because hair salons typically will have someone who provides haircuts (Barber, 2008). Due to roles attached to each specific gender created and upheld through centuries, men believe that their success is not enough unless they meet or exceed the expectations of people and industry (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). This is because, whilst growing up, boys are taught the importance of appearing dominant, tough, and powerful (Davies & Eagle, 2010). Therefore, things like occupation, status and achievement have been associated with a man’s sense of identity and self-esteem (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010).

Moreover, in a patriarchal society like South Africa, men are scrutinised and stigmatised more by gender ideologies if they fail to live up to or reject the ideals of masculinity (Evans et al., 2011). Thus, the hair salon is not the obvious space to reproduce masculine ideals as *real* men would not go nor work there (Robinson, Hall & Hockey, 2011). This is why it may prove worthwhile to discuss why the men in the study chose hair salons instead of barbershops.

Gender role strain

This leads to an important aspect to consider, and that is of strain. Seeing as masculinity exists in contrast to femininity (Connell, 1995), men in traditionally female occupations, like hairdressing, are expected to experience tension and a sense of discomfort with their gender role behaviour (Simpson, 2005). The sense of discomfort is located either internally or externally. The former refers to the individual's sense of self and accompanying self-worth, and the latter refers to how others see them (Simpson, 2005). So even though hegemonic masculinity is not the only type of masculinity, the meanings are internalised and are seen as the only legitimate form of masculinity. This serves to suppress any expression of meanings that are not hegemonic (Bird, 1996). As highlighted earlier, some of the challenges men in such occupations experience include being viewed as effeminate, receiving less support from others, and being stigmatised (Agadjanian, 2005; Lupton, 2000; van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). Thus, it is expected that straight men may feel strained, embarrassed, and ashamed.

In comparison, gay men in the same occupations are expected not to feel any of this because their sexual orientation does not allow them to be masculine (Connell, 1995; Simpson, 2005; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). A way in which these men attempt to avoid strain is by situating themselves as outsiders, as this allows them to distance themselves from femininity. This distance is created physically and by them declaring that their services are less feminine (Simpson, 2005). This is their attempt to sexualise the touching that accompanies the service as they deem themselves more masculine and the other is more feminine in an effort to resist being feminised (Barber, 2008). Therefore, it would be worthwhile to find out from the participants how they view themselves, how they are

viewed, what their responses are to people's attitudes about their career choice, the stereotypical image associated with such a job and how this fits in with their sense of personal identity.

Interestingly, this sense of strain extends beyond the occupation and is apparent in wider society, and so are the efforts to assuage it. Look no further than beauty products for men, referred to as "grooming products" (Barber, 2008). For example, the same brand of pocket tissue can be specified as being "for men." This is another way in which society, in general, plays into this notion, which only serves to reproduce and maintain gender differences reflecting the dominant gender discourse (Agadjanian, 2005). Although, there have been shifts recently in gender politics toward gender equity and equality regarding constructions of masculinity (Morrell et al., 2012). It should come as no surprise that there has been social and psychological resistance by men to changing current gender relations and the transformation of masculinities (Ratele, 2015). Men should be vested in such gender transformation because they also suffer the consequences (Connell, 2000; Morrell, 2002). Maintaining gender norms, for example, means that men are more likely to be involved and be victims of violent crimes, be imprisoned and die in traffic accidents (American Psychological Association, 2018). The issue, however, is that men agree to the idea of change in principle but, in practice, do not do enough (Ratele, 2015). This may be due to them still being afforded male privilege (O'Brien, 2009). Another facet to consider could be pluralistic ignorance; privately, men may reject societal expectations but incorrectly believe that others advocate for them. This may speak to a disparity between men and their perception of how masculine norms are valued and the reality of how much or how little they actually are valued (Iacoviello et al., 2021).

There are numerous ways in which men can contribute to significant change, be it organisationally, ideologically, or politically. Individual and collective efforts must both be utilised to create new models of masculinity and new ways of being *real* men (Connell, 2000; Morrell, 2002). In South Africa, however, those numerous ways of eliciting change are the same ways that cause resistance. This includes income, men being paid more for the same type of work, culture, such as customs and rituals, tradition, things that must be done in certain ways and; gender itself, as people are continuously socialised to traditional gender roles (Ratele, 2015). The majority of men's movements are not oriented

toward gender equality or supportive of feminism (Connell, 2000; Morrell, 2002), as this is “anti-African,” (Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele, 2006, 2008). This is in sharp contrast to feminist movements advocating for greater equality, which challenge traditional ideas of gender and the resultant traditional norms of masculinity (Thompson & Bennett, 2015). Thus, through the emergence of feminism, traditional masculine norms can and may be replaced by more progressive ones (Iacoviello et al., 2021).

Whilst homosociality and pluralistic ignorance play major roles in men maintaining and valuing hegemonic masculinity as constructed (Iacoviello et al., 2021), inadequate empirical attention has been afforded to women and their contributions to the male gender roles and associated masculinity (Abrams, Maxwell & Belgrave, 2018). As noted throughout this chapter, gender roles and hegemonic norms of masculinity are determined by their cultural and social context, meaning that what women believe and thus give attention to is reinforced and reflected in men and their behaviours (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Collins, 2004). Gender role beliefs and gender schemas, for example, can be passed on generationally as what parents believe directly influences their children’s development of gender norms and expectations (Sharp & Ispa, 2009; Peck, Brodish, Malanchuk, Banerjee, & Eccles, 2014). Gender role beliefs denote gender-specific responsibilities which include stereotypical views about men and women (Dicke, Safavian, & Eccles, 2019). Then according to Bem (1981), gender schema theory refers to mental systems that organise and categorise information according to gender. This results in gendered behaviours and expectations and is significant since women make up 51% of the population in South Africa, with 42% of households headed by women (Statistics South Africa, 2019a, 2021b). Therefore, women and their beliefs play an important role that helps to shape men through child rearing, as stated above, but also through decisions on the partnership, the quality of relationships and even general health behaviours (Abrams et al., 2018). Furthermore, this area that would appear to require further research as it may prove to be pivotal in changing the discourse around gender politics.

Conclusion

The literature review above examined the concept of masculinity and traditionally female occupations. This was accomplished by dividing the chapter into three interrelated sections. Firstly, the reasons for and the significance of the influx of men into occupations traditionally considered for females were explored. This revealed changes in the field and the challenges and motivations influencing men in these occupations. Secondly, the seminal work by Connell on masculinity was explored by looking at it with gender identities, the different types, and the importance of multiple and, more importantly, the potential for progressive masculinities. Lastly, the chapter attempted to bring together traditionally female occupations and masculinity by looking at the impact of the former on the latter. This required delving into the significance of the study's area to provide an important backdrop to the subsequent discussions. The focus was on gender, gender roles, gender role strain and what could be done to address this.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Social constructionism

Social constructionism is the theoretical framework underpinning this study. It is a theory that has been influenced by different perspectives, such as the sociological, the psychological and the philosophical (Gergen, 1994). It is associated with postmodernism as it seeks to challenge universal truths (Andrews, 2012). According to this approach, meanings are dynamic and fluid because they are socially constructed through people and their various interactions (Gergen & Gergen, 2012).

In their work, Berger and Luckmann (1991) displayed that the nature of the world appears to be pre-existing and fixed. However, this nature is more fluid due to social construction through people and their social practices (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). According to their anti-essentialist notion, via social practice, human beings create and maintain all social phenomena through three processes: externalisation, objectivation and internalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Externalisation is when people create a practice by engaging with their world and, for example, writing an account detailing this. Objectivation then occurs when this account enters the social realm, and the account becomes part of the collective of shared meanings and now exists as objective truth. This results in internalisation as future generations come into the world whereby this truth exists, which they learn and understand as a representative of the nature of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Therefore, social constructionism challenges notions stating that knowledge is discovered as a direct and unfiltered grasp of the world (Schwandt, 2003).

Social constructionism ponders to what extent people are individual and collective. Thoughts and emotions are not seen as representative of the individual but rather seen as existing between the individuals (Galbin, 2014). Social constructionism postulates that knowledge is created and impacted by socio-cultural and historical influences such as language (Andrews, 2012; Schwandt, 2003). Language is seen as a social action that constructs reality instead of merely being a way to understand the world through the forthright expression of one's thoughts (Burr, 2015). This theory asserts the notion that through time, the reality is constructed, maintained, and destroyed through engagement

with others (Galbin, 2014; Gergen, 1985). Whilst acknowledging that the individual is responding to an aspect of the world, the observation has ultimately been made by a subjective human being (Andrews, 2012; Gablin, 2014; Zhao, 2020).

Social constructionism, however, is not without its limitations. It has been criticised for denying the objective physical world as is. This criticism stipulates that phenomena, be they material or psychological, are real, and we interact with said phenomena. The second major criticism is that this theory asserts itself as the correct approach concerning the social world. This criticism indicates how the first contributions, such as those by Gergen (1989), attempted to introduce and subsequently legitimise the theory. These contributions made arguments and put forward criticisms of other perspectives that postulated social constructionism as the most sensible option. The third major criticism posits that social constructionism attempts to deny science the ability and right to state the truth (Gergen, 2015). Burr (2004) is amongst the tenants stating that social constructionism is reductionist through minimising all phenomena to discourse. This negates aspects that otherwise cannot be contained or described with words and renders them irrelevant. Moreover, the theory generates uncertainty as it equally values knowledge of different forms. This works against establishing a hierarchy as there are no definitive criteria to make use of (Gergen, 2015).

As with any theory, social constructionism has also displayed an ability for its argument to expand. As such, it recognises that events and objects exist. These phenomena exist regardless; however, the focus is on them never being experienced as they are due to the cultural and historical settings they perceive. The theory is also less preoccupied with asserting itself as the most sensible approach to the social world but instead seeks to engage the differing and competing theories. Thus, it does not pursue agreement but co-construct new understandings with different perspectives. Therefore, placing emphasis on potential implications and types of realities created and legitimised by a study. The significance of this lies in encouraging discussions around the forms of life, values, and practices that these realities invite. Ultimately, if all forms of knowledge can be seen and acknowledged as social constructions, they can be assessed as less or more suitable for specific contexts and situations. This is important due to their pragmatism and subsequent consequences (Romaioli and McNamee, 2021).

Hence making use of this framework provides a better understanding of the construction of masculinity and how male hairdressers in Braamfontein construct their version of it because, as social constructionism denotes, said construction is fabricated through social interaction (Burr, 2015). By its very definition, masculinity is a social identity acquired through interactions impacted by socio-cultural and historic dimensions (Hofstede et al., 2015; Laurie, 1999). With language as the tool of social action, this social identity is bestowed upon a person as it originates from the collective and not the individual (Burr, 1995).

Through cultural discourse, hegemonic masculinity preoccupies the position of dominance as it is seen as the normative standard to aspire towards (McDowell, 2015; McVittie et al., 2017). This is a result of the current world construction that sustains this pattern of social action. In sustaining this pattern, therefore continually legitimising it, others are excluded, indicative of the power relations within our constructions of the world (Burr, 2015). Social constructionism also places emphasis on multiple social actors producing multiple realities through their multiple interactions. As differing meanings are produced and reproduced, this results in multiple realities competing for truth and legitimacy (Zhao, 2020). Masculinity is also a multiplicity through its contested definitions in differing contexts (Connell, 1987; Morrell, 2001). The existence of other forms of masculinity highlights realities and meanings that are seeking legitimacy but are subsequently constrained by the constructions we use to understand the world (Zhao, 2020). The lived experiences indicative of multiple meanings, and realities of masculinity are always compared and contrasted to hegemony, which continues to affirm it (Wojnicka, 2021; Zhao, 2020).

Therefore, the use of social constructionism in this study allowed an appreciation and better understanding of the lived experiences of male hairdressers in Braamfontein. This framework's postmodernism approach placed emphasis on the fluid and dynamic nature of meanings through social, cultural, and linguistic dimensions (Galbin, 2014; Gergen, 1985). This allowed for broader understandings regarding how these men construct their masculinity whilst working in traditionally feminine spaces.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This section of the thesis details the methodology utilised within this study. This section includes the research design, sample, data collection, procedure, data analysis, reflexivity, and ethical considerations.

Research design

The chosen approach for this study was qualitative research since qualitative research is primarily focused on the exploration of and understanding of the meanings that people ascribe to human experiences (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This is important regarding the complex experience the study seeks to understand better, which is the construction of masculinity by hairdressers in Braamfontein. This research approach uses an inductive design, which allows for unpacking meanings and producing rich and detailed descriptive data (Leavy, 2017). The qualitative design requires reflexivity and flexibility throughout the various stages of the thesis as modifications are made when needed to deal with the threats to validity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Maxwell, 2013). This flexibility also proves to be advantageous as participants can challenge the assumptions made by the researcher. This feedback operates as participant validation (Willig, 2013).

This chosen design was appropriate given the theoretical framework of social constructionism underpinning the study. This design allows for the framework to inform the collection and analysis of the data and the types of questions asked (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Moreover, there is an acknowledgement of issues of power; the researcher's position due to their socio-cultural and historical context; identities such as race, class, and gender being significant regarding understanding experience and; allowing for suggestions regarding the general improvement of life and society (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Due to the complex nature of masculinity, this design and framework allow for context-specific and perhaps novel knowledges to develop. It is important to see how language is used to produce and reproduce these hairdressers' masculine identity and see whether it falls in line with hegemony or if they construct masculinity that is impacted more by the environment in which they work.

Participants

The target participants were male hairdressers who worked in the urban area of Braamfontein in Johannesburg. The method utilised to recruit the participants was purposive sampling.

Purposive sampling is a non-random sampling method required when seeking a particular and often difficult-to-reach population, such as male hairdressers (Neuman & Neuman, 2014). This sampling approach is interested in finding those specialised individuals as they will provide a great deal of information regarding the matter at hand: their experiences as men working in hair salons (Leavy, 2017). Finding male hairdressers proved challenging because while many men work in Braamfontein in the hair industry, most men in this sector work as barbers. This was compounded by the Covid-19 pandemic as many hair salons in the area were no longer operational. This method requires using local knowledge, such as the location of the first hair salon approached by the researcher. In addition, the method then uses local experts, people working in the hair salons, to help find possible participants for the research. Ultimately, through using this method, the researcher was able to find male hairdressers who were able to provide a deeper understanding of themselves and their experiences (Neuman & Neuman, 2014).

This study consisted of 10 participants between the ages of 26 and 45. The participants were those who styled both male and female hair and worked in salons with predominantly female staff. Braamfontein is a melting pot of cultures, resulting in the researcher encountering migrant hairdressers. This was an aspect the researcher considered and proved advantageous to the study. These individuals provided information that could be juxtaposed against different versions of masculinity. The study focused on individuals within the area and, thus, did not exclude those of foreign nationality.

Participant information

Anonymous name	Age	Country of origin
Participant 1	42	Nigeria
Participant 2	41	Zimbabwe

Participant 3	29	Zimbabwe
Participant 4	28	Zimbabwe
Participant 5	32	South Africa
Participant 6	26	Zimbabwe
Participant 7	31	Nigeria
Participant 8	26	South Africa
Participant 9	37	South Africa
Participant 10	45	Nigeria

Table 1: Participant demographics

The table above outlines the demographics of the participants of the study. The majority of the participants were foreign nationals. All the participants identified as Black males, and regarding their sexuality, they all identified as straight.

Data collection

The researcher made use of one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews can be understood as “an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p.6). As people are naturally conversational, semi-structured interviews use conversation as a tool that allows participants to use their chosen language to ascribe meanings to their experiences (Leavy, 2017). As such, semi-structured interviews emphasise obtaining a detailed account of said experiences through open-ended questions and allowing participants to be visible as the ones producing the knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

Although guided by the schedule outlined in Appendix D, this interview format allowed rapport to be built and for the researcher to pick up on visual cues and gestures. This allowed the researcher to probe and obtain clarification and detailed descriptions of the complex experiences these men faced (Leavy, 2017). Participants could also share their desires without limitations or restrictions (Willig, 2013). Another important aspect of the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews is that they encourage the researcher to follow up on conversational aspects they may deem important to the research (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2018). This allows the researcher to understand and examine how participants constructed their social identities and made sense of their lived experiences (McDonald, 2013).

The interviews were conducted using a password-protected audio recorder, which was between 1-2 hours.

Procedure

To obtain participants for the study, the researcher walked to the closest hair salon from the University of Witwatersrand in Braamfontein. He then established a rapport with those working in the salon shortly after entry, and this was also used to identify whether or not the inclusion criteria were met. The researcher had an advantage with this particular salon as he had already established rapport with a male hairdresser working there. This allowed for greater access as this hairdresser played the gatekeeper role. Seeing as the criteria were met, a description of the research was given to the potential participant to inquire about their willingness to participate in the study. After verbal consent was given, a participant information sheet was provided to restate the information conveyed, and it emphasised that their participation was voluntary and they were allowed to withdraw at any point. Then a mutually agreed upon appointment was made to have the interview conducted. The interviews were conducted at a location of the participant's choice. Before beginning the formal interview, the participant was requested to fill out information and consent forms. They were reminded of the information provided in the participant information sheet. Upon completion of the interview, the researcher asked the participant to direct him to other salons, whereby the process was repeated.

Research setting

This study is located within the area of Braamfontein, which is a central suburb of Johannesburg. The area was originally a farm and its history is embedded within the history of the development of Johannesburg Central Business District (Latilla, 2014). Braamfontein is amongst the largest office junctions in Johannesburg as it contains

numerous multi-storied buildings. Many of these office buildings have been and are also in the process of being converted into residential apartments to meet the housing demands of the approximately 40,000 people in the area (South African History Online, 2019; Wazimap, 2019). It is a relatively youthful area due to the cosmopolitan mix of students and working-class individuals. Now, it is referred to as the “hipster capital” (South African History Online, 2019). This label is due to the dominant presence of people subscribing to the hipster subculture that embodies fashion-forward trends, alternative music, counterculture ideas and middle and upper-class individuals (Maly & Varis, 2016). Braam is a melting pot of culture and class, and part of this is due to the diversity through the fixtures. These fixtures include aspects such as historical landmarks (like the Lord Milner Hotel dating to 1906), academic institutions, museums, restaurants, theatres, grocery shops, hair salons, art galleries, night-clubs, accommodation, transportation facilities, spaza (informal) shops and offices (South African History Online, 2019). Perhaps due to its busy nature, Braam is also an area rife with crime. These crimes include petty crimes such as theft and public drinking, violent crimes such as stabbings and infringements of road traffic laws such as illegal parking (Siwele, 2021).

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) has played an important role in developing the hipster capital (Katz, 2019). The JDA’s role in the transformation has resulted from its efforts to encourage confidence in private investors (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2018; Ntshona, 2013). Following urban renewal goals established in the 1980s in developed western cities, the JDA intends to transform not just Braam but Johannesburg into a “world-class city” (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2018; Ntshona, 2013). The physical transformation has come about through their efforts to improve sidewalks, increase the amount of public space, and increase secure parking. These efforts suggest that the idealised occupants of the space are large corporates with white-collar employees, as these typify Braam’s past commercial corporate-centric use (Katz, 2019). The JDA has also made efforts through their work with the Metro Police Department to displace largely low-income individuals. To make the area safe and clean for a select group, they have actively criminalised informal traders in the area (Katz, 2019). From this, one may deduce that their ideal occupants are middle-class or upper-class individuals that are culturally orientated and appreciate art, history, and architecture,

as these are used as the selling points for visiting Braam (Katz, 2019). The aspects mentioned above of Braam serve to exemplify the social, cultural, and economic transformation, which may reflect the idealised vision of the area but is sharply juxtaposed with the current makeup of the occupants.

Data analysis

In this study, thematic analysis was utilised to analyse the data. Generally used in qualitative research, this method requires the data set to be identified, organised, analysed, described, and reported in themes (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017). These themes are important patterns that arise within the data and are interpreted to address the research (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Boyatzis (1998) stated that thematic analysis allows the researcher's social construction of meaning to be expressed through their interpretations of their observed experiences. In this, reliability is achieved through the consistency of their judgement (Boyatzis, 1998; Kiger & Varpio, 2020).

Thematic analysis was deemed appropriate for this study as it seeks to provide understanding regarding thoughts, behaviours, and experiences across a set of data (Braun and Clarke, 2012). This is because it looks for shared meanings, which is relevant given this study's purpose of understanding masculinity's construction amongst male hairdressers in Braamfontein (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Thematic analysis was also important as the method of analysis because it proved to be compatible with the theoretical framework of social constructionism that underpinned the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Whilst there are different approaches to thematic analysis, such as Boyatzis (1998) and Alhojailan (2012), this study made use of Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6 step framework as it was considered to present the clearest and most usable framework (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). The process was as follows:

1. Familiarisation with the data: This involves becoming familiar with the data by actively reading and rereading it. This was aided by the interactive manner with which the data was obtained and furthered by being the one that transcribed it.

2. Coding the data: Labels were attached to aspects of the entire data deemed relevant to addressing the research questions.
3. Searching for and generating themes: All the data had been coded and collated. The relationships between codes are considered as they are sorted into broader themes with their own relationships and levels, such as overarching and subthemes.
4. Reviewing themes: Themes were reviewed and then refined. This occurred by establishing if there was a coherent pattern and assessing the legitimacy of each theme regarding the entire data set.
5. Refining, defining and naming the themes: The themes were analysed regarding aspects of data they captured, their focus and effectiveness in communicating important aspects of the data.
6. Report production: The information was written up analytically, conveying its importance in relation to existing data.

Ethical Considerations

At the proposal level, this study was reviewed and approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC Non-Medical) at the University of Witwatersrand and, thus, was granted ethical clearance to be performed (refer to Appendix 5). It was subsequently deemed as low risk; however, Ogletree and Kawulich (2012) outlined the many forms that harm can take. This includes physical, psychological, reputation; being an inconvenience to their time; stress and; humiliation. Given the sensitive nature of the topic, the potential for distress was acknowledged.

To ensure the participants felt safe and supported before any data collection took place, they were made knowledgeable of what the process entailed to ensure they understood it. These participants were informed of three main things: their right to withdraw at any point in time with no consequences towards them and any collected information is discarded; their participation being completely voluntary, and; due to their participation, some consequences, such as distress, occurring. After they did this, their informed consent was obtained. The consent form included these aspects and an

information sheet restating the information relayed to obtain consent. This included the purpose of the research, its duration, the procedure, any risks or benefits involved, confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher's contact information, and their supervisor's contact information and the participant's right to withdraw being respected without any consequences.

With this in mind, no information was collected until this had been seen and individuals were still willing to participate. The individuals in this study were those who worked in hair salons, and a form of payment would have been ideal to compensate for their time spent away from clients; however, participants were asked to participate and were not incentivised. Therefore, the only thing that could be given to participants was the study's findings beforehand if they wished to read them.

Anonymity could not be guaranteed because the study used interviews, meaning the researcher knows the identity of the participants. The manner in which findings were reported, however, ensured confidentiality through the use of anonymous names. Although audio recordings and transcripts were used, only the researcher and their supervisor had access to that information. All information obtained from the study was kept in password-protected files on password-protected laptops, with only the two appropriate individuals being granted permission to access such information. Also, said information was stripped of all identifying information, be it in transcripts or the quoted excerpts.

As all participants of this study were of a consensual age (above 18), consent was therefore gained directly from them. Although the study was deemed low risk, if the participants became distressed, the researcher, a student psychologist at the time, would have done basic containment and would have referred them to Lifeline or Akeso.

Reflexivity

As noted by (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), reflexivity is the process by which the researcher critically reflects on their experience of the self as both inquirer and respondent. This process requires the researcher to come to terms with the choice of their topic of research, those whom they engaged with during the research process and themselves in the

research setting, which encompasses their multiple identities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This process of reflexivity is where the intersection of values and praxis is located and, thus, requires awareness and accountability in the practice of research (Leavy, 2017).

As a researcher, I have always found the topic of masculinity to be an interesting one. Although I researched masculinity for my Honours programme, it was only when I entered the Master's programme that I became increasingly more aware of my identity. Through this programme, I gained new and fascinating information that increasingly made me aware of my intersecting identities. This is because, whilst I am a Zimbabwean Black male, my version of masculinity has never been hegemonic, nor has it aspired towards hegemony. I have always found comfort in embracing both masculine and feminine traits. I found this research topic very befitting for myself as an individual, as it allowed me to deconstruct the concept of masculinity and gain a better understanding of it. This was motivated by the drive to add to work on masculinity that may allow others to deconstruct masculinity and create versions that are not only more true to who they are as individuals but also that are life-affirming and does no harm to themselves and others.

I believe that being a Black man with dreadlocks proved advantageous in collecting the data as it afforded me the privilege of a sense of familiarity with the participants. This allowed them to engage with me meaningfully as they felt comfortable saying things that they would not have otherwise said to another man or perhaps a researcher that was not a man. Being a foreigner also proved advantageous in encounters with migrant participants as this allowed them to further disclose their experiences. In order to avoid problems of identification, I only disclosed my foreign status at the moment to encourage the participant to open up more. Although the familiarity may have proved advantageous, it was also not without its challenges. In my being a man, the participants may have played up a version of masculinity they thought matched up with that. This would have been compounded by my physical appearance and educational status as a Master's student at the time. There is also the power imbalance inherent in this type of research, even though semi-structured, one-on-one interviews were used. This was done in an effort to best represent the participants as the experts of their lived experiences as they produced the knowledge. Such research, however, generally upholds a monopoly of interpretation as I have the privilege to interpret and report what the participants mean (Leavy, 2017). In

an effort to address such, I wrote reflexive notes throughout the process of conducting the research in an effort to hold my position within the process accountable. This was also required of me when conducting Thematic Analysis. I was also fortunate to have my supervisor hold my work and myself accountable throughout the process.

As the participants were men who had endured hardships, including financial challenges, I was in a relatively privileged position concerning them, especially as a middle-class student in a Master's programme. Therefore, I understand that I could not completely understand or relate to their lived experiences. This is why the theoretical framework and methods used were imperative to the study, as they allow one to begin the process of understanding their experiences. To further mitigate this, I dressed casually and walked to the salons in question.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

Introduction

The following chapter presents and examines the findings of the data obtained to understand the experiences of male hairdressers in Braamfontein and how they navigate the construction of their masculinity in a traditionally feminine occupation. Therefore, the analysis seeks to go beyond simply presenting the data obtained through interviews. It seeks to address the research objective. This will be done by looking at the underlying ideologies that the data present concerning the literature explored prior. This chapter's interpretation is made possible through theoretical thematic analysis, which lends itself to the social constructionism framework on which this research is built (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Two themes and four subthemes were produced using thematic analysis. The first theme of "Experiences of men as hairdressers" is accompanied by the subthemes of "The reasons why men become hairdressers" and "Challenges these men experience being hairdressers." The second theme is "Male hairdressers' construction of masculinity" and its subthemes are "Perpetuating hegemonic masculinity" and "Departures from hegemonic masculinity."

Experiences of men as hairdressers

In order to holistically understand and adequately present the construction of masculinity by these male hairdressers, this theme examines their experiences. This will be done by providing a brief overview of the participants, detailing their motivations for becoming hairdressers and exploring their challenges as male hairdressers. These experiences are seen as important to the construction of their masculinity.

The participants in this study all work in unisex hair salons whose staff are predominately female. In these salons being unisex, it means that they cater to both male and female clientele. Keeping with the duality of the clientele, all the participants provide their services to both males and females, with most of their services being rendered to

the latter. As hairdressers, the services these men provide may include (but are not limited to) shampooing, colouring, crocheting, twisting, braiding, planting, curling and styling.

“I’ve been in this business with a salon, I’m doing dreadlocks, I do cut and dye, I do relax, I do s-curl, s-curl and cut, I do bonding. Just name it. Because I have to put myself to learn everything inside this business. Because if I don’t understand that and I’m not good at one thing, I can’t make it. So, I have to learn how to do dreadlocks, have to learn to do cut and dye, have to do s-curl and cut, have to do perm, you understand me? Dry curl and cut. You have to dreadlocks, faux locs, crocheting. So, I have to know how to do it.” – P10

“When you do other services, it becomes more profitable. It depends on the skill that you have... the profit improved because I managed to move from relaxing and then I can do it and I’m happy with my work and then from relaxer, I went straight to dreadlocks. It was a bit easier to do dreadlocks. And then I moved from dreadlocks to braiding. And then I moved from braiding to mushrooms.” – P9

Participants 9 and 10 exemplify the multiplicity of services that are important for hairdressers to provide. This multiplicity is deemed necessary because, as Participant 10 puts the point across, *“if I don’t understand that and I’m not good at one thing, I can’t make it.”* The idea is that one should be adequately prepared to render whichever service the client requests in order to survive in the business. Survival requires skill, which results in profit; as stated by Participant 9, *“[w]hen you do other services, it becomes more profitable.”* This approach is seemingly contrasted by Participants 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8. Whilst they can provide aspects of the services mentioned above, they choose to focus solely on crocheting hair into dreadlocks such that they refer to themselves as “dreadlock specialist(s).” This appears to be a form of self-imposed stratification devised by these individuals within their profession.

“I was specialising only in women’s hair and I was doing anything in the salon, such as sweeping, just to make sure I get something in my pocket and I get something to eat. So, from that time I was learning... By the time I saw I was perfect, I just shifted myself from doing women’s hair and then I could just call myself a dreadlock specialist from that moment. So, it was 2011, that’s when I started to tell myself that I’m now a dreadlock specialist and I don’t have to do any other work except dealing with dreadlocks.” – P2

“I have a natural talent. An aunt of mine who was coming, told me that if I came to Jo’burg, I could do something. So, I came to Jo’burg and started doing dreadlocks, until I became a specialist.” – P4

“Us, we specialise in dreadlocks only. And if we check around, most of the guys specialise in dreads are men. Can’t find a lot of gays doing – I don’t think there are gays doing dreadlocks, they’re doing flaking, you see? That’s why we didn’t even want to try to venture into those things because it’s not for us. I think it’s for ladies. But for dreadlocks, I think it’s for guys. For us men.” – P6

Of the above, Participant 2 is the only one that explicitly refers to the multiplicity exemplified by Participants 9 and 10. He says, *“I was doing anything in the salon, such as sweeping, just to make sure I get something in my pocket and I get something to,”* in reference to the work and underlying notion of survival. The sense of stratification is most apparent in his excerpt. Whilst these individuals acknowledge that they are hairdressers nonetheless, they prefer this other label because it conveys special status to them. It appears that being a dreadlock specialist is the equivalent of specialisation for these men. They speak of it as though it is the apex of hairdressing, as not everyone can crochet. This would appear to be their own version of promotion in this sector (Williams, 1995). For Participants 6 (above) and 3 (below), this label also grants them access to manhood by segregating them into their straight male-identified speciality (Williams, 1995):

“People believe that salon belongs to the woman but such people like dreadlocks, it’s not for the woman to do dreadlocks. You can’t find a woman who does crocheting. I’ve never seen any woman who does crocheting on dreadlocks. Maybe they may do twist hairstyle dreadlocks, not crocheting. That one is for the men.” – P3

For Participants 3 and 6, this would be their attempt to rationalise the misalignment between their gender and occupational identities (Lupton, 2000). They have reconstructed what their occupation entails through self-imposed stratification and have also redefined their self-conception of manhood (Lupton, 2000; McDonald, 2013). For them, *real* men are the only ones that can crochet.

The reasons why men become hairdressers

This subtheme looks at the motivations of men becoming hairdressers in the context of Braamfontein. The underlying assumption was that men become hairdressers due to socioeconomic decline, limited availability in employment and compromise (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010; Simpson, 2005; Williams & Villemez, 1993). Whilst these factors may have been influential; the findings suggest that these are not the only relevant reasons.

Opportunity

When discussing with the participants, they spoke of circumstances whereby the possibility of learning the craft of doing hair came up. These individuals had exposure to situations that helped to facilitate growth in their ability to become hairdressers eventually. These experiences were wide in their range but culminated in the acquired ability. Participants 1, 4 and 5 expressed the following regarding their exposure:

“I have one uncle there in Nigeria, who would usually cut our hair with comb, and would put an eraser cutting our hair. So, I started looking at him and the way he's doing it. So, I started doing that when I was at the age of twelve... I cut some of my friends in church, I cut some of my friends in school. I didn't usually cut them nicely, but I tried to do something. That's how I started building my skills in terms of hair.” – P1

“I started at home. My sister does braids, so I was doing twists, then I saw my uncle crochet, and I learnt from him. I became really good at it.” – P4

“I started working at the salon at home. There's a salon at home. My uncle works there. So, I started doing it at the age of 12, I think. I started by cleaning. Then I migrated from cleaning to washing people's hair. Then I started learning about products. By the age of 16, I was very good... And yeah, that's how I started doing hair.” – P5

The commonality expressed in the above excerpts was that these individuals were taught by their family members at a young age. This creates the perception that for some of these individuals, becoming a hairdresser was the next natural step in their lives. Whilst

the participants did not overtly make sense of how their occupation may be at odds with traditional notions of masculinity, the above highlights the role that early childhood played. Whilst boys attach meanings to their actions, these meanings are constrained by the discursive positions made available to them by those around them. In this instance, those around them made learning how to do hair okay, impacting their more traditional notions of masculinity and allowing them to take up a less constrained position (Frosh et al., 2004). As highlighted by this statement made by Participant 5, *“Some people say, ‘Oh, you’re doing hair. Are you gay?’ But then I’m like, ‘Yeah, no. I’m not gay. I’m straight. I just love doing hair.’ That’s it.”* Societal norms dictate that straight men working in salons are an abnormality; thus, they *have* to be gay as they infringe on gendered boundaries (Barber, 2008). Due to his upbringing, Participant 5 did not conform to the belief in the stereotype because, for him, doing hair is like any other passion that one may have for a craft. Other forms of exposure were expressed by Participants 2, 9 and 10:

“So, when I got to South Africa, it was hard for me to get a job at that time. The fortunate thing is that my wife was doing hair. Her job was a hairdresser. So, I just told myself that I have to learn this job. If I learn then at least I can earn a living from that... I was a police officer in Zimbabwe, so I thought when I came here, I could be a security guard or a security officer, but it didn’t work the way I wanted. So, just because time was moving, one month, and you want to take care of your family, I just decided I must do what my wife is doing because she’s doing good, she’s supporting us.” – P2

“Firstly, it all started with most of the careers, they need educational background, which I don’t have. When I look at the things that I can do that can make me survive, I also look at which skill I have – And then I look at the other side, in terms of your tuck shops, the problem was the car. That centre is most likely to attract robberies. Yes, they do rob the salons but not as much as a tuck shop so I didn’t want something that would require a lot of energy and also criminals because when you run a tuck shop, you have to have a car. You must get stock on time. So, those kinds of things are you get them. So, these ones require more finances than this one. For you to grow, you need more finance. So, my finance couldn’t allow me to start a tuck shop because it would require a lot of money, so hairdressing was the easiest way.” – P9

“What made me start doing hair because every time when I go to the shop where she [Participant 10’s ex-girlfriend] works, you understand me? I will sit down, she’s working, after she’s finished the

job, she gets the good money, she keeps it to herself... I realised that if a lady can do this and make money for herself, what makes me a man unable to do the same thing?" – P10

For these Participants, their exposure occurred much later in their respective lives, and from the above excerpts, this was bred out of necessity due to a lack of opportunity elsewhere. Due to the absence of more desirable opportunities, they became hairdressers. Thus, some found themselves in this profession due to convenience (Simpson, 2005). Whilst described as logical steps in the excerpts above, individuals like Participant 2 have used intellectualisation. This is the defence mechanism whereby the individual uses reasoning to avoid unconscious conflict and the accompanying distressful emotions. Thus, thinking is used to avoid feelings (Gabbard, 2017). Participant 2 was a police officer in Zimbabwe who aspired to pursue similar careers here in South Africa but could not do so. The contrast in occupational change is especially sharp. He went from a very masculine occupation whereby there is a great deal of control, power and a need for violence to an occupation that is the antithesis, whereby femininity, gentleness and patience are required. This change comes with concessions to one's sense of masculinity, and Participant 2 did not address these concessions. Instead, according to him, becoming a hairdresser was partly because of his religion. He stated, *"I'm a Rastafarian. So, I could just see that the work I was doing was not working with my religion and my beliefs. So, because of economic problems, also my religion could not allow me to continue working that job, that's when I decided to shift and look for something better for my living."* Therefore, he reasoned with himself that the career shift was necessary due to a divine purpose; however, he is actually avoiding the anxieties that such a situation causes (Frosh et al., 2004).

Much like Participant 2, Participants 9 and 10 aspired elsewhere, but their circumstances were not allowing for their pursuits. Participant 9 grew up in Katlehong, a township east of Johannesburg, South Africa. He never received formal education and described himself as a *"hustler"* because he had to make the most of the opportunities presented, and many of his abilities were now self-taught. His first job was in construction, and when explaining the move from a traditionally masculine occupation to this one that is non-traditional, he said:

"I have a lot of adopted point of easing my muscles in terms of being a man. When I say, 'Easing my muscles,' I'm talking about when it comes to tradition, some of the things I can live without them. This life doesn't mean one thing. I can still put my culture and tradition. I can see it and I come back. Let me do what people in Johannesburg do."

The above alludes to the performative aspects of culture and tradition. Much like traditional masculinity, these dimensions can be recognised as social constructions. They are created and maintained relationally as they also require individuals to police themselves (Frosh et al., 2004). Thus, Participant 9 navigated his concession of actively seeking out a non-traditional career by allowing himself to adopt the societal norms of his new-found area.

In actively seeking out this occupation, Participant 10's reasoning is based on the pretence that men are superior to women as he stated, *"that if a lady can do this and make money for herself, what makes me a man unable to do the same thing?"*. Traditional notions of masculinity include women's subordination as men consider themselves superior. Thus, whilst constructing women as the "other," men maintain their sense of superiority, which is employed to their benefit when needed (Connell, 1987; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Participant 10 had no prior experience in the field of hairdressing as he mentioned having a BSc in Business Administration; however, he found no issue with that. Other participants, such as Participant 2, for example, share the belief in the naturalised differences between men and women, which speak to men being superior. He stated, *"we always just think women are perfect at this job. But I want to tell you that everything that a woman does, if a man takes over, he's more perfect. Because us men even have more energy. It's a natural thing."* This belief highlights the gendered nature of what these men say as they reflect their orientations and are not necessarily an accurate description of reality. Especially because masculine and feminine traits are byproducts of social beliefs rather than the biological differences with which they are constructed. Therefore, whilst men can do the work usually assigned to women, there is no reason to believe that men should be inherently better at it than women (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010).

Overall, these men shared varying experiences that resulted in them becoming hairdressers. These experiences did not make sense of how their choice of occupation may impact their sense of masculinity, and they displayed facets such as upbringing and intellectualisation coupled with limited availability in employment and how compromise played roles in them becoming hairdressers.

Money

The prospect of financial gain proved to be an important consideration regarding these men's willingness to be hairdressers. Described as "*making out a living from it*" by Participant 7, this reflected a shared sentiment for the participants. This general statement, whilst apt because occupations can be seen as a means to an end, does not address the social significance of men choosing this occupation. Men choosing to be hairdressers is an important life choice because it is unconventional due to the feminised work, unlike with women, whereby it can almost be considered an obvious choice (Lindsay, 2004). Rather, the statement speaks to a more practical significance due to socioeconomic decline as the average salary is below the middle-class (National Bargaining Council, 2022; van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010).

Robinson et al. (2011) noted that hair salons are not the obvious spaces for men to reproduce masculine ideals. This then begged the question regarding these men choosing to work in hair salons instead of barbershops. Participants 5 and 10 shared the following:

"I was a barber before. Obviously, when you're working for someone, you're like, 'Eish, I need to make it. This money, this month.'... Because I was working for someone at that point and someone is saying they can only offer you R20? And you spend probably an hour cutting that hair." – P5

"He just bought a machine and one chair and he go there and I'm like, 'Oh, this chiskop [a type of haircut whereby someone is shaved bald] thing doesn't work properly, especially if you're employee and there's an employer.' You still have to bring the cheque in and you have to get paid. You can imagine, by then, it was like cutting the person R10. So, from that R10, there's a rent, there's an owner, there's an employee. So, we have to share those R10 but it was too small. So, I have to find ways in which I improve the services that we offer in there." – P9

Fundamentally, there is the expectation that men would choose homosocial spaces such as barbershops as masculinity is easier to reproduce in such spaces (Bird, 1996). Whilst barbershops may be more significant socially, according to the excerpts above, these men chose to be hairdressers instead due to increased financial gain and the greater sense of autonomy it grants. Simpson (2005) suggested that men in non-traditional occupations place more emphasis on intrinsic rewards such as self-fulfilment, the excerpts above differ as these men placed more emphasis on pay. This emphasis on pay is further reflected in the following:

“Because when I was in the location [referring to the rural areas] in Zim, if somebody came and asked me to do their hair? I used to do it for 2 dollars, which is now equivalent to maybe 36 rands? Yeah, it's 36 rands. So, when I heard that dreadlocks can cost more than 500 in a salon, this is where my mind started to awaken.” – P3

“As a foreigner, I left home to this country just to make a living. To make money, to be a man. So my job come first no matter what.” – P7

“I can see that she's making the money and she told me that, ‘no, you can be able to make this too, you can learn this also too, you can make this money also too,’ you understand me?” – P10

Due to the intersection of class and race, these hairdressers' masculinity is more of the marginalised type as they are Black and are categorised as members of the working class (Lindsay, 2004; Mincey et al., 2014). Whilst hairdressers are generally categorised as working-class members, they still aspire towards and show traits similar to hegemony (Connell, 2005). Unlike hegemonic and complicit masculinities associated with the middle and upper classes, these men cannot exercise social power (Lindsey, 2004). Thus, idealistically, acquiring money may grant them more power. As stated by Participant 2, *“You know money controls... So, to me, I was not like a man that time because I did not have anything to support myself or to support them,”* which echoes Participant 7 in the above, *“To make money, to be a man.”* The significance of (making) money is linked to their sense of being men. Whilst their version of masculinity is more marginalised due to

their inability to show characteristics such as power over other men, the power granted by economic resources seems to provide some semblance of that (Kumar & Mukherjee, 2021; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020).

Satisfaction

In their reflections regarding their choices to become hairdressers, these men genuinely enjoying their line of work emerged from the findings. This falls in line with the common construct of job satisfaction that denotes enjoyment and other positive emotions being experienced due to one's work (Peng & Mao, 2015). This sense of satisfaction was made most apparent by the participants as it related to a sense of artistic expression through the craft:

"I love being artistic. I just love anything art. So that's me... That's how I got to know hair, because I'm artistic and I learn how people are doing things. When I see the way they are doing it, I do my own." – P1

"I'm an artist... that's why I love doing dreadlocks, using my art, no one tells me what to do. I love what I do." – P4

"It's like sometimes you can create something with your imagination and come up with some stuff from the mind then you are applying your hands... We are not being taught that at work you must follow this and follow this. I'm not following this. I'm doing something from my mind, art from my mind, and then I just explore and explore." – P6

People are more likely to choose an occupation that is congruent with their identity as this will benefit how they perceive themselves. Thus, people are drawn to occupations that require attributes matching their self-concept (Humlum, Kleinjans & Nielsen, 2012). Some of these men, like Participants 1, 4, 6, 7 and 8, consider themselves artistic, forming a part of their identities. The excerpts above reflect on the relationship encompassing the hairdressing occupation, the sense of autonomy and the attribute of artistic expression that drew these men to this line of work. Therefore, the choice to be hairdressers was rewarding for their self-concept as they are able to use their personal attributes to improve

the quality of their professional lives (Ros, Schwartz & Surkiss, 1999). This sense of reward was also apparent in the following statement by Participant 5, *“At the end of the day, when I see a person, when I’m styling a person and I see I did that thing, I did such a good job. It’s a nice feeling. It’s like when you’re doing.. When you’re drawing and you’re looking at your painting. That feeling.”* Participant 5 shared this concerning his experiences after becoming a hairdresser and likened doing hair to drawing and painting. Whilst continuing the artistic theme, it also builds on the sense of artistry that drew the other participants to the occupation. This is because the artistry proves to be a mainstay for the line of work and highlights the continued feelings of satisfaction that these men must experience.

Whilst the occupation matches their self-concept, an aspect of that construct of self-concept requires dissection – the extent to which one views themselves as having attributes that are considered masculine or feminine. Whilst these men may report having self-concepts aligning with masculinity, men in non-traditional occupations present with self-concepts that are more androgynous. This is due to their masculine self-concept being weaker than men in traditional occupations, and these male hairdressers also have attributes associated with a feminine self-concept. A masculine self-concept draws on attributes expressing agency, such as independence and autonomy, whereas a feminine self-concept draws on communal attributes, such as expressiveness and supportiveness. (Korek, Sobiraj, Weseler, Rigotti & Mohr, 2014; Schmader & Block, 2015). Although these men may not personally identify with this androgynous self-concept, this self-concept may be more progressive. This is because it represents one’s ability to be flexible and adjust accordingly to the plurality of demands that life makes on individuals. This is characterised by the combination of traits, abilities and interests that are both masculine and feminine. An entirely masculine self-concept represents poor adjustment and is thus psychologically harmful (Lemon, 1992).

Challenges these men experience being hairdressers

This subtheme examines the challenges these men experienced through their choice of atypical occupation. The literature articulated that there are a myriad of challenges

particular to men working in non-traditional occupations. These challenges can include: being viewed as effeminate, experiencing stigmatisation, experiencing a sense of misalignment and; receiving less support (Agadjanian, 2005; Lupton, 2000; van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). In the literature, these challenges were presented as being separate; however, the findings of this study showed that they are linked. For example, being viewed as effeminate referred to as effeminacy hereafter, may lead to stigmatisation and receiving less support. This proved to be the case in the following:

“It wasn’t easy. They’d ask how could I do a woman’s job. They told me I should go to work and look for a proper job. I followed my heart. What I want is what I do, but it wasn’t easy for me to be a hairdresser. They would judge me.” – P4

“My father didn’t support. Like, the first time I told him about this job, he thought maybe it’s a barber salon, I’ll be cutting. And when I explained to him that very well, it’s a woman’s job, woman’s hair piece, he was so annoyed because he wanted me to be in navy.” – P7

“But mostly, it’s a feminine thing. If you do it as a man, that means something unwired in you. The way they see it. So, I don’t know if he [Participant 8’s father] tends to see me now as a messed-up boy or what’s going on.” – P8

“Even my family and most of the people, they don’t know what I do, you understand me? They just see that I am just sending money to them so that they are able to have a living there to make a life better for them there, you understand me?... Because, you know, they don’t care about what you do outside the country. For them, it’s about as long as you provide it. I provide for them... Even my father doesn’t know what I do, I tell him I’m in the business sector, you understand me?” – P10

In the above excerpts, Participants 4, 7, 8 and 10 shared challenges regarding their families and their choices to be hairdressers. Effeminacy came across as the initial and perhaps the most dominant challenge. This is because it is viewed as the most significant threat to traditional masculinity, as femininity is regarded as its antithesis (Lupton, 2000). Effeminacy is the embodying of traits associated with feminine behaviour or gender roles, and in this instance, it has been done by taking on “a woman’s job.” Therefore, by choosing this occupation, these men have become less visible as men, resulting in

alienation from their respective support systems (Lupton, 2000). These excerpts point to the challenges arising from these problematic discourses around manhood being perpetuated, especially because they demonise gender equality (Morrell et al., 2012). Moreover, these discourses reinforce and legitimise the gendering of occupations (Lupton, 2000; McDonald, 2013).

As hairdressing is part of the service sector, it is also seen as an antithesis of the careers deemed most “ideal”, especially for men. This is because it does not provide the same privileges afforded by careers such as Medicine, Law and Engineering. These fields are considered ideal as they appease the desire for power and dominance through aspects such as job security, substantial financial gain and high social status as they command respect (African News Agency, 2017). Whereas with men in non-traditional fields, there is a loss of respect and social standing due to the stigma, as described in the experiences above. In an effort to forgo the stigma, Participant 10 chose to describe his occupation in gender-neutral terms (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). This, however, makes apparent the sense of shame because, whilst being able to provide for his family, he would rather not make them aware of the means through which he does so due to its relation to femininity. Other instances of stigmatisation expressed by these individual’s communities at large are reflected in the following:

“In Nigeria, when I finished school, I was doing hair full time. Some of my friends usually made jest of me. Like, ‘You. You’re doing –’ because those days, not much men were doing female hair, compared to now.” – P1

“People believe it’s job for those who are not educated. So, we are living in a society whereby especially the educated ones look down on those who are not, thinking that ‘maybe they are stupid enough or they are not intelligent enough.’” – P6

Participant 1 shared his experience relating to his friends. This highlights another aspect of the stigma, the number of men in that non-traditional occupation. Men in such spaces continue to face stigma and discrimination as long as they are a token minority, which is less than 15% (Agadjanian, 2005). More men in this occupation address these challenges by reconstructing the occupation as less gendered.

Participant 6, on the other hand, reflected on people's perception of those working in the sector. This may be a result of the occupation's working-class status. The individuals are seen as providing a skilled service instead of being considered professionals (Lindsay, 2004). These perceptions can result in rationalisation to maintain one's level of self-respect, which in this instance, takes on the form of overcompensation:

"I can take a hairdresser as any other occupation or job. Long back, people used to think that if you're a hairdresser you're poor, you're nothing. But to tell you the truth, I have anything that you can say someone with a master's degree or a doctor has. If you compare me, a hairdresser, to a doctor, I could be more than a doctor... I've got a house, I've got a car, I've got everything that you can think of. If I want to go home with a private jet right now, I can go home, but I'm a hairdresser. So, to me, I can take this job like any other profession. Best profession in the world. So, yeah. A hairdresser is somebody whom if you check his account, it can be more than someone who is even more educated."

– P2

The above excerpt was shared by Participant 2 when he was reflecting on how he feels about being a man who is a hairdresser. Due to the pervasive nature of the stigma that the occupation carries for men, they may have had to become more accustomed to defending their work as a serious occupation (Lindsay, 2004). An example of Participant 2 defending his occupation was when he stated, *"I can take this job like any other profession. Best profession in the world."* What overcompensation in this instance does, however, is it reveals a sense of shame and feelings of inadequacy. Because these participants chose to become hairdressers, an emphasis is placed on taking the work seriously. For these men, hairdressing also appeared to be an important element of their identity (Lindsay, 2004). The excerpt by Participant 2 speaks to the relationship between occupation and manhood, which provides a deconstruction of masculinity. Masculinity is presented as powerful and self-confident through its relational creation and how it is policed. However, this actually reveals the fragility and the anxieties (Frosh et al., 2004).

Respect

An aspect that became apparent whilst speaking to the participants was their desire for respect. In this context of masculinities, respect refers to the dimension of status. Status

targets an esteemed construction of masculinity with an already established position in a peer group. This status is achieved and maintained through resources, such as violence, performance, social relations, humour, sexuality and materiality. These resources are utilised to achieve and maintain the desired form of masculinity on the individual and the ideological level. Thus, resources can be seen as symbolic representations of power (Manninen, Huuki, & Sunnari, 2011).

The men in this study shared the desire to be seen as men and acknowledged as men:

“If you respect someone, they’re going to respect you back, right? So, you have to have that boundary... ‘Sisi, don’t forget. I’m a man. I’m styling you. You’re paying me. So, don’t forget that.’” – P5

“When a man is doing your hair, as a woman, you need to respect that man. Even when you want to talk to him, there’s a way you talk to him.” – P7

Both excerpts above speak to the desire for respect, predicated on these individuals being men, *“Sisi, don’t forget. I’m a man,”* and *“as a woman, you need to respect that man.”* This desire builds on the unequal dynamics of gendered relations whereby men are afforded respect over women (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). Therefore, these men feel entitled to being held in high regard, especially by women. In this occupation, however, that unequal dynamic is often challenged. For example, Participants 3 and 6 expressed the following:

“Then you find the women start gossiping on you. You will be looking at them gossiping you, laughing at you that, ‘he was trying to do this and it doesn’t want to come out.’” – P3

“Sometimes, you have the client that thinks you’re working for them. You’re like their slave. They don’t take you as a someone who’s working also... Like they don’t respect us sometimes. They think we are doing their favour but even us, we’re providing the service, you give us money. It’s 50, 50. I’m helping, we’re helping each other.” – P6

Participant 3 relayed his experiences of having women as his colleagues and the fallout that occurs when he is unable to dye dreadlocks. Participant 6 shared an example of the challenge when working with clients, particularly women. Whilst these challenges are not unique to hairdressers; their significance lies in the fact that these are male hairdressers. Whilst race, class and occupation already deny them access to their ideal version of masculinity, further insults such as their examples of stress and humiliation, cause these men to feel disempowered, emasculated and maybe even useless (Galasiński, 2004).

Another aspect the excerpt by Participant 6 highlights is the difficulty that arises due to hairdressing's position in the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy (Lindsay, 2004). Whilst the relationship between employee and customer is mutually beneficial, the power dynamics are skewed in favour of the customer. The employee requires the customer's financial resources to maintain job security and make a living. Using the word "slave" speaks to a grander sense of servitude that strips these participants of their status as men and, perhaps, as human beings. This loss of status is also apparent in the following by Participant 10:

"Especially men, when they see a fellow man in a salon, they look at it like, 'who are you? This is what I do for a living?... They walk around like they are the boss of you, 'I want to cut my hair, I want to do this.' They will sit down and you, you have to humble yourself as a stylist because you want that money from them. You want that money from them and must help them as a stylist and say, 'boss, how are you, sir? Welcome, welcome, sit down.' You welcome them nicely to sit down. They are looking down on you, but you don't look at it that way. You don't look at what they are saying. Don't look at the way they look at you." – P10

Due to their being socially constructed, masculine identities can be considered fluid as they are subject to change. Whilst they can be transformed through discursive practices, they can also be transformed through the power of materiality such as financial resources, as typified by the employee/customer dynamic (Galasiński, 2004). Whilst the sense of humiliation is apparent through statements such as "*you have to humble yourself as a stylist because you want that money from them,*" so is the loss of status. In describing the situation with another man, Participant 10's situation makes Connell's (1995) hierarchical depiction of masculinity blatant. Between the two, the male customer is in a position that

grants him respect and power. When there is a loss of desired respect, problematic resources such as violence (or the threat of violence) can be used to reassert dominance (Manninen, 2013). In Participant 10's case, this was not an option, and he followed the description in the excerpt with this statement, '*But they* [speaking of the men that look down on male hairdressers] *are forgetting that people working in this salon can be paying their salary there,*' This statement appears to make use of overcompensation to assuage the feelings of inferiority.

An example of violence to reassert dominance is provided in the following:

"They just talk to you like you're just a small boy and you're like, 'Sisi, I'll hit you.' That's how. You need to stand up for yourself because women they yell and when a person is yelling at you, you lose your – 'I'll hit you.' Yeah, that's it. They respect me, I respect them, but then they know... She's not here now, no longer working here. Brother, she wanted to fight me and I said, 'I'll hit you, but I don't want to be arrested because I hit you.' She respected me that day, even now." – P5

In culturally idealised images of masculinity, respect can be seen as being synonymous with fear. Masculinity, in this instance, must earn and sustain its credentials through force, negotiation or both (Manninen et al., 2011). Thus, when feeling disrespected and emasculated, even the threat of violence can be used to affirm and reassert power and respect, as this is culturally legitimised (Morrell et al., 2012). Although effective, as Participant 5 said, "*She respected me that day, even now,*" it is problematic as it reinforces the behaviour and the ideals. This typifies how men themselves hinder the development of progressive and healthy forms of masculinity (Ratele, 2015).

Male hairdressers' construction of masculinity

In approaching this theme, there was an underlying assumption that by virtue of their working in this field, male hairdressers' masculinity had to be fundamentally different from hegemonic masculinity. As these findings and discussion will indicate, however, they aspire towards the hegemonic ideal but do not attain it for various reasons. This theme, therefore, serves the purpose of producing a more detailed account of the construction of their masculinity.

Perpetuating hegemonic masculinity

This subtheme explores the strategies these male hairdressers in Braamfontein employ to maintain hegemonic aspirations in their traditionally feminine occupations. The main tenants that these men use to maintain their connection to hegemonic masculinity are their traditional beliefs and emphasising on their sexuality. These strategies not only grant them access to their manhood whilst in this occupation but also allow them to maintain a sense of being better than women. These efforts, whilst privileging them, ultimately perpetuate the gender divide between men and women (Williams, 1995). This subtheme also denotes some of the challenges that arise due to these aspirations towards the fixed understanding of hegemony noted in the literature by Langa (2017) and Morrell et al. (2012). The literature also detailed how these individuals are constructed as problematic and that there are complexities and contradictions amidst the experiences of masculinity for boys and men (Shefer et al., 2010). These findings resonate with the literature in this regard, and this subtheme seeks to explore these nuances.

Tradition

In speaking to the participants, what became apparent was the impact of tradition on them. Here, tradition is seen as the strong attachment to information, beliefs and customary ways of being passed on through generations. Participants reflected on different aspects of tradition, which allowed for examining how tradition has impacted them. One of the more salient beliefs that these men expressed with regard to tradition was that of men as breadwinners and household leaders:

“Because it’s not easy for a woman to walk into the house at the end of day and see a man is sitting. You see your wife is counting money. It was not – To me, it was not – I could not feel myself that – because a person who is supposed to thank me, culturally and traditionally, is a woman. A man is the head of the house. So, to me, I was not like a man that time because I did not have anything to support myself or to support them.” – P2

“It’s a very big challenge to be a man... men have so many responsibilities... a man is a man. A man is like the head of the family. A man you must work for yourself to make a living. Being a man is difficult.” – P7

“To be a man who must be a responsible man. To be a man, you must be responsible for everything. You’re responsible for everything and that makes man. You’re responsible for everything and you must work hard to put food on the table for both genders, male or female. You must put food on the table whether they are your siblings, your child or whatever. When they ask for something, make sure you deliver it to them. That’s what makes you a man.” – P10

The above excerpts refer to a key requisite of manhood: working and being the one to produce income. Whilst this results in the ability to address material needs, it forms part of a man’s identity and also satiates men’s elevated sense of self. This access to income has been used as a means to subordinate women and other men, as socially, men with wealth are held in high regard (Ratele, 2008).

In striving to exhibit hegemonic masculinity through such cultural discourse, the gender role strain these men endure presents itself (McDowell, 2015). Participant 2 reflected on the challenges he endured during his transition from being a police officer to a hairdresser. This excerpt referred to when he was unemployed. Due to masculinity’s association with paid employment and the requirement to provide for self and family, as noted by Participant 10, Participant 2 lost his access to his manhood, *“I was not like a man that time because I did not have anything to support myself or to support them”*. His feelings of emasculation and disempowerment were only made worse by the humiliation of his wife supporting him and the family (Galasiński, 2004). This strong attachment to customary ways reflects the participants’ social and psychological resistance to change. By aligning more with tradition, these men perpetuate and are subsequently trapped in these fixed understandings of manhood (Ratele, 2015). By ascribing to such masculine practices, Participants 7 and 10 highlight the significant pressure men place on themselves, which shows how masculinity can be detrimental to men’s physical and emotional well-being (Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). Having to be the one to provide for oneself and their family is not an easy task.

Another one of the traditional beliefs that these men hold onto is expressed through their use of gender-based stereotypes. This served to display these participants' elevated view of men in general and was contrasted by their gendered views and disparaging expectations of women. For example, they portrayed women as being sly:

"You are working with different kinds of women and all of them want your attention. So you just have to be vigilant... Because they are women. They are women. So you have to be careful of the way you play with women." – P1

"So, a woman, they look at you sometimes if you work too much, if they see like you have something, you are making a lot of money, they make a plan. They want to bring their friends to you so that you will be easily attempted. They put a trap on you." – P3

Participants 1 and 3 reflected on their experiences of working with women when they expressed this need to be guarded and vigilant. This perpetuates the notion of women being manipulative and conniving as they always try to trick men. When speaking about working as men in an industry dominated by women, Participants 5 and 10 expressed sentiments that portrayed women as being less competent than men:

"Women don't like women. That's it. And they don't take pride on their work. They don't put more effort on their work." – P5

"When as a man you do something, you do it perfectly. Ladies is, 'argh, this is my job now. Whatever I do to the client's head, they will still come back.'... When the man finishes the client's hair, you can see that this is a man's job but you see it's perfect. Men make it perfect in your hair. They put extra effort on it. So, they want to take the business hair from the woman." – P10

Working in this field was not an issue for these participants based on their superiority. They viewed women as bordering on being incompetent hairdressers and themselves, as men, perfect. Lastly, these men portrayed women as irrational beings:

"When women have a lot of stress at home, they can't work properly, because women are too emotional. A man is able to just keep something in his heart by pretending, because we like peace. But women, they can't keep it to themselves... We think about tomorrow. A woman can just break

this car. If you're fighting with a woman, she can even break your phone and your things. But a man will think about tomorrow. We think first before we act. Women can't control their emotions." – P4

"But women don't know how to control their emotions. When their fellow women tell them something, they feel like maybe she's trying to take advantage because I'm a stylist... But a guy when you come, a guy will go crazy and tell you at least your bag is so classy and so expensive. Those kinds of things, women like it." – P7

In the above excerpts, Participants 4 and 7 perpetuate the gendered stereotype of differences between men and women regarding emotions. Men are presented as being stoic, calculated and more professional, resulting in good working relationships. On the other hand, women are seen as frantic and irrational, resulting in compromised relationships in their personal and professional lives.

Traditional masculinity and gender-based stereotypes function through the gendering of the sexes, which maintains socially constructed differences. Thus, whilst gendered identities result from socialisation, gender-based stereotypes present the differences between men and women as being inherent. They are legitimised through their continued use and therefore entrenched in society, perpetuating gender inequality with sustained impact on women. (Connell, 2005; van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). Stereotypes negatively characterise entire groups within a society, with women being sly, less competent and irrational to present that perception as truth. Therefore, they are inherently political due to their impact on the hierarchical relations of power (Runyan & Peterson, 2014). In using stereotypes, these men employ a fundamental aspect of traditional masculinity: women are intrinsically inferior to men. Traditional masculinity upholds this idea of male superiority for men to maintain their power within the gender hierarchy (Gardiner, 2005).

Ultimately, gender-based stereotypes represent a strong attachment to tradition because they are carried on through the generations. This also represents a continued failure by men to recognise how traditional masculinities disadvantage women. Men do not understand that there is a problem, resulting in dismissive attitudes and a lack of action in which future generations are socialised. Thus, such gender-based stereotypes also highlight that men must recognise their roles and actively work to change cultural

and organisational structures, such as patriarchy, that exclusively benefit them and exclude all others (October, 2019; Runyan & Peterson, 2018).

Sexuality

The participants in this study all identified as being straight men. Emphasis was placed on their straightness, as typified by Participants 1 and 6:

“Ah, baba, me I'm straight. I love women. I love women. I'm straight.” – P1

“Straight. It's natural... So straight.” – P6

Social interactions and institutions provide social control regarding definitions and boundaries of gender. Thus, as human beings, we are socialised regarding what is expected of us. Therefore, to be a man is something that one learns and subsequently performs. Part of that performance is heterosexuality, which is a key component of hegemonic masculinity (Bucher, 2014; Kivel, 1999). Whilst heterosexuality is not inherently problematic, the emphasis placed on it by these men comes across as further attempts to remove all feminine associations, especially with their place of work (Barber, 2008). While taking up this position, they also perpetuated cultural stereotypes associated with hegemonic masculinity, emphasising heterosexism and proving one's heterosexuality by viewing women as sexual objects (Langa, 2017). This, however, goes a step further. The social construction of masculinity is so heavily linked with heterosexuality that the concept of masculinity functions as a proxy for heterosexuality. Ultimately, masculinity is an identity these men perform to project their heterosexual status (Dean, 2013). Examples of said projection are in the following:

“Like, when working with women, every woman wants your attention as a man. You are working with different kinds of women and all of them want your attention.” – P1

“Because, as a man, if you work women? There are many temptations. Many things can happen... It's not easy because you deal with women everyday. It's not just women, beautiful women... When you are dealing with women, there are temptations.” – P2

“You know some ladies, they wear shorts, like short dresses... I’m not saying I’m innocent but at the end of the day... Temptation is there, bruh. You meet different and different and different kinds of women. It’s there.” – P5

“Where I come from, you can’t be a friend with a woman. When you see a woman, it’s either you see a wife to you or a wife to somebody else.” – P9

The manner in which these participants describe the women they come into contact with shows they are constructing them as objects of their desires (Kivel, 1999). These constructions reflect exaggerated masculine identity performances by these men due to their masculinity and sexuality being scrutinised due to their occupation (Dean, 2013; Robinson et al., 2011). They appear exaggerated because they are more reflective of these men’s viewpoints than the reality of the situations. Through these masculine-tinted lenses, women are no more than mere objects for men to attain in some way, shape or form. These projections and constructions could allow the men to maintain their sense of superiority because if they were to relate with these women as human beings, that would remove the symbolic distance between them (Bird, 1996). Thus, they risk becoming invisible as men because their female-dominated occupation does not allow them to recreate and conform easily to hegemonic ideals (Lupton, 2000).

These men were comfortable expressing their aspirations toward hegemony and perpetuating heterosexism. They were also just as comfortable expressing disdain towards gay men. This may have been due to the gay hairdresser stereotype that these men found unsettling and problematic because, according to hegemony, this is the antithesis of *real* men (Hall et al., 2007). Being gay directly positions the individual outside the accepted standards of masculinity (Kivel, 1999). This disdain, however, presents as homophobia as the male hairdressers go beyond simply looking down on gayness. This comes as no surprise because, in much the same way masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, it is also heavily linked with homophobia. The manner in which hegemony is constructed utilises homophobia as a tool to control men and their performances of gender. Thus, being a man is not simply about heterosexuality but also about the subordination of gay men’s masculinity (Bucher, 2014). As evidenced by the following:

“Like, if you're a man, you mustn't be falling in love with another man. I believe that is a man. A man is the one who is supposed to support the woman... I don't understand if somebody says he's a man and he's calling another man a boyfriend, his boyfriend, or he's calling another man his husband. I don't believe that to be man.” – P3

“Sometimes they become women [referring to gay men], sometimes they become – they've got two personalities, because imagine when they want to use the toilet, they use the men as their toilet. It's like there they are saying, 'I'm a man.' But when it comes to other things, they become a woman. So, they're two-sided.” – P6

Again, this perpetuates and naturalises heterosexuality and homophobia. Thus, according to these straight men, to be gay and act like a woman is shameful. Using homophobia as a tool, these men construct being gay as inferior to heterosexuality. This allows them to socially distance themselves from gay signifiers, which grants them the masculine status of being unambiguously heterosexual and subsequently grants them access to the privileges attached to this status (Dean, 2013). There is, however, a paradoxical element unbeknownst to the statements by Participants 3 and 6. The perceived association with femininity is why they look down on gay men, yet this is the same reason other men look down on them. Through their experiences, these men undo gender by working in non-traditional occupations and actively challenge notions of negatively defining their personhood. However, they actively perpetuate the hegemonic beliefs that marginalise them and negatively define someone else's personhood because of their belief in sexuality's relation to manhood. These men are creating a model of masculinity that is idiosyncratic to them, which allows them to benefit from this otherwise paradoxical situation. Ultimately, however, their beliefs nullify their model because they are suppressing expressions that are not hegemonic, which only works to legitimise hegemonic masculinity (Bird, 1996).

Departures from hegemonic masculinity

This subtheme explores traits distinct from prototypical constructions of the traditional sense of manhood. These are traits male hairdressers in Braamfontein are required to

adequately perform in their field. They represent a departure from the hegemonic framework and demonstrate how masculinity is impacted by social institutions, such as hair salons, that have their own historical settings (Bird, 1996). Therefore, these may be viewed as examples of how men can construct healthier and more progressive models of masculinity.

Humility

Whilst these men and their desire for respect and status have been noted, this aspect of humility represents a departure from that. These men have to embody a sense of meekness because their professions require that of them. This contrasts sharply with the sense of entitlement and pride bred from male privilege.

“It teaches you humility, because you deal with different types of people, with different attitudes, and how to treat people, according to how they are.” – P3

“It’s not easy to get clients. Stand on the side of the street and call to people, telling them I do dreadlocks. I walk around, for long distances, from here to Wits, handing out flyers and looking for clients. It’s not easy because some of us are shy, we think that because we are men, we must have pride and we can’t do that.” – P4

“I put myself down. I take myself down like I’m nobody. That I’m nobody and I’m here to learn and I go straight to this industry, the hair industry, with my former girlfriend, who worked in the hair industry and I was learning through her.” – P10

In reflecting on dealing with different people, Participant 3 notes having to treat people according to what they require. As privileged beings, men typically expect people to acquiesce to them and their demands. This, however, is not the case in such a space as they have to decentralise themselves and focus on the people coming to receive the service (Feagin, 2020). The excerpt by Participant 4 echoes this greater sense of meekness as he notes having to separate his sense of pride and privilege from what he has to do because of his work. This provides insight into the masculinity these men embody instead of the masculinity they aspire to. Hegemonic masculinity is built on an

insecure premise that one is only as masculine as their last act of affirmation, which requires caring about how masculine one is perceived (Evans et al., 2011). Unlike that, their approach towards their masculinity appears assured. This model of masculinity is self-aware, modest, and does not see negative perceptions as a threat. Whereas other impacts on masculinity due to continued exposure to non-traditional spaces cause strain, this highlights progressive impacts.

With regards to Participant 10, he encourages and displays meekness to obtain the necessary means of survival. His point is that one cannot be preoccupied with what it means to be a man doing a “woman’s job” at the cost of living. However, the wording has socio-cultural significance due to the traditional sense of dignity invested in masculinity and paid employment, as masculinity is associated with being a provider, unemployment and the inability to provide denies one access to manhood. There is also humiliation when a man has to rely on a woman, the being he is supposedly superior to, as this implies a further sense of uselessness (Galasiński, 2004). Thus, whilst it may appear to be dramatic, Participant 10 firstly had to strip himself of his personhood by becoming a nobody, *“I put myself down. I take myself down like I’m nobody”* this allowed him to learn from a woman in order to become a hairdresser. Secondly and paradoxically, this traditionally feminine occupation allowed him access to manhood through paid employment. Essentially, as a man in the traditional sense, he could not become a hairdresser, yet being a hairdresser ultimately allowed him to feel like a man again.

Other examples of these men embodying a sense of meekness is illustrated in the following excerpts when their clients physically confronted them:

“That was the biggest challenge I’ve had in this job and I can never forget. I used to tell my friends, when I was learning this job, I received a very hot slap from my client and of which I didn’t do anything.” – P7

“Sometimes, I would make a mistake, sometimes, clients would slap you because I did something wrong. They are right, you understand me? Because you made a mistake, what can you do?” – P10

In both instances, Participants 7 and 10 shared how their mistakes whilst working resulted in them getting slapped by their female clients and how they could not do anything about

it. Be it in retelling the stories or the details of the stories themselves, there was an expectation of aggressiveness, and yet, it was not present. The expectation is that men who aspire towards traditional masculinity are more likely to be aggressive towards women when their masculine gender roles are challenged, such as public humiliation (Gallagher & Parrott, 2011). Although these men may aspire towards traditional masculinity, the interplay between their dispositional characteristics and socio-cultural influences are mitigating factors. The dispositional characteristics refer to pressure to comply with social norms and the association with the masculine identity, such as the desire to be seen as dominant. Fixed compliance to this masculine identity is linked to increased aggression and a negative attitude towards women, which these men do not appear to completely embody (Kilianski, 2003; Moore & Stuart, 2004). The socio-cultural influences refer to the career barriers men in non-traditional occupations face. These barriers, such as extrinsic incentives like recognition and working conditions, determine how they have to manage situations like the above, as they influence success or failure. Thus, they are required to process information in ways that necessitate them to look beyond their emotions. Ultimately, this feminised occupation requires the performance of emphasised femininity; for these men, it means meekness (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010).

Emotionality

Much like the stereotypes addressed beforehand, traditional gendered views present men as being stoic and emotionally detached, whilst women are overly emotional and irrational. This section, however, explores how these male hairdressers reflected on creating and sustaining emotionally safe spaces with others, which allowed for honest and considerate expressions of emotions as a natural part of being men. This represents another way in which these men differ from constructions of traditional masculinity:

“If someone wants to know something, I can tell them. Yeah. Your problem can be my problem. So there's a time when you know that you can have something in yourself, but the moment you say it, that's when you can feel you're fine. Just because someone heard it and had to respond to what you

said. So this thing of talking... It's just a matter of just helping one another. So, I've helped many people through my hands and through talking.” – P2

“I have so many people have broken down in a salon. Men and women. You have to understand the situation.” – P9

The above excerpts were shared by Participants 2 and 9 when discussing the emotional labour inherent in being a hairdresser and how they have embraced it. This is typified by statements such as *“Your problem can be my problem”* by Participant 2. This emotional labour takes the form of informal emotional counselling, a naturalised and expected aspect of women’s characteristics (Barber, 2008; Black, 2004). As these men embrace it, they treat it as being no different to other traits they value within themselves. This is important in constructing their masculinity because, due to socialisation, men are seen as being generally less emotional than women. Their surroundings from a young age have dictated that they be less emotional as a result of negative responses to their displays of emotions. Thus, whilst men feel emotions, they may be more afraid to embrace and display them given the negative social feedback (Jakupcak, Salters, Gratz & Roemer, 2003). Therefore, such informal therapy directly opposes masculinity, as men must exercise control over their emotions through suppression (Bennett, 2007). Such social constraints placed on men highlight the social significance of their environment, such as a hair salon in this instance. These men demonstrate how interpersonal support within an environment that provides positive social feedback allows them to embrace emotions (Darabos and Hoyt, 2017). Their embracing of emotionality is furthered in the following:

“There are some clients, like mine, I have many clients that come to me and know that if they tell me some things, I have the tendency of giving them solutions. So they talk to me but all those things they’re telling me, I make sure I don’t tell other people. That’s just it.” – P1

“You become a friend. Otherwise, they are going to tell you their problems and try to tell their problems and you talk to them and you comfort them. Yeah, it’s nice.” – P5

“Some clients they are like a friend to me. They are not just a client anymore so they’re like a friend. They tell me of their secret. Not all though. Some of them tell me about their relationship. Some of them tell me about their condition. So we talk but not all clients.” – P7

“80% of them come to the salon, they still see me as a friend more than a hairdresser. They still use me as the therapist without me getting into too much detail.” – P9

These excerpts demonstrate aspects of emotional labour but are not interpreted as such. Rather, it is seen and described as “*You become a friend*”, “*they are like a friend to me*”, and “*they still see me as a friend.*” As the relationship is commodified, it must appear to be a friendship because merely viewing it as emotional labour may negatively impact the working relationship (Barber, 2008; Black, 2004). The above excerpts also illustrate comfortability with emotionality whilst simultaneously demonstrating an ability for these men to decentralise themselves and allow for the concerns and perspectives of others to be visible, relevant and important. Whilst such is seen as a feminine trait; this quality is not inherent in women despite social norms dictating such. Men can and are doing work associated traditionally with women, and they are doing it without fear or derision (van Antwerpen & Ferreira, 2010). Thus, the burden of responsibility to be different from such social norms falls upon the individuals, especially if this is a valued part of their identity, as with these men (Bird, 1996). Embracing emotionality illustrates these men undoing gender, which proves to be beneficial to both their social and occupational lives (Hall et al., 2007). Whilst not part of the hegemony toward which they aspire, embracing emotionality is a quality beneficial to themselves and others and represents being men in healthier and more progressive ways.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter summaries the study and the main themes that emerged. The summary is followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

The study sought to explore and understand how male hairdressers in Braamfontein constructed their masculinity. In order to achieve this, the study provided the male hairdressers with the opportunity to share their lived experiences, their thoughts on manhood and what it meant to be men who worked in salons. These experiences provided an in-depth understanding regarding how these men became hairdressers, including their motivations and challenges, and provided insight into how they constructed their masculinity. This has added to the extensive literature on masculinity, particularly the limited studies focused on men and beauty work. The study used a qualitative research design that allowed for producing rich and detailed data through engagement with the participants.

Social constructionism as the theoretical framework aided in the production of rich data. As a social identity, masculinity lends itself to the tenants of social constructionism that seek to unpack meanings that these men ascribed to their experiences. This is because, as a social identity, social constructionism states that there is significance in the social, cultural, and historical contexts of the current construction. This was made evident in the findings as these men's construction of masculinity reflected the impact of their social and occupational lives. Whilst the use of the qualitative design allowed for emphasis to be placed on the participants as the experts in knowledge production and allowed them to challenge assumptions made by the researcher. Then social constructionism complemented the design as it required the researcher to examine the language used in knowledge production and engagement.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data and interpret and make greater sense of the findings as it lent itself to the study's qualitative design and theoretical framework. The thematic analysis allowed for the exploration of how these male hairdressers construct their masculinity. This was achieved through the two main themes: Experiences of men as hairdressers and; Male hairdressers' construction of masculinity.

The main theme of 'Experiences of men as hairdressers' was built on the premise that these men had experiences that formed the basis of the construction of their masculinity. This basis was built on aspects that motivated them to become hairdressers and the challenges they experienced in becoming hairdressers. Two subthemes emerged to address this basis. The first was, 'The reasons why men become hairdressers'. The literature by van Antwerpen and Ferreira (2010), Simpson (2005), and Williams and Villemez (1993) stated that men became hairdressers due to socioeconomic decline, limited availability in employment, compromise and intrinsic motivation. Although influential, this study also found out that these men working in Braam were motivated by other reasons. This included: opportunities to become hairdressers, mostly as a result of external influences from a young age; the ability to make money as they needed to make a living and ultimately; the satisfaction they drew from the occupation through them relating to the work, their respective abilities to do hair and the ability to have a positive impact on another person.

The second subtheme was, 'Challenges these men experience being hairdressers'. The literature by van Antwerpen and Ferreira (2010), Agadjanian (2005), and Lupton (2000) detailed challenges that men in such atypical occupations experience. These challenges were summed up as these men being stigmatised due to effeminacy, resulting in less support from support systems and also experiencing a sense of misalignment regarding their masculinity. This study found these aspects to be true for these men working in Braam. In addition, the desire for respect proved to be a challenge. This was due to these men feeling that they should be held in high regard because they are men, but as a result of their occupation, they are belittled, eliciting responses spurred by feelings of shame and inadequacy.

The second main theme of 'Male hairdressers' construction of masculinity' looked at the shared meaning that these men had concerning masculinity. The findings indicated that these men aspire toward the hegemonic ideal. This theme had two subthemes: Perpetuating hegemonic masculinity and; Departures from hegemonic masculinity. These two subthemes provided a detailed account of these men's construction of their masculinity, which built on their experiences. Literature by Bowleg et al. (2011), Frosh et al. (2004), Kimmel (1997), Langa (2017), McVittie et al. (2017), Mutunda (2009), Ratele

(2008) and Tseole and Vermaak (2020) noted the traits in which men are considered *real* men. The first subtheme, 'Perpetuating hegemonic masculinity' built on this by detailing how these men exhibit said traits. These men attached strongly to traditional ways of how men should be. The impact of tradition was presented as being internal, the hegemonic standards these men held themselves to, and external, the hegemonic standards that others held against them. Their traditional beliefs also employed gender-based stereotypes that allowed them to view themselves favourably as they displayed disparaged views and expectations of women. These men also emphasised their sexuality as they asserted their straightness as a core characteristic, which also meant constructing women as objects of their desires. Through emphasising their straightness, they also took no issue in expressing homophobic attitudes to their benefit. However, this proved contradictory as they oppress meaning that is not hegemonic, nullifying their own masculinity and legitimising hegemony.

The second subtheme of 'Departures from hegemonic masculinity' concluded the construction of these men's masculinity. Whilst they aspired towards the hegemonic ideal, their lived experiences also required that they deviate from the ideal in ways that proved beneficial to them and others. This was achieved through humility and emotionality. Humility displayed that these men had to divorce themselves from male privilege, which is laced with a sense of entitlement and pride. Then emotionality showed how these men could openly embrace their emotions without fear or derision. This is encouraging as it highlights progressive traits these men had adopted due to their occupation.

Limitations of the study

A limitation of the study is the qualitative design that draws on information from smaller groups. This study used 10 participants, and it would have been desirable to have interviewed more participants. This, however, would have proved to be especially challenging due to the ramifications of the COVID-19 pandemic, as numerous establishments are no longer operational.

Another limitation of the study is that it did not provide a comparative analysis of how race, sexuality and location impact masculinity construction. As an industry, salons

are segmented along the lines of race and class and depending on the area. Salons will tailor the services to the clientele's social, cultural and economic status (Black, 2004). Ademiluka (2018), and Jackson and Balaji (2011) noted that hegemonic masculinity is exclusionary to non-whites, non-heterosexuals and working-class individuals. The participants in this study all identified as being Black and as being straight. Therefore, there may have been a greater understanding of the reflection of more nuances regarding the construction of masculinity in beauty work had those of different races and sexuality been part of the study. Location may have also proven important. For example, how much a hair salon in Braam may charge versus a hair salon in an upscale neighbourhood like Sandton. In this way, they reflect and reinforce class divisions (Black, 2004). This highlights the politics in location, salons and hair, especially since women's hair symbolises social location, allowing them to associate with those of a certain race, age and class. Therefore, men who work in salons in Braam and those who work in Sandton may construct their masculinity differently.

Suggestions for future research

Future research focusing on differing constructions of masculinity would be useful in gaining more nuances and perspectives on the many realities of masculinity. This would continue to prove useful and relevant, given that it would provide legitimacy to other ways of understanding masculinity. It would affirm those that are life-affirming, non-abusive and non-harmful to the individuals themselves and those in their lives.

References

- Abrams, J. A., Maxwell, M. L., & Belgrave, F. Z. (2018). Circumstances Beyond Their Control: Black Women's Perceptions of Black Manhood. *Sex Roles, 79*(3–4), 151–162.
- Ademiluka, S. O. (2018). Patriarchy and Women Abuse: Perspectives from Ancient Israel and Africa. *Old Testament Essays, 31*(2).
- African News Agency. (2017). #UKZNMEDBUST: Why do parents push kids to become doctors? IOL. Accessed 14 May, 2022. <https://www.iol.co.za/sunday-tribune/opinion/ukznmedbust-why-do-parents-push-kids-to-become-doctors-9111428>
- Agadjanian, V. (2005). Men Doing “Women’s Work”: Masculinity and Gender Relations Among Street Vendors in Maputo, Mozambique. In L. Ouzgane & R. Morrell (Eds.), *African Masculinities* (pp. 257–269). Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Akoojee, S., & Nkomo, S. (2008). Access and quality in South African higher education: The twin challenges of transformation. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 21*(3).
- Alhojailan, M.I. (2012) Thematic Analysis: A Critical Review of its Process and Evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences, 1*, 39-47.
- American Psychological Association. (2018). *APA guidelines for psychological practice with boys and men*. Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Boys and Men. Accessed 15 August, 2022. <https://www.apa.org/about/policy/boys-men-practice-guidelines.pdf>

- American Psychological Association. (2022). *Rationalisation*. APA dictionary of psychology. Accessed 15 March, 2022. <https://dictionary.apa.org/rationalization>
- Andrews, T. (2012). What is social constructionism? *Grounded Theory Review*, 11(1).
- Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, Z. G., & Tracey, T. J. G. (2008). Toward a fuller conception of Machismo: Development of a traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 55(1), 19–33.
- Arrindell, W. A. (2005). Masculine Gender Role Stress. *Psychiatric Times*, 22(11).
- Barber, K. (2008). The Well-Coiffed Man: Class, Race, and Heterosexual Masculinity in the Hair Salon. *Gender & Society*, 22(4), 455–476.
- Barthes, R. (1991). *Mythologies* (10th printing). Noonday Press.
- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88(4), 354–364.
- Bennett, K. M. (2007). “No Sissy Stuff”: Towards a theory of masculinity and emotional expression in older widowed men. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 21(4), 347–356.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1991). *The social construction of reality*. London: Penguin Books.
- Bird, S. R. (1996). Welcome to the Men’s Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity. *Gender and Society*, 10(2), 120–132. JSTOR.
- Black, P. (2004). *The beauty industry: Gender, culture, pleasure* (1st ed). Routledge.

- Bowleg, L., Teti, M., Massie, J. S., Patel, A., Malebranche, D. J., & Tschann, J. M. (2011). 'What does it take to be a man? What is a real man?': ideologies of masculinity and HIV sexual risk among Black heterosexual men. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 13*(5), 545–559.
- Boyatzis, R. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 2*-28.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological*. (pp. 57–71). American Psychological Association.
- Brinkmann, S., & Kvale, S. (2015). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing* (Third edition). Sage Publications.
- Bucher, J. (2014). 'But He Can't Be Gay': The Relationship Between Masculinity and Homophobia in Father-Son Relationships. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 22*(3), 222–237.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London, England: Routledge.
- Burr, V. (2004). *Social Constructionism*. Routledge.
- Burr, V. (2015). *Social constructionism* (Third edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. New York and London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2014). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity: Tenth Anniversary Edition*. Routledge.

Collins, P. H. (2004). *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (0 ed.). Routledge.

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford University Press.

Connell, R. W. (1992). A Very Straight Gay: Masculinity, Homosexual Experience, and the Dynamics of Gender. *American Sociological Review*, 57(6), 735–751.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Sydney: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. University of California Press.

Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed). University of California Press.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829–859.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (Fifth edition). SAGE.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of colour. *Stanford law review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.

- Darabos, K., & Hoyt, M. A. (2017). Masculine norms about emotionality and social constraints in young and older adult men with cancer. *Journal of Behavioural Medicine, 40*(2), 259–270.
- Davies, N., & Eagle, G. (2010). Boys as Peer Counsellors: What's Under the Overcoat? *Journal of Psychology in Africa – Special Issue: The Social Construction of Masculinities in Africa, 20*, 569–580.
- Dean, J. J. (2013). Heterosexual Masculinities, Anti-Homophobias, and Shifts in Hegemonic Masculinity: The Identity Practices of Black and White Heterosexual Men. *The Sociological Quarterly, 54*(4), 534–560.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2018). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (Fifth edition). SAGE.
- Dicke, A. L., Safavian, N., & Eccles, J. S. (2019). Traditional Gender Role Beliefs and Career Attainment in STEM: A Gendered Story? *Frontiers in Psychology, 10*, 1053.
- Dolby, N. (2001). *Constructing race: Youth, identity, and popular culture in South Africa*. State University of New York Press.
- Edley, N., & Wetherell, M. (1995). *Men in perspective: Practice, power, and identity*. Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Evans, J., Frank, B., Oliffe, J. L., & Gregory, D. (2011). Health, Illness, Men and Masculinities (HIMM): A theoretical framework for understanding men and their health. *Journal of Men's Health, 8*(1), 7–15.
- Fanon, F. (1982). *Black skin, white masks* (1st Evergreen ed). Grove Press.

- Feagin, J. R. (2020). *The white racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing* (Third Edition). Routledge.
- Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2004). *Young masculinities: Understanding boys in contemporary society* (Nachdr.). Palgrave.
- Gabbard, G. O. (2017). *Long-term psychodynamic psychotherapy: A basic text* (Third edition). American Psychiatric Association Publishing.
- Galasiński, D. (2004). *Men and the language of emotions*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gallagher, K. E., & Parrott, D. J. (2011). What Accounts for Men's Hostile Attitudes Toward Women? The Influence of Hegemonic Male Role Norms and Masculine Gender Role Stress. *Violence Against Women, 17*(5), 568–583.
- Galbin, A. (2014). An Introduction to Social Constructionism. *Social Research Reports, 26*(1), 82-92.
- Gardiner, J. K. (2005). Men, Masculinities, and Feminist Theory. In *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities* (pp. 35–50). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Gergen, K.J. (1985). Theory of the self: Impasse and evolution. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*. New York, Academic Press.
- Gergen, K. J. (1989). Social psychology and the wrong revolution. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 19*(5), 463–484.
- Gergen, K. J. (1994). *Realities and relationships: Soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University.
- Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. (2012). *Playing with purpose. Adventures in performative*

social science. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Gergen, K. J. (2015). *An invitation to social construction* (Third edition). Sage.

Gómez, L. F. (2007). Relations among Masculinities: Controversy in Uncle Tom's Cabin. *Revista Folios*, 25, 115.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. (First edition). New York: International Publishers.

Halberstam, J. (1998). *Female masculinity*. Duke University Press.

Hall, A., Hockey, J., & Robinson, V. (2007). Occupational Cultures and the Embodiment of Masculinity: Hairdressing, Estate Agency, and Firefighting. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 14(6), 534–551.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. (2nd ed). London: Routledge, 1–22.

Hofstede, G. J., Dignum, F., Prada, R., Student, J., & Vanhée, L. (2015). Gender Differences: The Role of Nature, Nurture, Social Identity and Self-organisation. In F. Grimaldo & E. Norling (Eds.), *Multi-Agent-Based Simulation XV* (Vol. 9002, pp. 72–87). Springer International Publishing.

Humlum, M. K., Kleinjans, K. J., & Nielsen, H. S. (2012). An Economic Analysis of Identity and Career Choice*. *Economic Inquiry*, 50(1), 39–61.

Iacoviello, V., Valsecchi, G., Berent, J., Borinca, I., & Falomir-Pichastor, J. M. (2021). Is Traditional Masculinity Still Valued? Men's Perceptions of How Different Reference Groups Value Traditional Masculinity Norms. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 106082652110188.

- Itulua-Abumere, F. (2013). Understanding Men and Masculinity in Modern Society. *Open Journal of Social Science Research*, 1(2), 42.
- Jackson, R. L., & Balaji, M. (2011). *Global masculinities and manhood*. University of Illinois Press.
- Jakupcak, M., Salters, K., Gratz, K. L., & Roemer, L. (2003). Masculinity and Emotionality: An Investigation of Men's Primary and Secondary Emotional Responding. *Sex Roles*, 49(3/4), 111–120.
- Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., Quayle, M., Sikweyiya, Y., & Gottzén, L. (2015). Hegemonic masculinity: Combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 17(sup2), 112–127.
- Johannesburg Development Agency (2018). *Braamfontein*. Johannesburg Development Agency: Building a better city. Accessed 12 July, 2022. <https://www.jda.org.za/braamfontein/>
- Katz, I. (2019). *Understanding the Contemporary Character of Braamfontein Johannesburg: Towards a renewed understanding of urban renewal in cities in the South*. Master's thesis. The University of Cape Town. Accessed 31 March, 2022. <https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/31417>
- Kerfoot, D., & Knights, D. (1993) 'Management, Manipulation and Masculinity: From Paternalism to Corporate Strategy in Financial Services', *Journal of Management Studies* 30(4): 659–77
- Kiger, M. E., & Varpio, L. (2020). Thematic analysis of qualitative data: AMEE Guide No. 131. *Medical Teacher*, 42(8), 846–854.

- Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4(1), 37–56.
- Kimmel, M. S. (1997). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame and silence in the construction of gender identity. In *Toward a new psychology of gender*. (pp. 223–242). Taylor & Frances/Routledge.
- Kivel, P. (1999). *Boys will be men: Raising our sons for courage, caring, and community*. New Society Publishers.
- Korek, S., Sobiraj, S., Weseler, D., Rigotti, T., & Mohr, G. (2014). The gender role self-concept of men in female-dominated occupations: Does it depend on how they see their jobs?: Gender role self-concept in female occupations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 44(4), 241–254.
- Kumalo, Z. (2019). *The black salon is about more than hair: it's culture, community & care*. Sunday Times. Accessed 17 February, 2022. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/lifestyle/fashion-and-beauty/2019-02-17-the-black-salon-is-about-more-than-hair-its-culture-community--care/#>
- Kumar, P., & Mukherjee, D. (2021). Subordinate and Marginalised Masculinities and the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 56(11), 12.
- Langa, M. (2008). Using photo-narratives to explore the construction of young masculinities. *Psychology in Society*, 36.
- Langa, M. (2017). Boys to men: Narrating life stories of fatherhood and work life amongst young black men. *Psychology in Society*, 55.

- Latila, M. (2014). *History of Braamfontein Pt. 1. Johannesburg 1912 – Suburb by suburb research*. Accessed 27 July, 2022. <https://johannesburg1912.com/2014/07/27/history-of-braamfontein-pt-1/>
- Laurie, N. (1999). *Geographies of new femininities*. Longman.
- Leavy, P. (2017). *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, arts-based, and community-based participatory research approaches*. Guilford Press.
- Lemon, J. (1992). The crisis of masculinity and the renegotiation of power. *Communication, 18*(2), 16–30.
- Leopeng, B., & Langa, M. (2017). The fathers of Destiny: Representations of fatherhood in a popular South African magazine. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 27*(5), 438–442.
- Levine-Rasky, C. (2011). Intersectionality theory applied to whiteness and middle-classness. *Social Identities, 17*(2), 239–253.
- Lindegger, G. and J. Maxwell. (2007). “Teenage Masculinity: The Double Bind of Conformity to Hegemonic Standards.” *In From Boys to Men Cape Town*, UCT Press, by T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strelbel, N. Shabalala and R. Buikema, 94–112
- Lindsay, J. (2004). Gender and class in the lives of young hairdressers: From serious to spectacular. *Journal of Youth Studies, 7*(3), 259–277.
- Lupton, B. (2000). Maintaining Masculinity: Men who do ‘Women’s Work’. *British Journal of Management, 11*(s1), 33–48.
- Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). *Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars. 8*(3), 14.

- Maly, I., & Varis, P. (2016). The 21st-century hipster: On micro-populations in times of superdiversity. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(6), 637–653.
- Manninen, S. (2013). Masculinity and respect in flux: Olli's story. *Gender and Education*, 25(7), 872–888.
- Manninen, S., Huuki, T., & Sunnari, V. (2011). Earn Yo' Respect! Respect in the Status Struggle of Finnish School Boys. *Men and Masculinities*, 14(3), 335–357.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd ed). SAGE Publications.
- McDonald, J. (2013). Conforming to and Resisting Dominant Gender Norms: How Male and Female Nursing Students Do and Undo Gender: Doing and Undoing Gender. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(5), 561–579.
- McDowell, J. (2015). Masculinity and Non-Traditional Occupations: Men's Talk in Women's Work. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 22(3), 273–291.
- McVittie, C., Hepworth, J., & Goodall, K. (2017). Masculinities and Health. In *The Psychology of Gender and Health* (pp. 119–141). Elsevier.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2019). The Saliency of "Hegemonic Masculinity". *Men and Masculinities*, 22(1), 85–91.
- Mincey, K., Alfonso, M., Hackney, A., & Luque, J. (2014). Understanding Masculinity in Undergraduate African American Men: A Qualitative Study. *American Journal of Men's Health*, 8(5), 387–398.

- Moolman, B. (2013). Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender. *African Identities*, 11(1), 93–105.
- Moore, T. M., & Stuart, G. L. (2004). Effects of Masculine Gender Role Stress on Men's Cognitive, Affective, Physiological, and Aggressive Responses to Intimate Conflict Situations. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 5(2), 132–142.
- Morgan, D. H. J. (1992). *Discovering men*. Routledge.
- Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(4), 605–630.
- Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg/London: University of Natal Press/Zed Books.
- Morrell, R. (2002). Men, Movements, and Gender Transformation in South Africa. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 10(3), 309–327.
- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic Masculinity/Masculinities in South Africa: Culture, Power, and Gender Politics. *Men and Masculinities*, 15(1), 11–30.
- McVittie, C., Hepworth, J., & Goodall, K. (2017). Masculinities and Health. In *The Psychology of Gender and Health* (pp. 119–141). Elsevier.
- Mutunda, S. (2009). *Through a female lens: Aspects of Masculinity in Francophone African women's writing*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Arizona. Accessed 25 February, 2022. <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/194161>

- National Bargaining Council (2022). *Collective Agreements & Salary Scales - Annexure H1 AREA A – Division 101*. National Bargaining Council. Accessed 20 March, 2022. <http://hcsbc.co.za/downloads/>
- Neuman, W. L., & Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (7. ed., Pearson new internat. ed). Pearson.
- Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), 160940691773384.
- Ntshona, N. (2013). *The Role of City Development Agencies in the Urban Regeneration of Inner-City Johannesburg*. Master's thesis. The University of Witwatersrand. Accessed 25 March, 2022. <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/jspui/bitstream/10539/13644/2/Research%2090413%20Final%20Edited%20%20Formatted%20EB%20v3.pdf>
- O'Brien, J. (Ed.). (2009). *Encyclopaedia of gender and society*. SAGE.
- October, L. (2019). *Toxic Masculinity and violence in South Africa*. SaferSpaces. Accessed 2 August, 2021. <https://www.saferspaces.org.za/understand/entry/toxic-masculinity-and-violence-in-south-africa>
- Ogletree, T., & Kawulich, B. (2012). 'Ethical considerations in conducting research' in Wagner, C., Kawulich, B.B. and Garner, M. *Doing Social Research: A Global Context*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Education (UK) Ltd
- Oluwafemi, A. (2011). Social support as a panacea for mental illness: A study of Nigerian immigrants in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 3(9), 328-331.

- Ouzgane, L., & Morrell, R. (2005). *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present*. Palgrave Macmillan; University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Peck, S. C., Brodish, A. B., Malanchuk, O., Banerjee, M., & Eccles, J. S. (2014). Racial/ethnic socialisation and identity development in Black families: The role of parent and youth reports. *Developmental Psychology*, *50*(7), 1897–1909.
- Peng, Y., & Mao, C. (2015). The Impact of Person–Job Fit on Job Satisfaction: The Mediator Role of Self Efficacy. *Social Indicators Research*, *121*(3), 805–813.
- Ramdeo, P. (2011). *Young Men and Women’s Talk About the Emergence of the ‘Metrosexual’ Male*. University of Witwatersrand Wired Space. Accessed 25 February, 2022.
<http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/9279/PSYCHOLOGY%20RESEARCH%20REPORT%20to%20print.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>
- Ratele, K. (2006). Ruling Masculinity and Sexuality. *Feminist Africa*, 48-64.
- Ratele, K. (2008). Analysing Males in Africa: Certain Useful Elements in Considering Ruling Masculinities. *African and Asian Studies*, *7*(4), 515–536.
- Ratele, K. (2015). Working through resistance in engaging boys and men towards gender equality and progressive masculinities. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *17*, 144–158.
- Richards, J. G., & Langa, M. (2018). Izikhothane: Class and Masculinities of Black Male Youths in Katlehong Township, South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, *49*(2), 86–104.

- Roberts, S., & Elliott, K. (2020). Challenging Dominant Representations of Marginalised Boys and Men in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities: *Boyhood Studies*, 13(2), 87–104.
- Robinson, V., Hall, A., & Hockey, J. (2011). Masculinities, Sexualities, and the Limits of Subversion: Being a Man in Hairdressing. *Men and Masculinities*, 14(1), 31–50.
- Romaioli, D., & McNamee, S. (2021). (Mis)constructing social construction: Answering the critiques. *Theory & Psychology*, 31(3), 315–334.
- Ros, M., Schwartz, S. H., & Surkiss, S. (1999). Basic Individual Values, Work Values, and the Meaning of Work. *Applied Psychology*, 48(1), 49–71.
- Rossmann, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2012). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed). SAGE.
- Runyan, A. S., & Peterson, V. S. (2014). *Global gender issues in the new millennium* (Fourth edition). Westview Press, a member of the Perseus Books Group.
- Schmader, T., & Block, K. (2015). Engendering Identity: Toward a Clearer Conceptualization of Gender as a Social Identity. *Sex Roles*, 73(11–12), 474–480.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2003). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneutics and social constructionism. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y (Eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and issues*. (pp. 292-331). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sharp, E. A., & Ispa, J. M. (2009). Inner-City Single Black Mothers' Gender-Related Childrearing Expectations and Goals. *Sex Roles*, 60(9–10), 656–668.

- Shefer, T., Stevens, G., & Clowes, L. (2010). Men in Africa: Masculinities, Materiality and Meaning. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 20(4), 511–517.
- Simpson, R. (2005). Men in Non-Traditional Occupations: Career Entry, Career Orientation and Experience of Role Strain. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 12(4), 363–380.
- Siwele, K. (2021). *City of Johannesburg reclaims Braamfontein streets from criminals*. Wits Vuvuzela. Accessed 28 August, 2021 <https://witsvuvuzela.com/2021/02/17/city-of-johannesburg-reclaims-braamfontein-from-criminals/>
- Smith, D. (2005). Patterns and processes of 'studentification' in Leeds. *The Regional Review*, 12, 14-16.
- South African History Online. (2019). *Braamfontein, a Suburb of Johannesburg*. SAHO. Accessed 2 August, 2021. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/braamfontein-johannesburg>
- Statistics South Africa (2019a). *STATISTICAL RELEASE P0302 - Mid-year population estimates*. Statistics South Africa. Accessed 29 July, 2022. <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022019.pdf>
- Statistics South Africa. (2019b). *Youth graduate unemployment rate increases in Q1: 2019*. Statistics South Africa. Accessed 31 August, 2021. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=12121>
- Statistics South Africa (2021a). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) – Q3:2021*. Statistics South Africa. Accessed 30 November, 2021. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=14957>

Statistics South Africa (2021b). *General Household Survey 2020*. Statistics South Africa. Accessed 12 January, 2022. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/GHS%202020%20Presentation%202-Dec-21.pdf>

Thompson, E. H., & Bennett, K. M. (2015). Measurement of masculinity ideologies: A (critical) review. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 16(2), 115–133.

Tseole, N. P., & Vermaak, K. (2020). Exploring the Influences of Hegemonic and Complicit Masculinity on Lifestyle Risk Factors for Noncommunicable Diseases Among Adult Men in Maseru, Lesotho. *American Journal of Men's Health*, 14(6), 155798832095893.

UCT Liberty Institute (2020). Panic buying underscores South Africa's inequalities. UCT News. Accessed 23 March, 2022. <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/campus/communications/updates/covid-19/-article/2020-03-23-panic-buying-underscores-south-africas-inequalities>

Wazimap. (2019). *Wazimap profile: Ward 60 (79800060), City of Johannesburg, Gauteng*. Wazimap. Accessed 16 October, 2021. <https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/ward-79800060-city-of-johannesburg-ward-60-79800060/>

Weitz, R. (2004). *Rapunzel's daughters: What women's hair tells us about women's lives* (1st ed). Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Wetherell, M., & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9(3), 335–356.

- Williams, C. L. (1995). *Still a man's world: Men who do 'women's work'*. University of California Press.
- Williams, L., & Villemez, W. (1993). Seekers and Finders: Male Entry and Exit in Female-Dominated Jobs. In C. Williams, *Doing "Women's Work": Men in Non-traditional Occupations* (pp. 64–90). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology*. Berkshire: Open University Press
- Wojnicka, K. (2021). Invisible yet significant: The case of complicit masculinities' transparency in power. *NORMA*, 16(4), 200–204.
- van Antwerpen, S., & Ferreira, E. (2010). Males in Predominantly Female-dominated Positions: A South African Perspective. *Journal of Contemporary Management*, 7, 363–379.
- Zhao, H. (2020). Explicating the social constructionist perspective on crisis communication and crisis management research: A review of communication and business journals. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 32(3–4), 98–119.

Appendix 1: Subject Information Sheet



Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559



Dear Sir

My name is Ngoni Junior Kamhuka and I am a Master's in Psychology student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am required to complete a research project as part of my course. My research focuses on the construction of masculinity among male hairdressers in the Braamfontein area and I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw at any time and there will be no negative consequences. Your participation would consist of a one-on-one interview with me and it is an hour long. You will be asked several questions based on the topic mentioned above. You may decide to not answer some of the questions. No identifiable information will be used. You will be referred to using a pseudonym such as participant 1, participant 2, etc. There will be an audio recording during the interview and these will be kept safely and upon completion of the research. There are no risks and benefits within the study. The findings of the study will be made available to the participants once available on request. Feedback will take the form of a one-to-two-page summary sheet that outlines the study and its findings.

Should you feel like talking to someone after the interview, or you know of someone who may need help, please contact: Life Line at 0861 322 322.

If you would like to enquire more about the study you are welcome to contact my

supervisor or I. Our details are provided below.

Your participation in this study will be highly appreciated. Please keep this sheet.

Ngoni Junior Kamhuka

Supervisor: Malose Langa

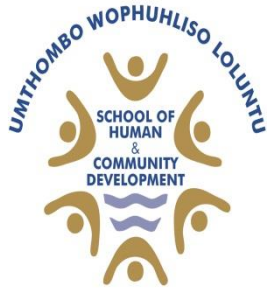
067 728 7653

073 504 9890

ngonikamhukajunior@gmail.com

malose.langa@wits.ac.za

Appendix 2: Interview Consent Form



Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559



I, _____ consent to being interviewed by Ngoni Junior Kamhuka for his study exploring the construction of masculinity among male hairdressers in the Braamfontein area. I understand that:

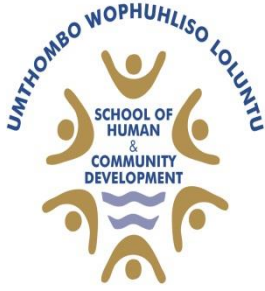
- Participation is completely voluntary.
- I may withdraw from the interview at any time for whatever reason.
- I may refrain from answering any questions.
- There are no risks or benefits associated with this study.
- The information provided will be kept and dealt with in a confidential manner.
- No information that can identify me or my clients will be included in the research report
- I will be referred to using pseudonyms/an anonymous name (Participant 1, 2 or 3, etc).
- I am aware that the findings of the study will be reported in the form of a research report for the partial completion of the Master's in Psychology by coursework and research report.
- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and

published in a journal and/or book chapter.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3: Audio Recording Consent Form



Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 4503 Fax: 011 717 4559



I, _____ give my consent for my interview with Ngoni Junior Kamhuka to be recorded for his study exploring the construction of masculinity among male hairdressers in the Braamfontein area. I understand that:

- The audio recordings will be confidential and will only be accessed by Ngoni and his supervisor.
- The audio tape recordings will be stored for the duration of this study on a password-protected audio recorder or a password-protected laptop. Thereafter, they will be deleted.
- The transcripts will be stored on a password-protected computer at the University to facilitate further research.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule

Introduction

Hello. I am Ngoni Junior Kamhuka, a Master's student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting a study on the construction of masculinity among male hairdressers in the Braamfontein area, and I appreciate your participation.

Before beginning with the interview, I would like to assure you that everything you say during this interview will be confidential, and only my supervisor and I will have access to the recordings and transcripts, which will be later destroyed. Although I know who you are, confidentiality will be maintained by not disclosing any information that is of a personal nature in the report. I will be assigning a pseudonym or an anonymous name to your information in the report, which will keep you anonymous. I would like to remind you that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time during the interview. You also have the right to refrain from answering any question should you wish to do so, as some aspects of the questions may prove to be sensitive in regards to the study. A feedback summary of the study and its findings will be provided to you upon request.

Contextual Questions

1. May you kindly tell me about your background, where you were born and where you grew up?
2. Do you consider yourself straight, gay, or other? (If other, ask them to specify)
3. People often assume that male hairdressers are gay and I'm curious if you've experienced that and has it affected your work?
4. Can you tell me about how you became a hairdresser?
5. What does it mean to you to be a man?
6. How do you feel about being a man who is hairdresser?
7. Can you tell me about your experiences as a hairdresser?
8. How do your family and friends feel about you being a man who is a hairdresser?
9. What does it mean to you to be a man in such a female dominated business/industry?

10. What are your experiences as a man in a space with lots of women?
11. Do you prefer working on men or women? Why?
12. When asked about your job, what do you tell people and how do they respond?
13. People think that men make better hairdressers than women, do you agree? Why?
14. Is there anything else you wish to add to the interview?

Thank you for participating in this study!

Appendix 5: Ethics Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: MACC/19/003 IH

PROJECT TITLE:

Construction of masculinity by hairdressers in Braamfontein

INVESTIGATORS

Kamhuka Ngoni

DEPARTMENT

Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

16 May 2019

DECISION OF COMMITTEE*

Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 16 May 2019

CHAIRPERSON
(Dr Vinitha Jithoo)



cc Supervisor:

Prof. Malose Langa
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2021

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES