6-1984

Two Hairdressers: Artistry & Communication

Julie Hauri-Foster
Western Kentucky University

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses
Part of the Folklore Commons, and the Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses/2454

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses & Specialist Projects by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact topscholar@wku.edu.
Hauri-Foster,

Julie Annette

1984
TWO HAIRDRESSERS:
ARTISTRY AND COMMUNICATION

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the
Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Studies
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Julie Annette Hauri-Foster
June 1984
AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF THESIS

Permission is hereby

☑ granted to the Western Kentucky University Library to
make, or allow to be made photocopies, microfilm or other
copies of this thesis for appropriate research or scholarly
purposes.

☐ reserved to the author for the making of any copies of this
thesis except for brief sections for research or scholarly
purposes.

Signed [Signature]

Date [Date]

Please place an "X" in the appropriate box.

This form will be filed with the original of the thesis and will control
future use of the thesis.
TWO HAIRDRESSERS: ARTISTRY AND COMMUNICATION

Recommended August 2, 1984
(Date)

Jay Anderson
Director of Thesis

Yvonne Lockwood
Lynwood Montee

Approved August 14, 1984
(Date)

Helen Steg
Dean of the Graduate College
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II. JUANITA</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III. JOHN</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV. THE SHOPS</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V. THE HAIRDRESSERS' ROLES</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This paper is a study of two artists. They are hairdressers who are part of mainstream American culture. Juanita Sublett has been a hairdresser for twenty years, and has had basically the same clientele for that time. Her true artistry is not in the technical aspect of hairdos, but in the creation of a setting in which her clients wish to be.

John Hopfensperger has been a hairdresser for eight years. He entered beauty school because he could be supported by his parents without having the academic pressures of college. After completing beauty school he had no intention of becoming a hairdresser, but could find no other job. He has created a hairdressing occupation that is totally suitable to himself. His clients can take or leave him; it makes very little difference to John. His artistry is in designing the best hairstyle he can for each of the people on whom he works.

The two hairdressers presented are artists in totally different ways, and are portrayed through their biographies, their shops, and their different occupations within the field of hairdressing.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This thesis, written in accordance with the requirements for a Master of Arts degree in the Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Studies at Western Kentucky University, is a comparison of two people in the same occupation. The two people are white, middle class citizens. They work in towns of similar size and similar make-up, one being a university town with industry and one an industrial center with institutes of higher education. Both individuals are successful in their occupation. These similarities notwithstanding, the two people have very different jobs. There are many reasons for these differences; in this paper I hope to explore and explain the differences.

The occupation studied is one with which probably every woman in America has had some contact. In our country, more money is spent per year in the beauty industry than on public education (Kinzer 1977: 8); fifty cents of each dollar spent on the furtherance of beauty is spent at the hairdresser (Perutz 1970: 69); and over one third of all American women patronize a beauty shop every single week (Kinzer 1977: 83). The occupation is that of a hairdresser, also known as a beautician, a hair stylist, or a cosmetologist. These terms are used interchangeably throughout this paper, as are the
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis, written in accordance with the requirements for a Master of Arts degree in the Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Studies at Western Kentucky University, is a comparison of two people in the same occupation. The two people are white, middle class citizens. They work in towns of similar size and similar make-up, one being a university town with industry and one an industrial center with institutes of higher education. Both individuals are successful in their occupation. These similarities notwithstanding, the two people have very different jobs. There are many reasons for these differences; in this paper I hope to explore and explain the differences.

The occupation studied is one with which probably every woman in America has had some contact. In our country, more money is spent per year in the beauty industry than on public education (Kinzer 1977: 8); fifty cents of each dollar spent on the furtherance of beauty is spent at the hairdresser (Perutz 1970: 69); and over one third of all American women patronize a beauty shop every single week (Kinzer 1977: 83). The occupation is that of a hairdresser, also known as a beautician, a hair stylist, or a cosmetologist. These terms are used interchangeably throughout this paper, as are the
terms patron, client, and customer. Although there are "scores of occupations for service workers except domestic and protective, the majority of women in this group are employed in restaurants and beauty shops" (Caplow 1954: 234). What better place to conduct an occupational study of a "dominant culture" female? And for contrast and comparison on many points, a "dominant culture" male in the same occupation is a part of this study.

The discipline for which this thesis is written is Folk Studies, and yet the traditional concept of folklore only minimally enters into this work. There are many definitions of folklore, but many modern folklorists accept a definition similar to "artistic communication created and used by ordinary people to order and direct their lives" (Bell 1983: ix). I have studied two "ordinary" people and would like to present them as they live and particularly as they work and interact in their chosen occupation.

The two informants for this paper are Juanita Sublett, who owns a shop in Bowling Green, Kentucky, and John Hopfensperger, who works in Midland, Michigan. My fieldwork with Juanita was done in the fall of 1979, and in 1980 she suffered a severe stroke which has left her totally incapacitated. I shall use present tense when writing of Juanita and her practice, but not all details will be as up-to-date, nor will all sections of this study be as detailed as I would have wished in presenting her.

I consider both of my informants artists in the
occupation of hairdressing, but in quite different ways. Juanita utilizes the folkloric aspect of artistry, that is, artistic communication. She creates in her beauty salon an atmosphere of friendly, sympathetic caring and hospitality. She is a hairdresser, doing the full range of beauty treatments her license allows, and yet it becomes obvious to the folklore trained observer that her true artistry is not in this craft, but in the possibly more elusive craft of creating a setting that her clients wish to be in at regular intervals. Sometimes, as will be shown, her artistry is in keeping silent and letting her patrons interact among themselves. Her communication artistically creates an order to be followed in her shop, and my hope is to present this in a manner acceptable to the discipline of Folk Studies.

John, too, is an artist, but his artistry is not in creating a comfortable atmosphere for his clients. He does hair because he earns money doing hair, and yet he is driven; he strives to become the artist of hairdressing. He sees pictures of perfection in his craft and deeply desires to learn how these are done. He does not like to see his art get stale by doing the same hairdo on the same person year in and year out, but would prefer that his clients go to someone new occasionally to keep his mind and ideas from going stagnant. His favorite type of client is one who will spend hours each day on the hairdo that John has created. He is an artist whose medium is the cutting and dressing of hair. He cares that his clients look and feel "like a million bucks"
when they leave his shop, but he really does not care whether they come back to him or not. He does not play host to his clients, but gives them the artistically-best haircut he can.

The differences between these two subjects are far more vast than location or gender alone can explain; Juanita and John are of professionally different eras. John is in the "new generation" of hairdressers. He is two decades younger than Juanita, and his style both of hairdos and of doing hair is bound to someday overtake Juanita's. Juanita's era has not ended, but it is ending, and more hairdressers are becoming a moderate form of John, and shops will become less and less personal.

I shall present the well-known but little studied occupation, the "pink-collar" occupation of hairdressing throughout this paper. I shall begin by presenting Juanita through her own words and particularly by observation of her at work, as a person, as a hairdresser, and as a verbal artist. John is to be presented by my observation, but mainly by his own words, both biographically and as an artistic hairdresser. The two shops, their working environments, are distinctly different enough to also warrant a separate chapter on how each reflects the differences previously covered. Finally the sense of occupational role that each of these hairdressers have will be presented with examples. Except for my main informants', real names have been changed throughout this paper to protect the privacy of the patrons.

The artistry of Juanita Sublett and John Hopfensperger
cannot be denied. Were they not artists, they would not be successful hairdressers. John's art is a temporary art, his haircuts grow out, his hairdos are slept on and showered out, but it is Juanita's art that is even more elusive. She hardly considers herself an artist at all, despite her skill at doing things with hair to beautify a person. Her artistry, however, has very little to do with hair; her true artistry is in the creation of a milieu in which her patrons feel comfortable—a secure, serene, homey place.
CHAPTER II

JUANITA

Juanita Sublett, the owner of Bishop's Beauty Salon in downtown Bowling Green, Kentucky, is a plump, motherly woman with dark hair and dark eyes. She is a soft-spoken, unimposing woman in her mid-fifties. Her family consists of a thirty year old son who is married and living in Louisville and a recently divorced daughter who works at a clinic in Bowling Green. Juanita keeps her daughter's wedding album at the shop now, in order to preserve the memories, but spare the recent pain for her daughter. Juanita's husband is a barber in Bowling Green, having completed a barber school course in Louisville several years after they were married. He previously worked at the Pet Milk Company.

Juanita worked before becoming a hairdresser as a salesclerk and then for two years at Union Underwear (the Derby, as the workers call it) while on a waiting list at the Lois Glyn School of Beauty in Bowling Green. She was finally able to enter the beauty school when an enrollee cancelled out. She tells about that move and notes that her boss at Union Underwear was sorry to lose her as an employee:

When I told my boss at the Derby that I was leaving he didn't like that at all. He said that I wouldn't like it, and I said, "Well, I think I will." So he said, "Well, go on and try it. If you don't like
it you can always come back." But I've never gone back. I never wanted to go back (Sublett 10/29/79).

Juanita really loved being in beauty school. She was a young mother at the time, but this was never a problem. She explained that there was always someone to leave the children with, and tells about another option:

Our instructor let the mothers bring their children with them and stay in the classroom with us. We had classes from eight to twelve-thirty, then we would work from twelve-thirty to four-thirty, then we'd get out of school at five. And we could take our children and they could stay back in the classroom. Sometimes on Saturday we'd take them and we'd just have a party back there (Sublett 10/29/79).

Not only did the school (which has since changed ownership and management at least twice) accommodate its student mothers in this fashion, but Juanita feels the teachers cared more for the students when she was there than they do now. She still fondly recalls the trouble the teachers took for her graduating class:

Used to we would have graduating ceremonies and we would have our banquet, but they don't do that anymore. We had a dance one time, our theme was "Stairway to Stardom," I think she had it, and it was beautiful and then we had the graduating ceremonies, you know. She presented us with our certificates when I graduated. It just really isn't the same anymore as it was. They don't take the interest in it--the teachers. It's just something to get through with now. You learn it if you want to; it's up to you (Sublett 10/29/79).

Graduation is not the end of training for beauticians in Kentucky. After getting her certificate from the beauty college, Juanita still had to pass the State Board exam given in Louisville and complete the required two year internship under a licensed beautician. It is during the internship
that a hairdresser can begin to build a clientele for herself.

Juanita tells about her experience:

That's one thing, in cosmetology you really have to build your business. You can't just walk in and start out. Because the ladies, you know, they get used to one person and it's hard to change. I was very lucky, myself. I graduated from school on November 22, 1960. At that time, operators were in demand and I went into this one shop and I stayed with her for two years and there was three of us there. She had an established shop (Sublett 10/29/79).

Juanita's first clients were her friends and her husband's barber shop patrons' wives. She was lucky (as she terms it), or very skilled, and/or well-liked, as she explains:

I just built a business right away, and then in two years I decided to branch out on my own, which is very scary because you don't know whether you're going to make it or not. But I was very lucky; I took all my ladies with me, plus a few more! And, just started right on and all I've ever lost is through death. I've got a very nice group of ladies. And they become, well, you just become one big family. What hurts you hurts them; what hurts them hurts you, and it's just like you've got one big family (Sublett 10/29/79).

When she branched out on her own, Juanita rented a shop on Tenth Street in Bowling Green. She told me:

I moved up there January 31, 1963 and that was my first shop and I'd been there ever since. I had three booths, beautiful booths up there. The booth consists of the huge cabinet, the sink, and the mirror. And I had fluorescent lights all over my working areas and the hydraulic chairs and the dryers. I rented it month to month and that way you are free to move out any time you want to, but I'd never wanted to (Sublett 10/29/79).

Juanita did move out of the Tenth Street shop in the early fall of 1979 when the owner of Bishop's Beauty Salon retired.

When a beautician like Juanita retires, there is more involved than just deciding to quit. Even selling her shop
was not as important to the owner of Bishop's as was getting someone to take care of her ladies. Juanita tells how the retiring owner approached her:

I was working on Wednesday and the phone rang and this lady said she would like for me to come down; she wanted to talk to me. So I came in and I really didn't know what to expect because I did not know what she wanted. So we sat down and she said, "I have decided to give up the shop," and she said, "I have been thinking and thinking and thinking who I want to turn my ladies over to." And she said, "I couldn't come up with anybody but you." I said, "Oh, for goodness sake, kiddo!" (Sublett 10/29/79).

Juanita talked it over with her husband and made an offer on the shop which was accepted. She moved her business in one week to keep from paying another month's rent on Tenth Street. She sold most of her equipment, and explained:

I reserved this chair for myself and that dryer and my Coke box--I bought that Coke box myself. Then I just got on the phone and started calling my ladies and they were as surprised as I was, really. But every one has come right over--haven't lost a one (Sublett 10/29/79).

Because of this recent move, Bishop's is not decorated as Juanita would prefer. First, she simply has not been there long enough to be totally at home and comfortable there. The second reason was money, as she told me: "I'm very happy here. Well, I will be happier if I get it decorated like I'd like to. But that is going to take some time because the move itself has just about took all my operating funds" (Sublett 10/29/79).

One of the decorations Juanita does have on the wall is an antique curling iron. I asked her about this, and she told me a bit of her family history:
That's from my family, yes. I had my hair curled with that, burned with that, many a time. We'd get up on Sunday morning and my mother would get ready to go to church and I'd cry. I didn't want her to curl my hair with that at all, but by the time we got ready to go I had all these long curls hanging around. I was as white-headed as this towel and, you know, my hair started turning and just got dark. I was just as blond as I could be. But those were handed down to me through the family and so I just thought I would display them. Still very good, you can see they've really been burned, been used. And do you know how she'd get it hot? We didn't have electricity, we had coal oil lamps—kerosene lamps. She would stick that down in the chimney; get that hot, and she would have an old rag there of some sort and she'd wipe the black off of it then she'd curl our hair. I hope I can always be in possession of them and keep them (Sublett 10/29/79).

Juanita has two part-time beauticians who work with her now. I asked about other hairdressers working with her in the past, and in her answer, she revealed more about her view of the profession:

I had three at one time. But they kept getting married and moving away, or taking other jobs. There's not as much money in being a cosmetologist as one might think. You have long hours, you have very long hours and when you can go to a factory and make, say, three times as much as you can being a cosmetologist, then, you know. It's really cutting down on the cosmetology and the cosmetologists (Sublett 10/29/79).

Having a barber for a husband gives Juanita a close view of the disparity in income between barbers and beauticians. I mentioned that my research had shown barbers make thirty percent more money than beauticians and she explained this from her perspective:

Sure, because it takes them fifteen minutes to do a head of hair, you know, cut a head of hair. Oh yeah, my husband can go through fifty heads of hair a day, and he has, but he'd be dead when he come home. Now these newer barbers that has taken over doing
permanents and things, they can't do that, but they charge so fantastically. Yeah, he makes, say, three times as much as I do in just a normal day, because see, it takes me at least an hour, sometimes an hour and a half to do one lady. Okay, it takes you, to do a permanent it takes you two hours and a half, and you can't charge accordingly because that would not be fair to your customers, and, uh, well if you did, she wouldn't come back (Sublett 11/30/79).

Juanita is considered a friend by probably all of her patrons. She is an easy woman to be with and creates a caring environment for her patrons in her shop; she will not overcharge them.

Although Juanita is very happy as a hairdresser and seems well-fitted to the occupation, it was not her first choice of careers. She explained:

I really wanted to be a nurse, but then that wasn't possible because I couldn't be; I didn't have the finances to become a nurse, to go on through nursing school. I was raised on the farm and farm life, you don't have much money. You have a lot of fun, you have a lot of food, but you don't have much money. So I said if I couldn't be a nurse, well, I'd go into something else and I chose cosmetology (Sublett 10/29/79).

Sociologically, the two careers are not all that different: both are traditional female occupations in American society, both are considered professional, and both are in the category of public service. Nursing is more prestigious, and the more expensive license to attain as Juanita pointed out, but both are licensed, and cosmetologists claim again and again that they are concerned with health and biological and chemical sciences as well as with appearance.

Although nursing came immediately to Juanita's mind when asked about her choice of careers, cosmetology seems to always have been her practical, realizable goal and her
choice of a fulfilling career:

From a little girl I've always been interested in doing hair. During school I would do my girlfriends, mess around with their hair. And at home, the neighbor girls and we would play together and I'd end up maybe cutting their hair or something like that. And I just always wanted to be a beautician. And I got married at an early age and so then I went back to school and became a cosmetologist and I've enjoyed doing it ever since (Sublett 10/29/79).

Juanita could possibly be happy in any career; she is a flexible person and easy to get along with. Her patrons are very glad she became a hairdresser--or they would not have continued to patronize her shop for the twenty years she has been in business.

All hairdressers have a greater than normal opportunity to become close to the people with whom they come in contact, because of the type of contact it is. Hand to head contact relies on trust, because the hand is the body's most dangerous potential weapon, and the head is the most sensitive part of the body and contains the fragile sense organs.

Only between the closest and oldest of friends, or between lovers, spouses or loving parents, do we permit invasion of this region by hands that are not our own. Even the most fleeting and gentle of hand-to-head touches is therefore a tie-sign of a much greater and deeper bond than might be imagined from the superficial triviality of the action (Morris 1977: 100).

Hairdressers are allowed to touch. Other acceptable "professional toucher" occupations include nurse, doctor, priest, and masseur. It is interesting to note that both Juanita and John have at some point in time considered going into the medical field, and John was also planning to be a priest in his youth.
Many people probably feel at least some closeness to their hairdressers, but Juanita’s patrons also have the continuity and longevity of the relationship which adds to this closeness. While I was at her shop doing fieldwork, Juanita said this about the patron whose appointment was next: “She has had this standing appointment and I think she has missed this standing appointment twice in the thirteen-fourteen years I’ve been doing her hair. That’s what you call real patrons when you can count on them!” (Sublett 10/29/79). Many of Juanita’s patrons have been coming to her for the entire twenty years she has been doing hair.

In Nora Scott Kinzer’s book, *Put Down and Ripped Off: The American Woman and the Beauty Cult*, she says that women in America should not be so overconcerned with appearance. However, she also admits that when she moves to a new city, finding a hairdresser takes precedence over even finding a house to live in. She explains that this priority is not for the sake of appearance alone:

> Often when tension mounts in my office and tempers run rampant, I spend my lunch hour in the beauty salon. I remove myself from office tension, become soothed, petted, and pampered, and return to the office calmer and really quite happier. My trip to the hairdresser is cheaper therapy than going to a shrink. Psychotherapists and hair stylists often perform the same function (Kinzer 1977: 21).

She firmly believes that getting her hair done is the best way to feel better quickly, and calls this an American institution!

As Cara E. Richards found in her article on city taverns, it is often social needs which bring the patrons to
the place of business. In her study, the subject was alcohol; it is much cheaper to carry out and drink at home and yet people still patronize taverns. Juanita's clients are not coming to her only to get their hair washed and set; there are far too many do-it-yourself beauty products on the market to believe that is the only reason they patronize Juanita's services. Even permanents now come in easy one-two-three step home kits with much less fuss and muss than ever. Yet women all over America choose to go to the hairdresser, often every single week. As do most taverns, most beauty shops have features for the comfort and entertainment of patrons. Along with comfortable chairs, Juanita's beauty shop offers a television set (so important to all her soap opera-addicted patrons), magazines, books, a soft drink machine, a bathroom, and some snack items.

Another social need filled by the hairdresser is expressed by Wendy Cooper in her book *Hair: Sex, Society, Symbolism*:

There is the balm of someone caring for you, even if you are paying for it: the luxury of being pampered and maybe even flattered. Most of all, there is the pull of the "confessional," stronger than ever in an age when women are struggling with their new role in an increasingly complex society. The priest is out of fashion, the doctor too busy, but the hairdresser is still there to play the part of confidant. The perfumed intimacy of the salon is exactly right, yet so safely proscribed. The touch is tender, yet the extent of physical contact discreetly limited. The good hairdresser is also a good psychologist, aware that women come not just for a renewal of glamour but for a renewal of spirit and confidence (Cooper 1971: 181).

Often the hairdresser plays the part of psychologist--for
much less money than a psychologist charges. Juanita listens
to at least one client's problems every single week. She
does not offer advice out of fear that it may be wrong and
because she feels that everyone must do what they have to do,
but she listens. She is available every single week at the
appointed time to listen to the pouring out of this client's
heart. She says, "You have problems of your own, but you
have to keep that in and listen to theirs, and if you can
help, that's great, but [their] just being able to tell you
seems to help a lot" (Sublett 10/29/79). Juanita does not
try to get people to talk, but says, "No, if they're quiet
I feel they want to be quiet, because most of the time if
they want to talk, they'll talk" (Sublett 10/29/79). The
setting, the atmosphere, and the company are all conducive
to talk, even intimate talk, but Juanita does not force the
issue. If a patron prefers to be underinvolved, or even
refuses to become involved at all, Juanita will respect her
feelings.

Most likely, however, an uninvolved client of Juanita
would not be one of her regulars. When one has had a stable
relationship with anyone for twenty years, a status of total
uninvolvement does not seem likely. The following random
exchange is more the norm in Bishop's Beauty Salon:

Juanita: You need to quit that.
Mandy: What?
Juanita: Smoking.
Mandy: Now, Juanita, I never fuss at you about
anything!
Juanita: [laughs] That's for your own good, not my good (Sublett 11/15/79).

Juanita feels close enough to this patron to "fuss" at her, and the patron feels close enough to Juanita to complain about her fussing.

In Juanita's variety of encounters with her patrons, there are a number of conversation topics. When asked what these topics included, Juanita said the following:

Well, generally, if they don't have problems or anything we just talk about weather, the happenings of the day or the city or the tragedies, and politics; we're very political-minded around here. And we have our church that we discuss. We have a variety of churches, of beliefs. Protestants. Had one Catholic, guess that's all I have. One Catholic, but Church of Christ and Baptist and Methodist (Sublett 10/29/79).

A taped hour of random talk at the beauty shop one day included the following discussion topics: soap operas, families, a waitress fight, hair, fingernails, jokes, joke-telling situations, the holidays, and money. Such talk functions, in Juanita's words, as a release:

I have one [patron] that every week I have to listen to, and there's no advice, really. Everybody has to do what they know they have got to do, but as I said I guess it helps to listen--to have someone to listen (Sublett 10/29/79).

As a rule, Juanita knows what is going on in her patrons' lives. This became apparent from a totally unrelated question. I asked Juanita if she had ever turned anyone's hair green accidently, and she related this experience:

Well, this lady came in and she's one of my regulars, too, and she had started to the diet center and she didn't tell me that she was taking all these vitamins and this iron and all this stuff and we did her hair and right there at that time it was okay.
When she left it was beautiful, and then in three days time that hair had turned dark and green—it had turned green! And my, I was sick. She came back and laughed about it and she said, "Well, it's my fault, I guess, because I didn't tell you I was taking all this stuff." And I said, "What stuff?" And she proceeds to tell me and I said, "Oh no!" You know, the chemical reaction of the hair, the hair takes up. Hair and nails are made of keratin and your hair and your nails picks up what you eat and drink, you know, and you have a reaction there to certain chemicals, which reacted on her. Normally, see, I would know that they were taking this stuff, but she didn't tell me because she didn't want me to know she was going to the diet center. She wanted to surprise me with losing all that weight, you know (Sublett 10/29/79).

Except for the fact that this patron wanted to surprise her, Juanita undoubtedly would have known that she was on a special diet. The frequency of the interactions and the fact that the patron merely sits throughout the appointment are conducive to the patron talking, and this talk often centers around the patron's own life.

Juanita is invariably placed behind and above her seated customer. Posture is determined by practicality, and gestures are not free because the customer's hands are under the protective plastic cape and Juanita's hands are working with her client's hair. Any facial expressions or movements that are made can be observed by both women in the mirror. The mirror thus makes every single contact of Juanita a face-to-face encounter because the opportunity to look straight into the woman's eyes is always there. Avoidance is possible, too, though. Juanita could turn the chair around so as to make the patron not available to the mirror, and there is always the television at which either can gaze.
Edward T. Hall's observation on proxemics is relevant here. He defined proxemics as "the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture" (Hall 1966: 1) and noted four categories of distance between people. The categories are intimate, personal, social, and public. Utilizing these categories, Juanita is in the far phase of the intimate distance, that is, about six to eighteen inches, from the woman on whom she is working. As she is generally behind or beside her client, however, their eye contact is in the far phase of personal distance. This is a range of two and a half to four feet and is this great because of the mirror. Of this far phase of personal distance, Hall says: "This is the limit of physical domination in the very real sense. Subjects of personal interest and involvement can be discussed at this distance" (Hall 1966: 112). The distance between the beautician and client in their face-to-face contact through the mirror aids in furthering the relationship.

Most of Juanita's interactions are one to one, between beautician and client. She has two other beauticians who work with her (she is always careful to emphasize that they do not work for her but with her), but of the other beauticians, the woman who would share Juanita's open working space has just recently moved to Bowling Green and does not yet have a clientele, and so is very rarely there. The other prefers to stay in her secluded cubicle the two or three days per week she works. The only interaction witnessed
during my fieldwork was when she supplied a word Juanita could not think of during a discussion of fingernails. Most encounters with more than two people are when there are two of Juanita's customers in the shop at the same time. Of course if someone is under a hairdryer, they are totally out of the interaction because they cannot hear what is being said. Juanita uses hood or cap style hairdryers in her shop rather than blow dryers. This cuts the noise level down, and the only person who cannot participate in the conversation and/or hear the television is the person actually under the dryer. Also, it is very rare for more than one dryer to be going at any particular time.

Juanita's business and everything about it is conducive to a close, warm relationship between her clients and herself. Her occupation of professional toucher and the kinesics and proxemics of this occupation, the type of clientele she has, even the type of hairdryer she uses, all add to the comfortable atmosphere of caring and sharing that is Juanita's shop.
CHAPTER III

JOHN

John Hopfensperger is a slight, pale man, aged thirty. He has long slender fingers and long, rather bushy but immaculately clean light brown hair. John has been a hairdresser for eight years, all at the Style Shoppe in Midland, Michigan, and is probably the most popular hairdresser in town. Everyone has at least heard of, if not had their hair done by, "John Hop."

Hairdressing was not at all a part of John's childhood. He is from a large family and money was not spent on extras like professional hair stylists. John explains how much hair would matter in different circumstances:

I mean, shit, if I wasn't in the business I wouldn't spend shit on my hair and that's the truth. I never did; that's never been important to me. My mom probably was in a beauty parlor more the first year that I started doing hair than she was her whole life. It's never been a priority for her to have her hair done. My dad cut it sometimes and she had it done somewhere sometimes. We grew up having it done at home. I come from ten kids; they weren't paying eleven bucks a head to get their hair done. So I can relate to where people have a hard time spending eleven dollars (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Not only was hairdressing not important to him while he was growing up, but when I asked John how he became interested in doing hair and becoming a professional hairdresser, he explained that it was actually because of a joke. At the
time, he was working out west in a hotel, and as he tells it: "I didn't want to work anymore and I didn't want to go back to school, so I was trying to figure out a way that my folks would support me without me doing either of the above" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82). The man who cut John's hair at that time would tell him that he ought to be a hairdresser, but John always took that as teasing and used to say: "It'll be a cold day in hell that I'm a hairdresser" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82). However, he decided that beauty school might just be the right thing for him as a temporary time-out from life's responsibilities. He told me:

I thought, you know, if I went to beauty school, that's sort of like going to school but you don't have to do any homework and you don't have to really think while you're there, so I decided to call up my folks and ask them if they'd support me if I was in beauty school. At that point in time they were willing to do anything so I'd do something. And I came back and even when I was in beauty school I had no intention of doing hair. I finished beauty school and went out and tried to get a job in a hotel again and I couldn't get one so I thought, "Well, maybe I'll just do hair for a while." And I thought I'd do it for about six months and then I was going to move to Texas with another friend. And an operator's license is only good in one state, so obviously I had no intention of doing it in Texas. But that was about eight years ago and I'm still here (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

One of John's earlier career plans had been to become a priest. He had attended Catholic schools until the second half of tenth grade, the last year and a half of which had been spent at a seminary. He then attended a public school, and because of the differences between his Catholic school and the public schools he had enough credits to graduate
at the end of his junior year. He decided to graduate early because of his dislike of the public schools. In college his major interest was mathematics, and he had also considered becoming a math teacher at one point.

John still considers going back to school sometimes for a degree in mathematics, but explained that if he did go back to school and then taught mathematics, he’d make only half the salary he now makes as a hairdresser. He's not convinced that he would like being a teacher well enough to take that kind of pay cut. But money is not the only consideration:

There are times when I think maybe I should go back and try, like, medicine. But then I'm not sure I'd really want to be a doctor. It's just that's the kind of business I'm used to being in and it's that kind of relationship with people sort of still, only that you can make more money doing that, obviously. But then it gets to be, "Do I need more money?" Not really (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John went on to explain how hairdressing entraps a person to stay in that field:

The first year or so is slim pickings—it would be real hard to quit and go back and realize it's going to be slow times at first. And now I do as many customers as I want, and actually I've cut back over the years. I realized that I didn't like doing that much work; it didn't leave anything else. I've pared down, but the thought of quitting and going for six months without making any money is hard to do, so I feel like if I quit I'd better be reasonably sure of success in some other field, or reasonably sure that I'm going to be doing something that I want. Nothing's ever struck me that way (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Like Juanita became a hairdresser after her husband was already in the grooming industry, John's live-in girlfriend
is also a hairdresser and became one after she and John were seeing each other. Juanita and her husband's dream of some-day owning a shop together is partly realized by John and his girlfriend, who, although they do not own it, work in the same shop. In fact, John's haircutting station is right next to his girlfriend's. John's discouragement of her choice to become a hairdresser tells us more about John's feelings toward his occupation:

We were seeing each other before she started beauty school and I tried to talk her out of it. She said she wanted to be a hairdresser. I don't know what she was majoring in, but she was going out to Delta [Community College] and there was some schedule conflict or something. She was working and she couldn't get a couple of classes and she said, "Well, I'm going to go to beauty school and that's it." I said, "You don't want to do that," and she said, "Yes" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

She, also, attended the local beauty school in Midland, and at graduation the couple had to face a major decision. John tells about this:

It came time for her to get a job and it was, like, could we stand working together? Twenty-four hours a day together. I didn't think it was a good idea, on the other hand, she is a good hairdresser and I didn't want to see her go somewhere else, and it turned out to be a pretty good decision. The only bad thing is that it puts our personal relationship in kind of a strange situation. She had to promise that if she worked there and we had some trouble that I wouldn't be the one that was leaving. So it is kind of an over-the-barrel deal; she has a good business and I have a good business and if we don't get along and can't stand seeing each other every day she's got to move. And I feel bad about that. But it turns out we're actually getting along a lot better now. We live together so it really is a twenty-four hour day, but it's working out pretty well. We must be compatible (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).
In actuality, John is pretty settled in his occupation, his love life, and his place, both town and shop. It is always possible that he will change his entire life any day, but is less and less likely. He needs to keep that option open for his peace of mind, but is undoubtedly settling down to be a professional hairdresser permanently.

Although John is a hairdresser mainly in order to make a living, he still has priorities that are above the amount of money made. There are many ways within the field of hairdressing that, particularly as a male, John could make more money, but he chooses to stay where he is for reasons following.

Owning his own shop would be one way for John to make more money, and John has considered that from time to time. He has, however, decided that owning a shop would not be worth the trouble, on either a rental or commission basis. He explains:

On a rental basis the shop owner doesn't really make out that well for the headache involved. If the booths are full they make a little bit of money out of it, but for the most part their overhead is paid. When it's not full, they're spending more money a week than I am, and they have the headache of making sure the equipment's all right and any other business thing that comes up. I can say, "Hey, you're the owner, why don't you take care of that?" In that case there's no real big advantage to running the business that way. If you work commission, you can make money off those people, but again, if the guy's any good, he's not going to stay there forever. I mean, if he's good enough to be any good at hair, he's probably also smart enough to realize he doesn't need you. He can either go to a rental shop or he can open up a business of his own. Then you have the headache of people stealing from you--you have to make sure
you're there to collect all the money or you're not going to get the money. It's just not that advantageous (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Another way of making more money as a hairdresser is to make the transition to, in John's words, "big city, big bucks."

His opposition to this is that the clientele would be too different from his Midland clientele. "The person that spends forty or fifty dollars on a haircut is not the same that'll spend eleven dollars" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82). He's not sure he would like to appeal to that type of clientele. He explains:

There's two kinds of people that go there. One is the people who can afford it and you've got to do a lot of ass-kissing. They would tend to feel like, "Hey, I'm buying you and I'm paying this much money, you'd better do what I want the way I like it." The other is the people who spend that money and are intimidated by you, because they're spending more money than they can afford (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Money, obviously, is not as important to John as the "carefree" set-up he is in now and the clientele he has now. He feels that the very expensive shops are mere "ripoffs," and backs that up with examples. John told me that the most expensive permanent solution on the market is probably five dollars, and yet he met a hairdresser at a hair show who was from a posh shop in Chicago where the charge was thirty-five dollars for the cut before the perm and then two dollars a perm rod for the perm. At fifty to sixty perm rods per head, a permanent there would cost over one hundred and twenty-five dollars! At the Style Shop, the most expensive permanent is thirty-five dollars, and that includes the cut.
The permanent solution is no different from that in the expensive shops; one is paying for the posh shop and for the snob appeal.

John does not want to deal with that type of shop or the people who patronize that type of shop. He cuts the hair of a woman who was a one-time splurger at a posh shop, an Elizabeth Arden shop in Arizona. He tells about her experience:

They had a special there where you got your hair set and a blow dry, and a facial with a manicure and pedicure. Ninety bucks—that was on special! This woman's husband just died; I know she can't afford ninety bucks, yet she spent the ninety bucks, felt good about spending it. I mean, you have to feel good if you just spent the money, you have to feel like, "I got a real deal." And you just got fucked, you're not going to say, "God, I just got hosed!" They have to feel like, "I got my money's worth." Well, and you can bet your buns she was intimidated by the people there. I mean you feel like you're out of your league (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John does not want to be intimidating to his customers, although at least to some degree he undoubtedly is, but that is based on his reputation as the best in Midland, not on his prices. He does not want to feel he ever takes advantage, or that people don't get their money's worth. He told me:

I go home and never feel like I've screwed a customer. I mean I'm sure there's barbers who cut hair for five dollars who feel like I'm screwing people at eleven dollars. On the other hand, I'm comfortable with the price I charge (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

If someone is unhappy with his cut, and it is something specific like a piece of hair out of place, etc., John will
fix it, but if someone happens to feel they just did not get their money's worth, John says, "Screw them," and explains:

I just don't care if that's what they think because I go home every day feeling like everybody that I did got their money's worth. There are exceptions because there are times when you feel like that one didn't work very well or maybe you were pushed a little bit and you cut corners a little bit, but even when you cut the corners, I don't feel like I screwed anybody, and I know it for a fact (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

He makes sure that he does the best possible job he can for all of his clients.

John's client who went to the Elizabeth Arden shop in Arizona was hesitant to tell the people at that shop who had last cut her hair. She did not want them to know she would not become a regular customer, for fear that they would not do as good a job on her hair. John told me:

What she didn't realize is that they knew damn well she wasn't going to be a repeat performance anyway. I mean, they knew she was out of her league, that she wasn't going to be a regular, and they know that a certain amount of the people they appeal to will be a once-a-lifetime deal or once every couple of years when they want to splurge on themselves. She doesn't understand that they can see she's over her head (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

The lady finally did tell the Elizabeth Arden beautician who had cut her hair and where, and the beautician told her it was a very good cut and that John could work for an Arden Salon if he wanted. His client was very pleased and proud and was anxious to tell John the complimentary news. John was not impressed, and explained why:

I've seen women come in to me from Vidal Sassoon, Elizabeth Arden (the people that are over-their-head people) and they'll say, "I got this really great
haircut there and can you follow the lines of it?" I look at the haircut and it is fair to shitty and I'll say, "I'll try," because I know that there's no way they can understand that they can get a better haircut for eleven dollars than what they paid forty dollars for. They can't grasp that; they don't want to (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John does not try to make them grasp that fact, either. He does not burst his clients' balloons, which is considerate of him. John does not often pander to his clients, but in this area he keeps his knowledge to himself.

There is another way in which John has learned that the big names do not mean much. He has always attended special seminars and teaching programs in search of the ultimate perfection in haircutting, the artistry for which he searches. In almost every case he comes away disappointed. As he told me about this subject:

I went to Sassoon school for a week, an advanced school in L. A. and there was a teacher there that just came out of a Sassoon salon and just started teaching, so this is typical of the work they're doing there. She did a few haircuts that were just average—nothing. And there you go (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

He is not impressed by big city ethics that go along with the big city bucks, or the big names that try to pass themselves off as great skill and are not.

John is very happy working at the Style Shoppe. He has worked there since he graduated from the local beauty college in Midland. It was a new salon at that time and was started by four women who had left another shop in town. Most shops at the time worked by commission; the hairdresser would get fifty percent of the money he earned. The Style
Shoppe had decided to be the first to treat the hairdressers a little more fairly, in a cooperative-type effort. John explains this:

Until I got enough business they went on twenty-five percent, which means instead of getting half, I got seventy-five percent, but had to buy my own supplies. Which comes out pretty close to the same. "But then," they said, "Once you start making enough money, it'll just be a flat [rental] rate." And it turned out that if it had been anything other than that I probably would have opened up a shop because I just couldn't afford to work for fifty percent. And since then there've been four or five shops in town that have gone over that way because hairdressers are just realizing that you can't work for fifty percent--anybody that's any good can't work for fifty percent. If you're crummy, where you're not making enough money anyway, then a flat rate will kill you. Because when I go on vacation, I'm paying. Not only am I not making money, but I'm paying to be gone. And if you don't do business it's the same way--you can actually lose money going in to work. That's just like being in business. Where if you're worth anything you're certainly further ahead. I don't pay anywhere near half, so it's been economically a real good arrangement and I'm sure that's what's kept me there--kept me in the business for that matter (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John would leave the Style Shoppe if he weren't making enough money there, just as he quit doing weekly wash and sets because there was not enough money in it. But that is not the only reason and maybe not even the main reason he quit doing that type of business. He explained his various reasons to me:

I have trouble with my hands if I shampoo a lot. They break out, especially in the winter time, so my business is haircut and permanent only. I'm not a full-scale hairdresser. I used to do shampoo and sets, and the bottom line, well, there's two reasons [I quit]. One is economic; for the same amount of time you can make more money doing a haircut. And the other thing is, I got so I didn't
want my days planned ahead so much that I knew who I was going to do on what day at what time. I had a lady I still remember and I haven't done shampoo and sets in five years. She was Thursday at 5:30. And it was the straw that broke the camel's back. She was a real nice woman. I liked talking to her, but I didn't want to see her every Thursday at 5:30 (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

He felt for personal reasons that he could not stand having his hours, days, and weeks planned by who was there on what day at what time, but also artistically John has problems with having regulars. He explains this:

It's hard to keep up the concentration enough when you do the same hairdo week after week; it's real hard to keep up enough enthusiasm that you'll try to do a reasonable job on it every week. And I felt the pressure having to do that. You tended to cut corners and I think it shows up. I think if you look at people who do sets on a regular basis that you see how a lot of times the longer they've been doing that person's hair there's a real deterioration of the hairdo itself. If that person that's getting their hair done were to go around to other people they'd probably get a better hairdo because it would be more of a challenge to whoever's doing it (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John knows, however, that most clients stick with one hairdresser even through the "deterioration" of their hairdo and knows why. Patrons stick with their hairdresser because they are not necessarily there for the hairdo. He explains:

They're comfortable with that person. The hairdo may not be as good as it once was, on the other hand, they don't have to wonder if they're really going to get mauled. They're not taking a chance, and for the most part people grab at mediocrity anyway. As long as it's okay, it's okay, and they can go there and shoot the breeze about what happened on "General Hospital" and they know that their hairdresser keeps up on it, or whatever they happen to be talking about (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).
John, obviously, does not want to be this kind of hairdresser. In fact, he does what he can to avoid this stereotype.

John did not start out as only a haircutting and permanent hairdresser. I asked him about first starting out and he explained:

When I first started, almost everybody I did was in junior high school. I was real lucky and got in the business at the right time because all the girls had real long hair and I started just when razor haircuts were going out of style and scissor haircuts were coming into style. A bunch of these junior high school girls decided that they were going to get all their hair cut off and I just happened to be the one and then I just got to be a fad in some of the junior high schools, which made me a living. So for the most part I was doing junior high school girls, and then as I started building up more business I started getting their mothers. I like kids better. They're more fun to talk to for the most part and kids at that age have a tendency to really work on their hair. The thing is, you do a lot of people's hair and if you spend some time doing it you know that that's the last time that amount of time gets spent on their hair. A junior high school girl will go home and spend two hours a day on her hair. There's girls that I know of for a fact that get up in the morning, wash their hair, blow it dry, curl it with a curling iron, and their first hour class is swimming! So they've done their hair just to walk to school! And it's nice to think that if you're going to spend some time on them that they're going to turn around and spend some time on themselves, and you don't get that same feeling with a different age bracket (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John was next asked about being a male hairdresser, what kind of differences this had made in his career. Although he agrees that it made a difference, he sees the difference only in the fact that his gender made him unique in the Style Shoppe:

Being male probably didn't hurt because that makes you stand out. I mean if you call up the beauty parlor and say, 'I want a haircut with the guy who
works there," the odds are at the beauty parlor
there aren't going to be two or three or four
(Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John could name seven male hairdressers who were working or
had in the recent past been working in Midland. Compared to
female hairdressers in Midland, this is a small number. John
commented on that:

There just aren't all that many and there's not
normally two working at one place a lot of times.
Maybe it's because they like the position of being
unique in the shop, maybe they'll feel more com-
petition from another guy, that's all part of it.
I mean, I'm not really sure, but there just aren't
that many (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

It is not possible for John to have the same kind of
relationship to his clients that Juanita has to hers. He
does have regulars, but not in the same sense as Juanita.
His is a very expanded clientele from the weekly shampoo and
set clientele. People get haircuts on the average of six to
twelve weeks apart and some people see him every three
months--only four times a year. His clientele is expanded
by a factor of eight compared to the regular shampoo and set
business. As John told me:

I do a bigger volume of people and when they come
in every two months it's not the same in getting
to know them as if they came in every week, because
you're dealing with that many more people in that
big of a time span. The thing is, it tends to be
people that I can get something out of that I get
to know better. More than just everybody because
over an eight week period we're talking about eight
hundred people. I may do anywhere from eighty to
one hundred people in a week. And when you talk
about ten weeks before somebody comes in again,
it's hard to remember because in between that time
I've done eight hundred people. It really is hard
to remember everybody, so the ones that I tend to
remember more are the ones that I've gotten something
out of. That's not really true, either. I remember
people more by an interesting story than I do by the haircut--a whole lot more. If I heard almost anything, it doesn't have to be educational, it can be that somebody's boyfriend dumped them. Now, I may see her eight hundred people later, and I won't remember how I cut her hair, but I will remember that she just got dumped. And I'll be interested to hear the outcome of it (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

When he was first getting established at the Style Shoppe, John did have shampoo and set customers, but never on the same kind of basis that Juanita does. He says:

First of all, I never took a standing appointment. I made everybody book one appointment at a time. Well, they could book a couple ahead, but it would not be like they said, "All right, I'm going to be Thursday at 1:00." Because if I wanted a Thursday off, I didn't want to have to explain to anybody or try to find somebody else to do their hair. I didn't want that responsibility. If I had a Thursday off, it was marked off. It was up to them if they wanted to come a different day or if they wanted to find somebody else--that was their job.

I'm booked a couple weeks up, probably, depending upon the time of the year. And then there's days, like, eight weeks from now, when I already have customers. And there's one lady who makes her appointments as far ahead as our book will go, which is three to four months, and she'll just write down appointments every six weeks. And in those cases if I need the day off we just call and say, "He's going to be gone that day." And if they want to move, that's fine. But a lot of hairdressers have standing appointments and any time they want that day off [they can't take it]. There's girls there that can't take but three or four appointments on a Friday because the rest of their day is all standings. Now if they want a Friday off, even if it's a month from now they still have to move everybody. They have to find places for them. I didn't want to do that. We were told that you pretty much couldn't survive without a standing clientele; that was the implication [at beauty school]. That's not true, obviously. And I just didn't want that. If that were the kind of business I had I'd probably be doing something else (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

I asked John what he had actually told his Thursday at 5:30 regular (for example), when he decided to discontinue
the shampoo and set business. He responded:

I said it was because of economics, which made it easier for her to understand. I said, "It's nothing personal." I can't remember what the prices were at the time, well, like today it's seven dollars for a shampoo and set and eleven dollars for a haircut. The disparity was even greater, percentage-wise, then. You made about half, say it was four dollars and eight dollars, so I said, "I'm booking the same amount of time and I can make either four dollars for it or eight dollars for that amount of time, and you can understand why I'm discontinuing the shampoo and set service!" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Because of his expanded haircutting clientele, John interacts more consistently with the hairdressers in the shop than he does with his clients. This is almost the total opposite of Juanita's situation because she sees her regulars weekly, and does not interact much with the other beauticians who are part-time. Even so, John always has a customer in his chair (he is always solidly booked a week or two in advance), and therefore is not totally free to interact with other hairdressers, either. He explains the situation:

Yeah, well, you spend more time with them than you do anybody else. I log now fifty to fifty-five hours per week which is way less than I used to. There was a time when I used to work seventy hours per week. I'd work some long days, from like 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. every day and I would come in some Saturdays, and there were days when I didn't get out until 11:00. You know, start at 8:00 and get out at 11:00. And another girl, one of the shop owners, logged a lot of hours and there's no doubt about the fact that we spent more time together than she and her husband did or I and my girlfriend did, by a long stretch. And you can't help but end up having some fights. I grate on people anyway after a long haul. I get to be hard to swallow. And when you get that way, where you hate going in and fighting every day, pretty soon you start thinking about maybe I should be moving...
somewhere else, but then these things subside, too, and the thought of moving kind of goes away (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John has made his hairdressing business into exactly the type of business he likes and at which he can make the most amount of money. He apparently can get along well enough with the other hairdressers and owners of the shop that they do not want to ask him to leave, nor does he want to leave, and he and his girlfriend are compatible seeing so much of each other, also. John has made the niche in life to fit to his specifications, and he seems quite happy at the Style Shoppe, and with his life.
CHAPTER IV

THE SHOPS

The tone of Juanita's Bishop's Beauty Salon is quite noticeably different from that of John's Style Shoppe. Bishop's has three small areas semi-partitioned off as work areas for three hairdressers. There is a soft drink machine, a small waiting area with seating for three to four people, the cash register on a glass case containing cosmetic items for sale, and along the wall, a row of three cap-type hair dryers connected to chairs. The television runs continually but does not in the least inhibit the conversation between beautician and patron, nor does it prevent the other beautician, if present, from adding her opinion to the conversation from across the room. Nora Scott Kinzer suggests that "one of the first things that a hairdresser learns is that women come to beauty salons not only to be stylish but also to fill up empty hours and seek reassurance" (Kinzer 1977: 90). This is easy in the type of shop that Juanita has.

Of Kinzer's five categories of beauty shops, the category in which Juanita's shop falls is the most conducive to close, warm relationships between beautician and client. She terms Juanita's type of shop a "Mom 'n Pop" shop and her description is remarkably close to Bishop's Beauty Salon:
This is the neighborhood beauty parlor most often located in the back part of a house, a basement, or a small renovated store. There is usually only one owner-manager-operator, or sometimes on weekends another girl helps out. Styles come and go infrequently in this shop, hairdos lagging some five years behind the current fad; still the shop stays in business because the overweight clients know that even though they can never be beautiful, they can get a neat hairdo that doesn't "fall out." The clientele all know one another, usually live within walking distance of the shop, and are most often working-class wives who cannot afford downtown prices. Because patrons and beautician are from the same social class and often in the same age range, conflict is at a minimum. The shop has a cozy, homey atmosphere redolent with the smell of freshly baked brownies brought by one of the patrons (Kinzer 1977: 98-99).

Though Kinzer does not exactly describe Bishop's Beauty Salon, the essence of Juanita's shop has been captured in this description. Even the term "Mom 'n Pop" could be applicable if Juanita had her wishes. Juanita's husband is a barber and one of their unrealized dreams has been to have a beauty-barber shop together.

Juanita's shop is in downtown Bowling Green, one block off the main square. It is next to a barber shop and down the street from the big dime store. Juanita mainly works alone although two other women work there part-time. A great many of her clients have the same hairdo they have had for years. It is very important to Juanita's weekly customers that their hairdo not "fall out" before their next weekly appointments. For many of her patrons, Juanita takes down, washes, and puts back up the hairdo which will not be touched again, except for minimal combing and poking, until the patron returns to the shop the following week. Juanita told me that one of her
clients looks "real nice" even right before her appointment:

She keeps her hair very nice. Sometimes if something happens and she can't get here, she'll let that hair go, well, I believe the last time she came she'd been on vacation and it had been two weeks. They manage to keep their hair. Some of them manages to keep it very well and some can't keep it overnight. It's just really managing your own hair (Sublett 10/29/79).

Another client told me how well Juanita's work lasted for her: "And all that teasing stayed in it all this week; Juanita had to brush it out" (Sublett 10/29/79). It is important to these women that their hair stay nice with the minimum of work to themselves between appointments. It is true, too, that many of Juanita's clients know each other. Her clients include a large group of friends who became regulars when Juanita became licensed.

Although she had just recently changed her shop location, the homey atmosphere moved with her from the shop on Tenth Street to Bishop's Beauty Salon which she now owns. The majority of her clients are within five years of her age. She also has some elderly patrons, and her youngest is the twenty-one year old mentally-impaired daughter of another patron. An example of the modernization of Juanita's "Mom 'n Pop" shop is the big red soft drink machine in the far corner of the shop, and instead of home-baked brownies, the little pre-packaged containers of processed cheese spread and crackers are next to the soft drink machine.

On the surface, a beauty shop is a place to get one's hair done professionally; a place to become beautiful is implied in the name. It is also, however, a place of ease
and comfort where patrons can figuratively let down their hair. This atmosphere is created and upheld by the artistic communication and role performance of a woman of American dominant culture, the beautician, Juanita.

Other categories of beauty shops that Nora Scott Kinzer has classified include "boiler factory," where the recently graduated hairdressers work long hours in a line and turnover is very high; "play" shop, where hairdressers are all young and interactions occur mainly between the frisking beauticians who virtually ignore their clients; "mod" shop, the ultra-modern, take-a-number-and-wait type shop often found in shopping malls; and "snob" shop, where the hairdressers have unusual names and have just returned from a seminar in London or Paris (Kinzer 1977: 98).

The Style Shoppe does not as easily fit into one of these categories as did Bishop's Beauty Salon. Although John, obviously, is a male, the Style Shoppe is still a small town beauty salon. It is located behind one of the local bowling alleys and is, in fact, in the bowling alley parking lot rather than on the street. It cannot be considered a snob shop because although John is probably the best-known and one of the most highly respected hairdressers in town, the prices are equal to or lower than other shops in town. None of the hairdressers at that shop have been to European seminars in hairdressing, although at least John attends many seminars throughout this country. The Style Shoppe is most definitely not a "boiler factory" nor does it fit all aspects
of a "play" shop. The hairdressers do indeed interact with each other, but certainly not to the extent of ignoring their customers. Although the design and interior decoration is much more modern than Bishop's Beauty Salon, it is not a "mod" shop either. Each hairdresser has his or her own clientele.

Possibly the difficulty in trying to pin down the Style Shoppe to one category is that John is unique in this shop. He is the only male, but, also, most of the women that he works with are in the same type of business as Juanita. They too have weekly clients for whom they take down, wash, and put up hair that will not be touched until the next beauty appointment. John does not set hair at all, and he is the only one in the Style Shoppe who can afford this luxury. The closest classification that seems fair to the Style Shoppe is that it has aspects of the "Mom 'n Pop" shop, the "play" shop, the "mod" shop, and the "snob" shop.

The Style Shoppe is much larger in floor space than Bishop's Beauty Salon and has room for eight hairdressers to work at one time. The shampooing area is separated from the work stations by a partial wall, and there are two waiting areas--one by the reception desk and one by the semi-circle of cap-style hairdryers. It is much more open than Juanita's shop and much noisier. There are almost always at least three hairdressers working, and at almost any point in time there is a handheld blowdryer in use, which is much noisier than the stationary chair and cap hairdryers used in Juanita's
Although there is no television at the Style Shoppe (except on very special occasions such as Elizabeth Taylor's appearance on one of the afternoon soap operas), there are more ongoing conversations.

John's shop is much noisier than Juanita's. Juanita's shop is calming and quiet, and very often only one client and one hairdresser are present. The television is a steady drone, available to watch but not inhibiting conversation. John's shop has an average of four hairdressers working at one time, a receptionist to answer the phone and schedule appointments, and usually as many clients as there are hairdressers working that day plus the ones waiting their turn in the waiting areas. John is very often at least one appointment behind schedule. While I was observing, one of his clients called in to ask if she should come in at her scheduled time or if John was behind as usual!

Neither of these shops' decorations totally reflect my informants' tastes. Juanita had just moved into her shop and had sold most of her own fixtures to spare the expense of ripping out the old facilities at Bishop's and moving her own. She did bring one of her own hydraulic chairs, one hairdryer (cap and chair style), and her soft drink machine to her new shop. Her own personal touches to the shop include the antique curling iron mentioned previously and some decoupage plaques. On a glass shelf between Juanita's working area and her waiting area is a miniature pitcher, and opposite her mirror is a small antique case containing cosmetics.
Displayed with her cosmetology license is a relatively recent picture of her husband and herself. Other than these few touches, Juanita’s shop was still decorated as the previous owner of Bishop’s Beauty Salon had it.

John’s shop, too, is not decorated by him. He does not own the shop, but merely rents from four of his co-workers. His work station does have one recognizable, but not unique feature. John uses a high rolling stool as he works—he rests one knee or the other on it. He explained to me that he started having problems with his legs and decided to invest in the stool. He also talked his girlfriend into getting a stool so that she would not end up with the hairdressers’ bane of varicose veins.

Although he did not decorate the shop himself, it is his work area and thus reflects on him and creates the atmosphere of his work area. The Style Shoppe is painted a pale yellow-green. The carpet in the reception, waiting, and hairdrying area is blue checked, and the chairs under the hairdryers are royal blue. There is very little individualization of stations at the Style Shoppe: one woman has a hairdressing trophy, and one has a framed picture of butterflies on the wall at her station. All the hairdressers have numerous bottles and jars of hair preparations at their stations, and all have brilliant yellow handheld blow dryers. In the hairwashing area there are photographs of hairstyles and a plaster of paris plant hanging on the walls. Besides a soft drink machine in the entry area by the coat rack,
there is also a coffee pot and packaged snacks available in a box. These snacks are for sale on the honor system of putting the correct change in the box when taking one. The magazines are very recent, only two months old at the maximum, and include *House Beautiful*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Hair Beautiful*, *Newsweek*, *Town and Country*, *Time*, *Redbook*, *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle*, *Hairstyling*, *Cosmopolitan*, *People*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, and *Glamour*.

The shop boasts of two bowling trophies, won by the team sponsored by the shop, and a few small handmade crafts are for sale by the receptionist's desk. The music is a local radio station, on the mellow side of the Top Forty. The overall impression of the Style Shoppe is a noisy, busy, modern hair salon.

John has many male clients, and evening appointments include nearly as many men as women clients. The atmosphere of the shop does not turn men away, as pink interiors or poodle pictures, for example, would. It is a modern shop for modern people. Juanita's clients would not feel at home in the Style Shoppe, as they do in Bishop's Beauty Salon, nor would John's clients ever be likely to choose Bishop's by appearance. The hairdressers' aesthetics are reflected in their shops even though neither of them have had total control over the decorations at this point. The shops are close enough to their tastes that both hairdressers and their patrons are comfortable in the respective shops.
A role is a comfortable, expected model of how to act, what to say or do. Although not as regimented as a role in a play, an occupational role can be seen as protecting the worker's true identity to some extent. The concept of role-playing was developed by sociologists who borrowed it from the discipline of theatre. A "true self" will show through roles, but is protected by them somewhat.

A role is learned in the same way that other behaviors are learned, such as imitation and reinforcement. Clifford Swenson, Jr., in his book *Introduction to Interpersonal Relations* explains:

In learning a role a person learns what people in that role do and what people in that role are expected to do. One aspect of learning a role, the anticipatory aspect of entering a role, is acquiring the values and practicing the behavior that is expected in that role (Swenson 1973: 385).

He goes on to say:

Although a role is a part played, it also serves the function of placing a person in the social order, and thus prescribes to a certain extent how a given person will interact with another person occupying a different place in the social order (Swenson 1973: 375).

Along with being a respected hairdresser, Juanita knows how to interact with each individual or group of people, making each feel as comfortable and at home as possible. This is
a role that Juanita plays in her everyday life, not con-
sciously, but as everyone plays roles throughout life. She
puts on this role almost as unconsciously as she puts on her
white beautician's jacket. It covers her "real" self as the
jacket covers her "real" clothing; perhaps it also protects
as does the jacket. Juanita's role is that of a hostess to
her customers--making each feel at ease in her shop. This
is a learned behavior.

The role develops through prior exposure, schooling,
and training periods, or an internship as a certified student
under a licensed beautician in Juanita's case. Learning,
interning, and "working in a particular job leads to a style
of behavior and a set of attitudes which are associated with
that job" (Argyle 1974: 63). It was Juanita's internship,
required in the state of Kentucky, that can be seen to com-
plete her schooling in role-playing. At the beauty school,
Juanita was taught by only two instructors; her peers were
students also and were not intimately familiar with a beau-
tician's many roles.

The internship, which is close, continual contact with
an established professional, is most likely where Juanita
learned her role. And she learned it, along with learning
the mechanics of the profession, very well. She learned both
of these so well, in fact, that not only did her own patrons
move with her when she started out on her own, but some of
the other beautician's ladies switched and became her cus-
tomers also. When telling me about this, she went on to say:
"And all I've ever lost is through death; I've got a very
nice group of ladies" (Sublett 10/29/79). Even in the transient society of today, Juanita has been working with basically the same group of women for twenty years. As Juanita put it: "I've seen them turn gray" (Sublett 10/29/79).

"A role-set is a group of interactions tied to one role" (Swenson 1973: 371). Juanita's role-set includes her patrons, her co-workers, her cosmetic salesman, and the soft drink man among others. Examples of the individual treatment for each person are performed daily. One example is the prefacing of the elderly clients' names with Mrs. or Miss; her patrons of her own age group and her friends who are also clients are called simply by first name. All of them call Juanita by her first name. Her patrons expect personal attention and warmth, while her salesman and the soft drink man expect a more businesslike attitude.

Affecting the way she interacts with various people are the physical setting, or what Erving Goffman terms the "situation, and there is the social occasion, which is whatever it is that is supposed to be going on between the people that brought them together in that particular place at that particular time" (Swenson 1973: 424). Both of these factors are known to have an effect on what transpires between the people in the encounter. The situation is, of course, Juanita's beauty shop, her place of work, her home away from home, her personal domain. The social occasion is the desire of the patron to have her hair done by Juanita. The patron enters Juanita's domain, but not as a threat or a humble guest; she
has come for a professional service and will pay Juanita for her work. This will affect the way both women act and their interaction. Juanita will be the hostess serving her guest/customer, knowing that their on-going relationship is dependent both upon her ability as a hairdresser and her ability to keep her shop a comfortable, inviting place to spend an hour or so every week or twice a month. This knowledge may not be totally conscious, but Juanita does act and interact in a manner consistent with this knowledge.

Juanita's role also helps her customers know how to interact with her. Many of Juanita's clients refuse to say that Juanita serves them, but this is exactly what she does. Clients do not want this misunderstood to be a subservient position to themselves because this is not the way they feel, and they became quite emotional when the question was worded in that manner.

As Michael J. Bell has pointed out in his article "Tending Bar at Brown's," an occupational role is an artistic performance. He states that "folklorists should not only be concerned with the folklore of occupational groups and the folklore surrounding work and workers, but also with working itself as a folkloric form and process" (Bell 1976: 107). The informants in this study play the role of hairdressers, which is an artistic performance, and hence folkloric in Dan Ben-Amos's definition of folklore: artistic communication in small groups (Ben-Amos 1970: 13).

A role is learned behavior that becomes ingrained.
"In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality" (Goffman 1959: 20). Although behavior appropriate to an occupation is learned, personality has much to do with the choice of occupation in the first place. People are "attracted to occupations which they see as similar to their self-image, or as requiring skills which they believe they possess" (Argyle 1974: 63). Juanita has always loved to work with hair and was always known for that, even in childhood. "The occupational role, and the way it is played, is a core feature of identity; the crystallization of identity and choice of an occupation proceed side by side during late adolescence" (Argyle 1974: 63).

Certain personality types can be observed in certain occupations. Kathrin Perutz, in her study Beyond the Looking Glass, explains a facet of the hairdresser's personality type:

Women like hairdressers because hairdressers like women... As a group, hairdressers are probably more interested in women than is any other; regardless of their own sexual proclivities or even of sex, they offer beautification of the female object and irresponsible friendship (Perutz 1970: 69).

Hairdressers tend to be imaginative, artistic, sympathetic, people-oriented, and genial. While we have seen that persons with certain personality types may be recruited into certain occupations, "other behaviors are added to the personality in the course of role playing" (Honigmann 1954: 339). Role playing in occupations is an interesting concept and is intimately tied to the folkloristic aspects of an occupation. Erving Goffman has stated that "everyone is always and
everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role" (Goffman 1959: 19).

The role Juanita plays in her occupation is that of a professional hostess, or a hostess in a professional context. Taped interactions record again and again Juanita's role: that of server, peacemaker, conversation starter, pseudo-psychologist, and the list goes on.

Many times she uses artistic communication to keep the beauty shop's atmosphere comfortable and inviting, such as introducing the genre of joking during a quiet spell. The following is a partial transcription of this particular interaction. The setting is the beauty shop with Juanita rolling Betty's hair. Mandy is perched on a stool close to Juanita and Betty because, although she is ready to get under the hairdryer, she is waiting for her favorite soap opera to end:

Juanita: Jack told my father last night a joke and I thought my dad--he just laughed and he laughed and he laughed. It was a Thanksgiving joke. You know all those men down there at the barber shop they tell all these goodies, you know.

Mandy: Well, are you going to tell it?

Juanita: No, it's too bad.

Mandy: Well, I declare, what'd you go and bring it up for if you're not going to tell it?

Juanita: Well, my dad got a kick out of it.

Mandy: Well, I'm glad he did. We would too!

[At this point, Juanita answers her ringing phone, leaving the vicinity.]
Betty: You know, that's one thing, I can hear one [joke] and it goes out of my head just like that. I can't tell it. . . .

Mandy: My husband is the same way. Somebody tells him one and he can remember everything but the punch line. He'll come home and he'll start to tell me something and he gets all balled up. I'd as leave he didn't even bother trying to tell me, not knowing what he's telling me.

You know that colored lady that calls up her son on the television and she'll say, "Jamaica," and he'll say, "All right Mama, blah blah blah," you know. So one of the boys down there come in and said, "Knock, knock." And I said, "Who's there?" He says, "Jamaica," and I says, "Yah, I know, didjamaka call to your momma today." He said, "You been watching television." I said, "Well, now, where in the world do you think you got that?" (Sublett 11/15/79).

Although Juanita missed this last joke within a joke because she was on the telephone, she had introduced the genre of joking to the scene by refusing to tell a joke her husband had heard at the barber shop. Perhaps it was because of the tape recorder that Juanita did not tell her joke, or perhaps she would not have told it regardless. But Mandy asked a very perceptive question: why did Juanita bring up this joke that she probably had no intention of telling? It should be noted here that the interaction just quoted followed a rather lengthy silence. It is my contention that Juanita utilized this folkloric genre to create conversation, to fill in a space, to artistically manipulate the atmosphere in the beauty shop. Mandy is the type of person who needs very little encouragement to take over center stage. Juanita,
of course, is aware of this and by merely filling the gap in conversation with a teaser, by not telling this joke she told about, she was able to get Mandy started, and the conversation flow continued even through Juanita's absence. She artistically creates a comfortable and comforting atmosphere conducive to conversation, confession, amiable silence, or whatever else her patron may wish.

She did not tell, and apparently would not have told, this "too bad" joke in this particular setting with these particular people but certainly did not mind introducing the subject of "too bad" jokes for one or all to carry on the conversation. A hostess role carries with it the responsibility not only to keep the "party" lively and make sure everyone is comfortable, but also to keep at least a modicum of decorum. A hostess would never restrict a guest's verbal freedom, nor would she allow herself the same amount of freedom. Not only did this one brief exchange show how Juanita plays a hostess role to her customers, it also told about her and the way she sees herself in this role.

Juanita told about herself that in barber shops some jokes are allowed and very funny, but the same joke is "too bad" for her to tell in her beauty shop. Juanita had heard the joke twice: once from her husband and once more as he told her father, and yet she would not tell it in her shop. Mandy, as a pampered guest, has no problem telling any kind of joke and later tells the following joke:
One boy told this joke, I thought I would die. It's not dirty, it's just funny. And you got to get your mind in the right direction to get it to where you're going. Said there's this nurse worked in this hospital. Said, poor soul, said she never did anything right in her whole life. Everything she did was just backwards from what they told her to do, you know. So the one day they brought in this poor old guy that had this tremendous boil on his back. They looked for a nurse; they couldn't find one. Only person that wasn't busy was poor old Miss Backwards. Doctor said, "Well, this is it; we'll just have to let her go." You know, so he went down and got her and said, "Nurse, there's a soldier up on third floor that has this tremendous boil on his back." Said, "I want you to go up and prick that boil." Well, away she went and she was gone and she was gone and he thought, well, he'd better go up on the third floor and see what was going on. Just as the poor doctor got off the elevator here came this girl down the hall chasing this soldier with a boiling kettle of hot water. Now you got to have your mind in the right place; she did everything backwards. That one didn't hit me for nearly ten minutes and when it hit me I nearly laughed my fool self to death because I could just see this poor guy with this gal following him down the hall with a boiling kettle of hot water. And all she was told to do was prick the boil (Sublett 11/15/79).

Obviously, her patrons enjoy more verbal freedom in Bishop's Beauty Salon than Juanita allows herself, and this is illustrated by Juanita's intonation of modesty (mock or real) at the thought of telling a "bad joke" in her beauty shop. Of course, Juanita's husband's joke could have been "dirtier" than this one, but she never did tell it, so there is no way of knowing.

Another "duty" of Juanita's hostess role was illustrated at least once during the fieldwork, that is, to act as a mediator between her clients. In this instance, one of Juanita's regulars, Mandy, is beginning to put down Betty, a client who is a "once every six weeks for a permanent" type
client. The conversation has revolved around soap operas for the last few minutes:

Betty: What's that other show right after "Another World" on channel five?
Mandy: I don't know, I never watched it.
Betty: I watch it all the time.
Juanita: You mean "As the World Turns"?
Betty: Yeah, no.
Juanita: "Guiding Light"?
Betty: Yeah, "Guiding Light." You watch it?
Mandy: Huh uh. I quit watching that years ago. It just got so boring.
Betty: Well, it's not boring now!
Juanita: [jumping in] I don't get it very well down here. It comes in, but it doesn't, you know?
Betty: But "As the World Turns" is still my favorite.
Mandy: Are you still watching that? (Sublett 11/15/79).

The conversation then proceeded to an in-depth discussion of characters, plot, etc. with Mandy asking questions to catch up with the daily serial. Mandy inferred, and by the tone of her voice probably purposely inferred, that Betty's favorite soap opera was the most boring one on television. Juanita quickly took over the conversation with her excuse as to why she did not watch that particular show at the shop, thus giving Betty a chance to save face by saying her very favorite was the one all three had been earnestly discussing earlier. Even though Mandy had earlier said that she watched "As the
World Turns" daily and even had two television sets so that she could watch both the last half hour of "As the World Turns" and "One Life to Live," she still gives a light cut to Betty by asking if she is still watching that show (with definite emphasis on the word still). However, then Mandy began asking many questions about all the characters, so peace again reigned in the beauty shop. Juanita had been able to guide the conversation away from the plot of "The Guiding Light" by bringing up her own television's reception of that show's network.

Another example of Juanita's gracious hostess role, even opposing her role as proprietor of a money-making business, occurred in this exchange:

Mandy: Well, I'm going to put thirty cents out here for this Coke before I forget it.

Betty: Oh, are they thirty cents? Well, I owe her another nickel.

Juanita: [Just laughs.]

Mandy: Well, ain't that what it says back there?

Betty: I don't know, I never go back there.

Mandy: I have a hard time with Juanita. She just puts up little signs, she never tells you anything--she just puts up little signs. If you don't read them, you just go on being oblivious to what's going on.

Betty: Yeah, and she'll just . . .

Mandy: [Overtalking Betty, but unintelligible on recording.]

Betty: And she'll just take the quarter and . . .

Mandy: I know.
Betty: . . . not say nothing about it (Sublett 11/15/79).

Juanita did not say a single word during this entire exchange, and yet her silence is nonverbal artistic communication. She freely let one of her customers inform another that the price of soft drinks had been raised. Betty's never having gone back to see the sign on the machine means that Juanita had always, as she did that day, served Betty in the chair. Even with this extra courtesy and service, Juanita did not inform her that the price had been raised five cents.

Juanita prefers not to let the fact that these women are paying for her services interfere with the homey atmosphere she has created in her shop. She does not keep the prices for her services posted. She does post a list whenever there is a price change, but it stays up for only about six weeks (which would be one to six visits for most of her clients). As Juanita said, "Our state rules and regulations says that we must post them, but we don't have to keep them posted" (Sublett 11/15/79). To keep them posted would detract from the homey atmosphere of Juanita's shop.

Another feature of Juanita's role is that she does not talk disparagingly about her customers. The conversation in this example was about hairdos and the customer's desires versus Juanita's knowledge of what would most compliment her features. She told of one patron who wanted an "Afro perm": a two-inch haircut all over the head followed by a very tightly curled permanent, which results in a very easy to care for hairdo. It was apparent from previous conversation that this
patron was an elderly, white-haired woman, but Juanita described her as being "too mature" for an Afro. She subsequently advised against that style for the woman and both were pleased with the result.

The role of hostess for female workers was expounded by James Spradley and Brenda Mann in their book The Cocktail Waitress. They stated that the cocktail waitress's role in Brady's Bar "is an extension of what her role might be at home--that of serving the needs of others" (Spradley and Mann 1975: 145). As Theodore Caplow stated in The Sociology of Work: "The occupations which women are able to enter freely are those which have low prestige and poor working conditions or are associated in some way with home and housework" (Caplow 1954: 246). This very traditional role for women in our culture, however slowly changing, is not only to be found in an occupational situation in which a woman is serving mainly men, but also in Juanita's situation; her clientele is exclusively female. It is Juanita's setting, as her home might be, and she takes pride in what she can give to her customers. She not only serves these women's grooming needs, but also provides them with what they may need emotionally that she can give them, whether this is a caring listener, a joker, or a conversation starter. Needless to say, this creates a pleasant atmosphere for her customers. This is probably as important to her patrons as Juanita's skill in creating hairdos.

Juanita learned the role of beautician along with learning the mechanical aspects of the job. She steps into
this role which allows her patrons to interact with her or with each other as fully as possible while passively getting their hair "done." She assumes the role as each of us daily assume our roles--not consciously and without thinking about it.

The ease and good company atmosphere of Bishop's Beauty Salon is skillfully and artfully created. Juanita, in creating this atmosphere, utilizes the folklore genres such as joking (which was previously illustrated), personal experience narratives, proverbs, urban legends, etc. She plays an artistic role as an integral part of her profession; this role is as important in keeping her customers happy as is her skill in working with hair. This role not only involves utilizing folkloric genres, but is, in fact, folkloric in and of itself.

On the other hand, John did not have to complete an internship to become a hairdresser; this was not required in Michigan. He has rebelled at the role of hairdresser that Juanita plays and yet plays an occupational role himself. His business is different from Juanita's. He does not have the close weekly relationship with the majority of patrons that Juanita has. He entered the field, by his own admission, as a "joke" to take a break from working and be supported by his parents without going to an academic college. John has not definitely chosen hairdressing as his career. In fact, he has stated many times that this is possibly a temporary job:
Personally speaking, I don't know how long I'll be a hairdresser. If it's for ten years or one year or twenty years, today I couldn't tell you. There's a chance that six months from now I wouldn't be doing hair. Of course I thought that the day I started and this is turning into ten years. So I've never looked at it as a career. It's what I do for a living, but I've never particularly identified with it (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

He does not have the same dedication as Juanita, who has only taken two vacations the whole twenty years she has been doing hair. Juanita's business is her clients; John's business is cutting hair.

Besides enjoying economic freedom due to his job, John strives for perfection in the profession that he refuses to consider his permanent career. He does not concern himself with his patrons' private lives nearly as much as Juanita does, but conscientiously tries to give each person the best haircut that he can. He is not concerned with their day-to-day lives, but with what he can create with their hair for the time that they sit in his chair. If he is amused or interested by the person, so much the better. It is more enjoyable for him, but John is an artist of a hairdresser and his creation is, to him, the most important aspect of his job. He explains "good" haircutting:

Two levels, technically whether it's good, there's things that are harder to do. You've got a design line that's the perimeter of the haircut and then you've got the interior of the haircut. On a haircut like yours, on the back here's the head shape and you have the hair cut on a line like that so all the hair is coming out to that line. Depending on the angle of that line that can be real hard to do. Some people can't do that and that's where you're talking about technically perfect. On a layered haircut, when you get out of beauty school
and what a lot of hairdressers never get past the idea of, is you figure you have a design line and you pick whatever the length that it's going to be on top and you think that everything's always going to be the same. Once you figure that line and the length on top, well, you just blend everything in, and being technically perfect is making sure there's no long ones sticking out—that the hair next to that one is in a smooth line.

Well, that's true, but then there can be a shape in the interior of the haircut. You have a perimeter and let's say you have this length of hair on top. Well, let's say you want a fuller look right in here—more bulk left right in here and then in here you want it close and still have the length down in here. What you have to do is, if you could expand the whole head with all the hair sticking straight out you'd have a shape like that, it'd come in and back out. You'd have an interior design to the haircut and there's a lot of people never do understand that. Well, some of those things are technically impossible; some are real hard. When you start coming from long into short and back out long, that's a real hard thing to do and keep it even.

There's reasons why sometimes a haircut looks the same but sometimes it just lays better than others. And those are the things you can't see—even hairdressers. And there's times when you pick up another guy's haircut and you know that he did something and you can't quite get the feel to know what he did to get it to do that.

And then besides being technically good—I'm technically pretty good—the jump is, and almost nobody fits in this category, very few people, there are people that are an artist at it. I am not one, almost nobody is. These guys who teach at school are not, because I go there trying to find one. But there are people who are and the thing about those people is that they're not giving away secrets. They have jobs as art directors for a chain of shops and they'll do in-service teaching just to the people who work for them. And you see some hairdos and you think, "God, now those are really good," in magazines, but the thing that really gets me is I want to know how much is photography and how much is hairdo. I'd like to see them live. I go to shows year in and year out and I never see them, you know? And so those people are really artists—the guy whose haircut may not be technically perfect in
the sense that everything blends, but it just looks
good and that's the bottom line. The haircut it-
self (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Although John disclaims being a hairdressing artist,
he has the qualities of an artist. His hairdo, or work of
art, is the most important thing to him while he is working
on it, and he does take "artistic license" from the concrete
rules learned in beauty school training. He does not base
his haircut on the face shape alone, but allows himself more
latitude to use his own judgment:

Some people like to do it by the rulebook: if
you have this kind of face you do this. I do it
more like at a subliminal level. If I feel like
it'll look good on them, for the most part it
turns out that I'm right. If I just have that
gut-level feeling that it isn't going to look
good it probably isn't. [Like when people bring
in pictures from magazines?] Yeah, and what I
end up doing is adapting a little bit. When you
do them you adapt to what you've got there any-
way. You try to get that same feel with what
fits on that person (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Because of his "art for art's sake" attitude toward
hairstyling, I asked John if he had ever blatantly told
someone that what they wanted done would look really terrible
on them. He nodded rather resignedly and explained:

Not as much anymore. I've found over the years
that the one thing you don't know is what the other
person sees in the mirror. It shows up on guys.
The real easy place to see it is the guy who's
going bald and can't see it. That's the one that
is easy for everybody to relate to. I mean the
guy who's combing his hair from his ear over and
has no idea that he looks like the other guys that
are combing their hair from there trying to cover
it up. His is different because he can't relate
to that other guy; he can't ever see himself as
that other guy. And you have to try and deal with
that, knowing that what you see and what they see
aren't the same. It gives you a better appreciation
of how you look at yourself. You just don't know and you have to try to figure out how they look at themselves through talking and everything. That's why seeing a bunch of different kinds of things that they like and that they'd like to have gives you a better view of how they look at themselves a little bit. I don't know how many Farrah Fawcett hairdos I saw with people that had three hairs on their head! Farrah Fawcett has a ton of hair. It's fairly obvious when somebody's half bald and their hair is breaking off that they should be able to look and say, "There's no way I have that kind of hair," but they don't. It's more than just wishful thinking in thinking that a haircut will do it. I mean, they really don't realize that that's what they look like. And that took years to figure out. But there were times when I'd be pretty blunt, you know, "Who are you trying to kid?" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Because of this bluntness, and John's argumentative qualities, he feels he has lost customers over the years, but explained: "You take for granted you're going to lose customers" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82). He is constantly, at the same time, gaining new ones. At times he thinks about the customers he may have lost:

There's always times you wonder. You see somebody whose hair you haven't done in awhile and you know you didn't do the last one and you wonder, "Gosh, I wonder what I did." On the other hand, I try to balance that out with what I was saying earlier. A lot of times it's really good to go to different people because somebody else gets a fresh look at you and they'll do something. Let's say you went to me and then you went to somebody else who sees you a little differently and bounced off my hairdo on you and then you went to somebody else after that who bounced it off their hairdo that bounced off my hairdo. And pretty soon you came back to me and I see somebody else's hairdo, so when I look at you again I see you in a different light because I see what they did based on what somebody else did and pretty soon you get an interaction with how everybody else looked at the hair. And you go, "Oh," and do something else with the hair a little bit differently than you did it before. I really feel that if you go to the same person year in and year out you lose something (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).
Although John does not spend time as frequently with his clients as Juanita does, he still must interact with them for the thirty to forty-five minutes that they sit in his chair. There are some people with whom John enjoys talking more than others:

I do an Episcopalian priest and the guy comes in probably once a month or once every six weeks, and the poor guy knows he's going to get cornered by me in a discussion about theology every time he comes in. He says he probably talks more about theology in the beauty parlor than he does in church. But there's a case where it works in reverse [from John's dread of "regulars"]. I look forward to seeing him because I enjoy the conversation. There's not that many people that are very versed in that area and I know he is and I can learn from him and it is good for me. We can compare Catholic theology to Anglican theology (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

And then, too, there are some patrons with whom John does not like to talk. As Juanita said also, politics is a big topic in the beauty shop, and her church, although the social aspect of church rather than the theological aspect was the discussion topic in Juanita's shop. These taboo (according to the recommendations of most beauty colleges) topics did not divide Juanita's clientele into factions because she is part of such a homogenous group. John is involved with a much more diverse group of people, different from each other and different from himself. He has encountered a few problems because of this, and told me about some of them:

Well, my topics of discussion are the things we were told never to talk about. The two in beauty school they told you never to talk about is politics and religion, and the other one is sex--my three topics of conversation. I'm just starting to back off a little bit. I realized I just could not do it anymore. When that nuclear freeze
petition was going around I had one in there; God, I just couldn't believe how red some people are--I just can't believe it. It's hard for me to imagine the way people think. Some lady that I would have bet my buns on was a relatively liberal-minded person was telling me how you have to temper your Christianity with good sense in terms of killing people. And I'm going, "Wait a minute, don't tell me that shit, I can't hear it." So I have a hard time and I've gotten into arguments where I've said, "I can't believe you are that stupid!" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

That could never happen in Juanita's shop. She would never treat a guest in her home like that, nor a customer in her shop. The type of controversial topic would not have come up in the first place, and in the topics that are discussed in Juanita's shop, total agreement is the norm. At this point John was asked if those patrons he called stupid came back, and if he would prefer that they not return. He answered:

I don't know as that would bother me. I don't know. When I get heated up, then I don't know. I'm getting better at controlling myself. There are some people that I do that are real fundamental Bible literalists. Not necessarily Pentecostal, fundamental is the best way to describe them. They're actually Lutheran, I don't know what synod, but they relate well to Calvary Baptist. I'm Catholic, so I'm not all that aware of Protestant churches or Protestant theology that well, but Calvary Baptist is somewhere out--out to lunch. And these people relate real well to Calvary Baptist, and boy, I used to pick fights--they're just so easy. I couldn't help myself. But I'm getting better at avoiding. Before, I'd let myself get out of control. One poor woman and a couple of daughters, you know, how do you relate to a girl that's in junior high and one girl that's in high school and they like listening to Family Life radio? [a local Christian station] I mean, their buddies are listening to AC/DC for God's sakes, and they're listening to Family Life radio. My mom listens to Family Life radio. Geez, and it'd be one thing if you thought they were getting a pretty good view of
the world, too. You know, when they're looking with those kind of eyes—I don't mind somebody if that's their personal preference as long as they have their eyes open and see what life's about, but I swear they walk around in a stupor! The world just isn't the way they see it and I am a little afraid about somebody that's raised that way. They get pretty rigid about the way they think the world should be. It's the kind of people who bring laws against gay people, for example. The Moral Minority—those people are really sick! But I'm trying hard; I used to be really terrible about badgering people like that. On a religious level that's easy. I am more versed there.

On a political level there was another lady that Kathy used to do, somewhere to the right of the John Birch Society and as far as she was concerned, nothing was worse than communism. We got to the point where I was talking about repressive dictatorships—at the time it was during the Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua—and I was talking about the party killing people and we are supporting a really repressive dictatorship that's actually mutilating people, just killing them, and she flat out said that that's better than communism. How do you relate to somebody like that? It's hard, it's real hard because she really believed it. That's why they tell you not to talk about it. On the other hand, I tend to make sport of it (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

I asked John if these vast differences of opinion influenced his ability to cut the people's hair. He answered, "That's where, like I said, the hairdo's independent of the individual; you do that for its own sake" (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

John the artist at times cares more about the hairdo he has created than the person on whom he has created it. As can be seen from the preceding example, this can be best for his business; if someone he has argued with for thirty minutes is very happy with the haircut, that person will probably return. John does the hair for the hair's sake, and for his own sake as well:
Well, some of that's for me. Two levels: one from an advertisement standpoint, and for me personally thinking that I have one that I have done that looks like shit—there are a few! Actually there are probably more than a few and there are times when I really feel bad. I can think of one right now that just didn't work. I feel terrible about it. There was just no way that it turned out; it was a case of what she wanted and what her hair would do weren't the same. I had a good feeling that it wouldn't work and I didn't say so. It just didn't work. I'm not sure if she thought it was alright. I thought it looked like shit. It was the kind of hairdo where I end up feeling I wish she'd never have come in, where I just could avoid the problem totally, where I just wouldn't have to deal with it. I feel terrible about hairdos that don't work. I mean take-it-home-with-me feel bad. My girlfriend does too. You're a combination of embarrassed and feel bad for the person and it's just a bad feeling all the way around. You want everybody to come out of there feeling like a million bucks. It doesn't always happen, but that's what you want (Hopfensperger 5/29/82).

Midland does not have a high ratio of male hairdressers, probably like most towns its size, although the number is gradually increasing. John explains the prejudice associated with male hairdressers and his attitude toward the whole thing:

I know a few [male hairdressers in town], and there's getting to be more. At the time that I started there was a bad connotation to a male hairdresser. More than just being gay, they were like a fairy-type gay. Of course then, people's attitude about what gay is has definitely changed over the years too. But an effeminate kind of prissy, that was the feeling about guys that were hairdressers, but that was what guys that were hairdressers were like for the most part. And that's changed dramatically since I started.

I didn't give a shit. People thought I was a faggot anyways, before. Really, and I've done things that promoted it, I'm sure, because I always thought it was funny. I mean I had pierced ears for years before I was a hairdresser. Or I used to hang out with these girls and we'd shave our legs and dress
up alike, you know. Not in girl's clothing per
se, but just dress up wierd. So those kinds of
things never bothered me. I can see where they'd
bother some people and where it forces a lot of
people into not being there because they were
afraid of how people felt about them (Hopfensperger
5/29/82).

The preceeding quote tells a lot about John. Not
only does he strive for the artistic perfection he believes
to exist in this profession that he professes not to really
care about, but we can see that he also has what is stereo-
typically thought of as an artistic temperament. He does
not care what people think or say about him, and in fact
encourages ideas which most men would discourage. It is
not a part of this study to define John's preferences in
other areas of his life. His live-in girlfriend of a number
of years must certainly help to dispel the gay stereotype
to the people who know him well enough to know about her.
Some people do not care at all about that aspect of John,
seeing beyond that man-made distinction and going to him for
an above average haircut. Others, of course, swear that he
is gay; one co-student at beauty college confided that she
never really thought so until she saw him kissing another
man. As we have already seen, however, John does not avoid
this kind of behavior and in fact sometimes does it for the
pure shock value to bystanders.

John plays the role of a modern artistic male hair-
dresser. He does not get too close to his patrons, he does
not do weekly shampoo and sets, and he deems the hairdo more
important than the person who wears it. He even does nothing
to discourage or dispel the notion of his being gay. He is as comfortable in his role as Juanita is in hers, and it is as natural for him.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the difference in occupational style between Juanita Sublett and John Hopfensperger is more than can be explained by location or gender alone. It has more to do, though not totally, with their ages. John is a hairdresser who prefers teenaged clients, as they are the ones who spend hours a day on their hair. He was schooled with an emphasis on scissor cuts and blow drying. His style of hairdressing is the vogue with younger people, and more modern older people. Most of Juanita's clients have been coming to her for twenty years. They have the same basic hairdo that they have had for years, and in fact, Juanita has the same hairdo: short, permanently waved hair that has been teased a little for height. Juanita's practice is shampoos, sets, and permanent waves. When she cuts hair, it is the trim before she sets the hair. John's artistry is his cut, and then he styles with a blow dryer, rather than setting the hair and sitting the client under a cap and chair style dryer.

This change in hairstyling is one of the reasons why Juanita's type of shop and practice will become less and less common until replaced by the multi-operator impersonal shops.
Another reason is that our population in this country is becoming too mobile for the vast majority of people to expect to live their entire lives in the place they were born. Beauticians will not have the same patrons for twenty years. The hairdressers' clientele will change, and the hairdresser will not feel the dedication to patrons that Juanita exemplifies. Juanita has left her patrons to take a vacation only twice in twenty years, and only one of those times did she close her shop. She takes the responsibility of being there, day in and day out, when her patrons want their hair done. If she has to be gone, she finds someone to substitute for her so that her patrons can be served without inconvenience.

John's sense of responsibility is not to his patrons. John would not stay in this profession of hairdressing if he could look forward to only two vacations in twenty years. He had and still has other options that were not and are not available to Juanita. He has the opportunity and means to do virtually anything he wants; he is in the profession of hairdressing because he was able to mold the occupation to suit his own lifestyle and desires. If there is something that is not advantageous to him, he changes it, as he did by discontinuing the shampoo and set business. If it could not be changed, John would undoubtedly leave the profession. John's responsibility is to himself. The profession of hairdressing has been altered by him to fit his lifestyle. But within this responsibility to himself, John also feels a responsibility to the art of cutting hair. He does feel a
responsibility to his patrons' hair, even though he does not feel a responsibility to the patrons themselves. He does the best he possibly can for the hair—no matter upon whom the hair happens to be. This is his dedication to the art of haircutting.

John cannot feel as close to his clients as Juanita does because her clients are her friends of years. She has not ever lost a customer except through death, but does not get new clients either, as a rule. She "inherited" a few clients from the retiring owner of Bishop's, but other than that, is still working with the same group of women she did directly out of beauty college. She has seen them turn gray, and their numbers have become smaller because of death. Juanita's homogenous group of women, all around the same age, would ultimately put her out of business through death. And that is what will happen to her type of hairdressing, also. When clients no longer desire this type of service, this type of shop will no longer exist.

John's clients are mainly younger than Juanita's, all the way down to children, and a substantial group is male. His clients' views vary greatly from his own, and this does get in the way of John developing close, warm feelings toward his clientele. It does not get in the way of his haircutting, however, and so his clients continue coming to him. If they stop coming, it doesn't matter because his clientele is so large that one or two losses is not even noticed. And he is always getting new clients.
His clientele is so large because of the type of business he has. His clients do not get weekly haircuts; Juanita's clients get weekly or biweekly shampoo and sets. His clients do not see him nearly as often as Juanita's see her, and so a difference in political opinion or such is not as destructive to the relationship as it would be if he did see them that often. Juanita does not have a difference in political opinion from her clients as she is in such a homogeneous group; John's opinions are exactly opposite his patron's at times, and yet both sides of the interaction can shrug it off and say: "Ah well, he's weird" or "She's weird," because they do not confront each other every week. John admits that he even encourages the opinion that he's a little strange; he likes being different and not fitting into the traditional image or role expected of a hairdresser.

It is in this role-playing that Juanita and John differ so totally. John knows the beautician's role as practiced by Juanita; he works with beauticians in the Style Shoppe who are like Juanita. He rebels against that role and hence ends up playing a rebellious role. John plays the role of a hairstyling artist. His artistry is in the cutting and designing of hair in which he strives for perfection. He does not try to create a homey atmosphere for his clients, but to create for them the most perfect hairdo he can fashion. He is not sure he will remain a hairdresser, but does not like the idea of giving up his successful business to try out another field which he may not like. He can accept
hairdressing for the time being, and while he is doing this he tries to make himself the best he possibly can and give to his patrons the best hairdo he can.

Juanita is totally devoted to her business and her clients. Her artistry is in the comfortable, homey and relaxing atmosphere that she creates within her shop. She is a hostess when her patrons come to her to have their hair done. She would never seriously argue with any of them, and gracefully and tactfully stops disputes that might occur between her clients. Her artistry is her communication with her patrons and her guidance of the communication between her patrons.

Juanita's artistry is becoming more rare and will possibly soon disappear altogether in our modern world. Hairdressing is not a dying art. As long as people have hair there will be those who want to have their hair done professionally. Juanita's type of shop, however, is becoming rare because of the points discussed. This is not to say that folklorists will never be able to study hairdressing again. It is obvious that folklore is as fluid and changing a study as history. History is constantly being made, and we will never have studied all of history; folklore likewise is indefinitely expandable.

As with any tradition, there are always people like John who want to change the field, but no matter how the field of hairdressing changes, there will be artistic communication to be studied. The beauty shop, regardless of
the type of shop, will undoubtedly always provide an interesting context in which to study folklore.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, Roger D.


Arewa, E. Ojo and Alan Dundes

Argyle, Michael


Argyle, Michael; Adrian Furnham; and Jean Ann Graham

Bascom, William R.


Bauman, Richard


Bauman, Richard and Joel Sherzer

Becker, Howard S. and James W. Carper

Becker, Howard S. and Anself L. Strauss
Bell, Michael J.

Ben-Amos, Dan

Biddle, Bruce J.

Caplow, Theodore.

Cavan, Sheri

Cooper, Wendy

Davis, Fred

Dundes, Alan

Freedman, Jim

Gluckman, Max

Goffman, Erving
Goffman, Erving

Gumperz, John J. and Dell Hymes, eds.

Hall, Edward T.

Handelman, Don and Bruce Kapferer

Handelman, Don

Hershman, P.

Honigman, John Joseph

Hopfensperger, John
1982 Tape recorded interviews and interactions at his home and the Style Shoppe, Midland, Michigan. May 29 and June 2, 1982.

Howe, Louise Kapp

Hughes, Everett C.

Hymes, Dell
Goffman, Erving


Gumperz, John J. and Dell Hymes, eds.

Hall, Edward T.

Handelman, Don and Bruce Kapferer

Handelman, Don

Hershman, P.

Honigman, John Joseph

Hopfensperger, John
1982 Tape recorded interviews and interactions at his home and the Style Shoppe, Midland, Michigan. May 29 and June 2, 1982.

Howe, Louise Kapp

Hughes, Everett C.


Hymes, Dell


Shroder, David

Spradley, James P. and Brenda J. Mann

Sublett, Juanita
1979 Tape recorded interviews and interactions at Bishop's Beauty Salon, Bowling Green, Kentucky. October 29, 1979; November 15, 1979; and November 30, 1979.

Swenson, Clifford, Jr.

Terkel, Studs

Thornton, Russell and Peter Nardi

Trudgill, Peter

Wax, Murray