OCCUPATIONAL MASCULINITY AND BOUNCERS

by

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Occupational Masculinity and Bouncers

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Introduction

This thesis focuses on the occupational masculinity of bouncers and how bouncers, owners, managers, and police perceive and construct masculinity in the entertainment industry. It will explore how a manifestation of occupational masculinity in security guards shapes their work in licensed entertainment venues on the Hobart waterfront.

On Friday and Saturday night, many people gather in pubs and clubs on the Hobart waterfront to socialise, have fun, and relax. To attract and ensure people have an enjoyable time, many licensed venue owners and managers supply entertainment in the form of live music or discos. The owners are also in the business of making a profit from their enterprise and to ensure that this is achieved promote their venue as being better than any others are in the area. This is usually by advertising that at some stage of the night “happy hours” (drinks at half price or less) will be held and some form of entertainment will be on offer.

However, owners and managers also have a responsibility to ensure the safety of their patrons. Owners and managers usually achieve this by employing security guards or bouncers to ensure the safety of patrons. Bouncers are generally physically large males and are the first point of contact when people enter many licensed premises on the Hobart waterfront. There are normally two bouncers located at the entrance of the entertainment venues, with the task of screening patrons wishing to enter. Recent changes to legislation that controls the service of alcohol and security guards in Tasmania have had significant implications for the entertainment industry. These changes have included licensing and regulation of security guards and restrictions on serving alcohol to patrons who appear to be intoxicated. However, given the nature of the licensed entertainment industry and the types of patrons who frequent many of the venues on the Hobart waterfront interpersonal violence does occasionally occur.

Manifestations of interpersonal violence in many licensed venues are mainly due to conflict between young males (Briscoe and Donnelly, 2001). The first
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intervention into eruptions of interpersonal violence between patrons is the
security guard or bouncer. The intervention of bouncers coupled with the
gathering of diverse groups of males from different backgrounds within
licensed entertainment venues raises two important issues,

1. How are occupational masculinities within the private security
   industry constructed given the prevalence of concerns about safety
   and violence and;

2. How does occupational masculinity influence how bouncers react to
   violence in the licensed venues?

In chapter one, a general discussion on the social forces that shape the
construction of masculine roles will be followed by exploring the way in
which masculinity is internalised and how the aspects of hegemonic
masculinity are utilised by bouncers. Chapter two will discuss the way in
which the nighttime economy has developed and how the changes have
brought challenges to traditional policing roles of the state. This will be
followed by a discussion on the growth of private policing in the
entertainment industry and how this has affected both commercial and state
interests. In chapter three, the methods and methodologies used in this study
will be described followed by a description of the Hobart waterfront and
how bouncers work in this area. The description of the waterfront and the
patrons that frequent this area is based on unobtrusive observation used by
the author on Friday and Saturday nights. Chapter four will explore
qualitative data gathered in the interviews with bouncers, police, owners and
managers of entertainment venues on the waterfront. This chapter will also
review the statistical data supplied by the police department on the number,
the location, and the nature of the offences responded to by police. In the
final chapter, the issues and finding will be brought together to suggest that
male bouncers tend to construct a masculine image that creates and inflates
the incidence of violence on the waterfront.
Chapter 1: Masculinity and Bouncers

To develop an understanding of the way, in which masculinity is constructed in the entertainment industry, it is important to understand how male roles are socially constructed. The way in which bouncers perform their work requires an exploration of the social forces that affect and influence their working environment. In this chapter, the social forces that shape the construction of masculine roles will be discussed. This will be followed by an exploration the way in which masculinity is internalised and how aspects of hegemonic masculinity are utilised by bouncers.

Masculine identity

Entering the world of work for many young men signifies the transition from boyhood to manhood and is seen as the initiation rite into the public, productive world of employment. Cultural definitions of masculinity place a particular emphasis on the role of the man as breadwinner for the family unit, and consequently operate as part of a network of ideological assumptions that support the sexual division of labour between men (public/productive) and women (private/domestic) (see Elliot, 1986). The image of the successful man in modern society is that of a good worker and provider for his family.

Contemporary Western definitions of masculinity are inextricably linked with definitions of work and through the values, qualities and priorities that inscribe physical strength, mechanical expertise, ambition, competitiveness and domination (see for example, Connell, 1995). Boys are taught, through the family, schools, and ultimately the workplace, to aspire to these values as the measurement of manhood, and eventually come to internalise these norms as identity. Men learn to define and judge themselves against these values, and in many cases, the workplace is the most important testing ground for these attributes (see Collinson and Hearn, 1995).
The ability to provide for the family not only represents a certain social status for men, but it also represents the public/economic status of the family (Hearn, 1992:2-4). Work is crucial to the maintenance of the masculine identity. The workplace in capitalist society is an arena for men to display technical rationality, problem solving and resource management skills (Hearn, 1992). It becomes clear, when examining these issues, that masculinity is significantly defined by, and in turn comes to support and justify, the organisation of work in society. In this context, masculine values strongly reflect the values that characterise capitalist economics and ideology in which competitiveness, authority, individualism, strength, aggression, and a belief in hierarchy hold sway.

While the concept of hegemonic masculinity is aimed at all men, the realities of the interaction between work and class necessitate compromise and reinterpretation within society and result in the formation of particular class styles of masculinity (Scourfield and Drakeford, 2001:8-10). Cunneen and White (1996:71) have argued that the way in which dominant masculine identity is socially constructed has implications on how young males, without access to employment, economic and political power, negotiate their position in society. For working-class men, having power, independence, or being successful and competitive is rarely achieved. As a result, the working-class style of masculinity tends to compensate for the lack of political or economic power in the more immediate aggressive style of working-class "machismo" in which violence can occur (Scourfield and Drakeford, 2001:10).

Several authors have identified the existence of face-saving or status protecting violence amongst men (Toch 1969; Polk, 1994). The triggers of interpersonal violence, principally male violence, may include such factors as the assertion of masculine identity and the protection of a masculine image and honour. Tedeschi and Felson (1994:250) for example, make the distinction between assertive and protective violence. Assertive manifestations of violence are attempts to establish particular masculine social identity and tend to be predatory in nature. Protective manifestations of violence are face saving action and behaviours performed when men feel that their identity as a male has been insulted in some way. The influence of
these factors is evident in contemporary young mens' perceptions of their role in society and in the workplace (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2001). That is, there is a commonly held belief that young working class males should be the aggressors and defenders of community, family, partners, and friends whether in private or public spheres.

For most working-class men, the workplace is seldom a rewarding or satisfying experience. It is not the place where the promise of masculine independence or power is fulfilled (Donaldson, 1991:11-15). Rather, entry into the workplace for working-class males is a virtual guarantee of constant subordination. Long hours, low incomes, and repetitive tasks, and continual subjection to the unquestionable authority of management, characterise the reality of work for most working-class men (Leach, 1993). Limited control over the workplace and limited opportunities for individual input about daily routines and work practices, as well as the fact that forms of working-class labour are lowly valued by society, all function to undermine the masculine self-image as the powerful and autonomous "free individual" (see Donaldson, 1991). In this context, working as a bouncer may enable young males to become valued in the workplace and fulfil the need of hegemonic masculine independence and power and more importantly have the avenue to express power over others in the workplace.

Connell (1995:77) suggests that hegemonic masculinity can be described as the culturally acceptable form of dominant masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity does not suggest that there is one form of masculinity, but suggests that masculinity is historically mobile; in other words, within the configuration of social gender practices one particular form of masculinity will become dominant and others subordinate in the historical social context (1995:77). For example, Connell (1995:76) suggests, "There are, after all, gay black men and effeminate factory hands, not to mention middle-class rapists and cross-dressing bourgeois". Hegemonic masculinity encourages men to identify as a group, in opposition to and dominant over women, thereby preventing working-class men from identifying themselves as subordinate workers with a particular class (see for example Jefferson, 2002). Moreover, as Collinson (1988) argues, relationships between men on the shop floor tend
to be largely defensive and superficial and may be attributable to the competitiveness, lack of emotional expression and homophobia in conventional masculinity.

Research has also explored the in-group typification of occupational hegemonic and marginalised masculinities (see for example, Segal 1990; Connell, 1995; Hall, 2002; Jefferson, 2002; Connell, 2002). Occupational masculinity as Game & Pringle (1983:14) suggest, "... is fundamental to the way work is organised and work is central in the social construction of gender". Harris, Lea, and Foster (1995) (cited in Goodwin, 1999) suggested that

Work defines men. When young boys are asked the question "What do you want to be when you grow up?", the answer is not a general statement like "loving person", but rather a job title like "an engineer", "a pilot", "a policeman", or a "businessman". When asked, "Who are you?" a man will respond, "I am a carpenter or....." (Harris et al, 1995:73, cited in Goodwin, 1999)

The physicality of the male body becomes central in discussing the concept of occupational masculinity. For example, White (1997/98) suggests that traditionally, working class labour involved performing physical tasks to generate income. For instance, many of the occupations have been manual labour such as mining, construction and factory work. The physical prowess of working class males becomes central in developing male identity, and "... translates into forms of aggressive masculinity which celebrates strength, speed, agility..." (White, 1997/98:10). However, large populations of young people on the street and expansions in the nighttime economy have seen avenues for working class males to legitimately use physical violence in the occupation of security guards.

Boucher and Gardner (1999:3) have argued that masculine identity is socially constructed through work, which is embedded in the culture of the occupation. Collinson & Hearn (1995) suggested that hegemonic masculinity were enacted in a number of different ways. For instance, one way of
defining masculinity in occupational situations is authoritarianism. Authoritarianism refers to the intolerance of contradictions, a rejection of discussion and a preference for coercive power relations based on control and obedience of subordinates; it celebrates a brutal and aggressive masculinity (see for example Collinson & Hearn, 1995).

Masculinity and Bouncers

Hegemonic masculine characteristics are most evident in many licensed premises and entertainment venues on Friday and Saturday night when male dominated security guards or bouncers begin work. Many bouncers begin their work with the prospect that at some stage of the working night will involve the application of physical violence. For example, in the event of an altercation between patrons and bar staff, bouncers can respond by physically removing the offending patron from the premises. Moreover, the opportunity for the removal of patrons has increased with the large influx of people into the small geographic areas where many licensed entertainment venues are centred (see for example, Corbin, Bernat, Calhoun, McNair & Seals, 2001; MCM Research, 1990; Tomsen, 1997).

Violent behaviour in and around licensed premises has been attributed to various factors including the consumption of alcohol, diverse types of patrons and the crowding of people into small venues and geographic locations (for examples see, MCM 1990). However, as Tomsen (1997:100) suggests, there is a complex and powerful link between violence and the social process of collective drinking, which is built around cultural understandings of rowdy and violent drinking and the construction and projection of empowered masculine identity and the symbolic rejection of social norms and values.

Traditionally the role of the bouncer has been a working class male dominated occupation. The physical resilience and competence in relation to male on male violence have been considered a crucial ideal within working class masculinity (Hobbs et al, 2003). Many of the recruits to the industry bring with them the underlying cultural capital of working class males in
which violence is accepted as normal. As Hobbs et al (2003:222-225) suggests “Clearly, their working environment, their relations with colleagues and the occupational pragmatics of doorwork all help to shape the overall occupational cultures of bouncers”.

The dominance of physically large males as security guards in the entertainment industry raises questions about how the construction of masculinity in this occupation affects the way in which males who work in the entertainment industry negotiate their perceptions of male identity with other manifestations of masculinity within the night-time economy (see for example, Campbell, 2000; Cameron, 2000; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2001). Bouncers are tasked to defend the entertainment venue space from patrons who may engage in interpersonal violence or other behaviour that is deemed unwanted in the entertainment venue. Research on the increased use of private security guards or bouncers in licensed entertainment venues has recently focussed on the way that bouncers construct masculinity of themselves and that of others (see for example, Hobbs, Lister, Hadfield, Winlow, & Hall, 2000; Jarman and Bryan, 2000; Hobbs and Hall, 2000).

Ethnographic research by Monaghan (2000:6) for instance, found that the hegemonic masculinity of bouncers marginalise perceived subordinate masculinities of not only non-security staff and patrons but also other bouncers. Bouncers who were perceived to be less physically able to deal with violent patrons or who were reluctant to engage in interpersonal violence within the work place were considered ‘muppets’: a disparaging term used to describe bouncers that do not measure up to the perceptions of what a bouncer should be (ie. physically large, mentally tough, and willing to risk bodily injury) (Monaghan, 2000:9). This reflects that bouncers also have face-saving defences when measuring other males against themselves.

Many licensed premises where interpersonal violence and social confrontation takes place involve different challenges and mixes of masculine identities. The way in which different groups of males interact within the social space of licensed premises that promote the blurring of social, values and norms (Hobbs et al, 2003) can create a nexus of conflicting
understandings of male identity. However, on the one hand, many clubs and pubs owners promote the blurring of the social norms and values and for commercial reasons and encourage patrons to blur the boundaries of traditional social norms and values. On the other hand, club owners also enforce systems of social and behavioural controls and indeed supply the means of controlling the patrons by using private security guards (see Brain, 2000). For example, many entertainment venues offer “happy hours”, low priced drinks to patrons for a specified period, theme nights in which patrons dress in a particular way, and other promotional activities from drink and entertainment suppliers which promotes the consumption of large amounts of alcohol in a short period and behaviours outside the norms of daytime society. The result for many bouncers, club and pub owners, police services, patrons and community can be considerable personal and social harm and interpersonal violence.

Furthermore, the eruption of interpersonal violence can also be displaced from licensed premises to the street. Competing males are moved on from the initial confrontation point in the pub or club and the confrontation can spill over into other areas such as taxi ranks and late night take-away food shops. The implications for the pubs, clubs, bouncers and police can be the loss of trade, loss of resources for police and the loss of physical well-being of all concerned. The challenge to both state and private policing agencies is to understand the complexities of the nighttime economy and in particular the effect of different masculine identities that mix and challenge each other in the entertainment venues of many western cities.

It is clear that the way that masculinity is constructed within the entertainment industry by patrons and bouncers has a direct link with interpersonal violence in many premises. How bouncers construct masculine identity in their working environment is a complex mix of different social forces. For example, a number of internalising factors that influence the way bouncers behave; the way that they interact with other bouncers in their workspace, the way that patrons respond to the bouncer, and how their social background, influences their perceptions of the work that they do. However, bouncers also work in an industry that is different from the norms.
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of the daytime economy. In the next chapter, the nature of the nighttime economy will be explored.
Chapter 2: The Working Environment of Bouncers

The nature of the nighttime economy has changed considerably over the last few decades. Many of the changes have occurred in disused industrial sites in and around waterfront areas in many western cities. This chapter will discuss the way in which the nighttime economy has developed and how the changes have brought challenges to traditional policing roles of the state. This will be followed by a discussion on the growth of private policing in the entertainment industry and how this has affected both commercial and state interests.

The Nighttime Economy

In the post-industrial cities, there have been considerable social and economic changes in disused industrial areas over the last few decades (Hobbs et al, 2000; Hollands, 1995). Many of these changes have been on the periphery of the central business districts, such as the rezoning of old disused wharfs into entertainment venues. Chief amongst these is the transformation of old industrial sites into new areas of economic, cultural/social, recreational and leisure activities. These transformations have attracted young people to these sites after dark on Friday and Saturday night as a recreational and leisure activity, and correspondingly, this has seen an increase in the incidence of interpersonal violence and social conflict (Hollands, 1995).

More specifically, on a Friday and Saturday night many young people migrate from out lying suburbs to entertainment venues, which involves an emphasis on service oriented employment and knowledge-based economy, city centre living, and a greater economic role for leisure and recreation activities and retail and consumption-based rather than traditional production-based activities (Zukin, 1995; Hannigan, 1998). Moreover, it has become accepted that the nighttime economy, through a serviced based economy such as bars, pubs, clubs and music venues, has an identifiable role to play in developing the old disused industrial centres into new systems of
economic production. New economic centres in many cities are now used by city authorities in advertising the vibrancy of their nightlife as a growing economic sector and a key indicator of a healthy economy (Hollands, Chatterton, Byrnes, and Read, 2002). For example, both the Hobart city council and the state government have used the drinking venues in and around Salamanca Place in advertising campaigns, highlighting them as the area to come to when visiting Hobart.

These new areas of economic growth have also attracted large corporations that have entered the market with considerable economic and market power. For instance in England, pub branding during the 1990s exploded through the emergence of Australian, Irish and sports theme bars (Hollands et al 2002). This is not an isolated case, for example in Hobart, Tasmania, pubs such as Irish Murphy’s and Bridie O’Reily’s are theme pubs that cater for the younger patron and are owned or franchised by large corporations. In the small geographic area of Hobart’s waterfront, the number of nightclubs aimed at the young adult drinker included Cruze, Syrup, and Isobar. To attract patrons, many pubs and nightclubs advertise in the local papers such as the Hobart Mercury. In one advert, students with University identity cards will receive reduced entry concessions and access to “happy hours” in many of the licensed premises. Furthermore, within the Hobart waterfront, more upmarket style pubs and cafe-bars such as Bar Celona, and T42 on the Hobart waterfront have emerged to attract the more lucrative, older age groups rather than the theme market patron. The result has been to create new consumer identities in the nighttime economy. To further add to this mix in the Tasmanian context is the Federal Hotel Group, which have introduced the Oasis gaming themes into many pubs in Tasmania. These are directed at the older patron, who wishes to gamble, with many of these venues scattered around the central business district. With the increased number of entertainment venues on offer and an increase in the number of young people frequenting these sites, interpersonal violence can and does periodically occur (Hobbs et al, 2003).

The response by managers of these various licensed venues to the threat of violence has been the increased use of private security guards or bouncers
(Hobbs and Hall, 2000). Traditionally, the role of nighttime policing has been the domain of the state police (see for example, Hollands et al, 2002). However, with the increased number of entertainment venues and reduced resources in state police services, many of the state functions of policing the nighttime entertainment industry have been transferred to private security groups.

Chatterton and Hollands (2003: 55-58) propose that the nature of the nighttime economy has left many police services unprepared for the rapid expansion of the nighttime economy and the social problems that this has created. Moreover, as the resources of the state police have reduced, private policing services have increased. For example, private nighttime security staff and doorman generally outnumber the police 10 to 1 in England and play a key role in regulating the night life of many cities around the world (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003:54). This has resulted in owners and managers of licensed entertainment venues in many western cities developing alternative social control systems such as using private security personnel in licensed premises. Traditionally private security in the entertainment industry has been a working class male occupation that involved a large element of risk of physical injury (Monaghan 2000:4). The increased economic reliance on the nighttime leisure market by private capital has seen an increase in government intervention and an expanding private policing presence (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003:47-67).

The Tasmanian Government’s response to the increased use of security guards in the licensed entertainment venues has been to regulate and license bouncers that work as crowd controller. In particular, the regulations set out their powers of arrest, what levels of physical force they can exert, and what they are required to do in the event of formal state police intervention (see for example, The Tasmanian Crowd Controller Act 1999; The Tasmanian Crowd Controllers Regulations 2000). Coupled with the regulation of bouncers has been the development of a training package. The training of bouncers is now a formal course with TAFE and consists of a 50 hour program that covers issues such as:
- Determine and use reasonable security forces to control access to and
  exit from premises;
- Maintain safety of premises and personnel;
- Manage intoxicated persons;
- Apprehend offenders;
- Control crowds;
- Observe and monitor people (Tasmanian Crowd Controllers
  Regulations 2000)

Policing the Nighttime Economy

Private security guards are now a major component of our social world. For
example in Australia, as of 1998 there were 94,676 private security guards
registered and only 42,093 police officers representing a 2.2:1 ratio between
the private and public policing service (Prenzler and Sarre, 1998:2). The most
significant manifestation of the prevalence of the private security guards has
been the role of private security in policing ‘mass private property’ including
public environments such as shopping malls, airports, and leisure facilities.
Many of these locations are generally private property and are freely open to
the public and are legally defined as ‘quasi-public’ or ‘hybrid’ public spaces
(Stenning, 2000).

With increases in the ownership of commercial private property and the fear
of property damage many owners and corporations are resorting to policing
these spaces with private policing services (Smith, 1992). The expansion of
privately owned public spaces aimed at profit maximisation has placed
considerable pressure on state police services to respond to issues of
property theft and anti-social behaviour, particularly by young people
frequenting shopping centres (see White, Kosky and Kosky, 2001, Prenzler
public spaces by private capital and the lack of public police resources has
seen increased powers being granted to private security guards. For
example, Stenning (2000) has argued that in most common law countries,
because private security guards are the legal agents of property owners they
have the same powers as the legal owner of the property. In Canada for
instance, the rights of the property owner have been enshrined in the

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Criminal Code to allow property owners extended powers of arrest, with respect to criminal offences that occur in relation to their property and the use of coercive powers to remove unwanted people who trespass (Stenning, 2000:331). These increased powers of private security guards in relation to privately owned public spaces have also had a flow on effect in the nighttime economy.

The role of the security guard in the nighttime entertainment venues has seen the development a particular style of private security guard. The type of uniform they wear easily identifies traditional security guards and the prominent position occupied in shopping centres, banks and airports. Traditional images of daytime security guards, particularly in shopping centres are that of state police officers. For example, Sarre (1992:168) suggested

"...it is not difficult to imagine that there will be perennial confusion among the general public in distinguishing between the two forces, private and public, given the similarities in dress, and the merging boundaries between private and public areas."

Bouncers on the other hand, do not wear the traditional security guard uniform, nor do they occupy prominent positions that are normally associated with daytime security guards. The bouncers' role in licensed entertainment venues relies on the ability to project an image of physicality and a potency for violence, at the same time representing a public relations exercise to attract patrons to the venue (see Hobbs et al, 2003). The image of nighttime security guards or bouncers relies on the construction and projection of a dominant masculine image of overwhelming physical power and fighting prowess.

In recognising the differences in masculine occupational structures, it is also important to consider the situational environment in which males and females work. In other words, not only is it important to consider where people work but it is also important to consider when and in what context people work. The nature of the nighttime economy has created a complex
and sometimes competing set of social norms and values compared to the nature and behavioural norms of the daytime economy (Hollands, 1995). The conversion of many industrial sites in and around city centres has developed new forms of economic growth, and with this growth, new forms of social control (see Chatterton and Hollands, 2003).

In this chapter, the focus has been on the working environment of bouncers and how the development of the nighttime economy has restructured the private security business. The occupational culture of bouncers has considerable importance to the way in which the nighttime economy operates. In the next chapter, details of the research will be outlined followed by a description of the Hobart waterfront.
Chapter 3: The Hobart Study

Construction of masculinity in the work place is an area of sociological research that has not attracted a great deal of attention in recent years. In particular, issues of work place violence, and the sexual division of labour need to be considered when analysing the construction of gendered perceptions of occupation, and what it is to be a man or woman in the workplace. These issues need considerable investigation to understand the social processes that take place in the working world of both men and women. Moreover, the ability to understand social processes in the workplace may lead to a greater understanding of the dynamics of work place violence (see for example Brown, 2000). In this chapter, the methods and methodologies used in this study will be described followed by a description of the Hobart waterfront and how bouncers work in this area. The description of the waterfront and the patrons that frequent this area is based on unobtrusive observation undertaken by the author.

In the nighttime economy, the use of violence by security guards is of considerable concern for many patrons, police and licensees in the entertainment industry. There has been an increasing use of private security to police licensed venues to cope with the number of patrons who are frequenting these spaces. It is important to understand how the construction of masculinity in the workplace influences the levels of violence that can occur. Two important questions are raised by issues of masculine identity in the working environment of the nighttime economy. Firstly, how are occupational masculinities within the private security industry constructed? Secondly, how does occupational masculinity influence how bouncers react to violence in the licensed venues?

Methods and Methodologies

The research involved a review of primary police data on the number of call outs received between the hours of 7.00pm and 4.00am on Friday and Saturday night to licensed premises on the waterfront area of Hobart. These
data were then studied to determine the extent of formal state police intervention in interpersonal violence within this geographic area. Semi-structured interviews with (3) female and (7) male security guards were conducted to gain an understanding of the perceptions and activities of this group within entertainment venues. Three licensed venue owners or managers were interviewed to gain an understanding of how this group recruit and value bouncers in their premises. Three (3) police officers were interviewed to better understand their perceptions of interpersonal violence in the entertainment venues of the waterfront of Hobart. The interviews were recorded on a tape recorder and transcribed. Thematic analysis was conducted of the transcripts to determine the major issues perceived by the participants.

Subjects were asked to tell the researcher in a narrative form of their experiences of working in the entertainment industry. Participants were encouraged to elaborate on what they felt were the important attributes a security guard should have when working in the licensed venues on the Hobart waterfront. The use of the qualitative research methods in this study is appropriate as they allow for the life experiences and the meaning people placed on these experiences to be investigated (see Rice and Ezzy, 1999).

Participants were recruited through a contact the researcher had in the licensed entertainment industry. The participants were given an information sheet outlining the nature of the research. The recruits then had the option to participate in the research and if they chose to participate in the research, they signed a consent form.

The security guards, owners and managers working in the Hobart waterfront area were selected due to the high concentration of licensed venues. Furthermore, the number of patrons that frequent the area on a Friday and Saturday night allowed for a broader analysis of the nature of security work. Police participants were selected by the police service. The researcher gained permission from the Commissioner's office, and was supplied a list of potential interviewees. This process proved problematic as contacting the
officers relied heavily on the availability of the officers when not on duty and their willingness to participate in the research out of work hours.

The statistical data supplied by the police service were also screened to ensure no information was revealed that they considered might breach operational security. It is clear that when attempting research that may rely on cooperation with statutory bodies such as the police service, considerable resources are required to ensure that access to the data can be facilitated without any delays and ample time is allocated to analyse the data.

Given the small geographic area of the Hobart waterfront, (see Map 1) the research lent itself to unobtrusive observation. In total, 72 hours of observation were conducted on Friday and Saturday night and field notes made of different venues and the way in which bouncers and patrons interacted in this area. This type of observation was also helpful in being able to observe any interaction between the police, patrons, and bouncers when called upon. Furthermore, this also allowed the researcher to observe patrons moving from one venue to another as the night progressed.

Map 1 Hobart waterfront
An Active Nightlife

The Hobart waterfront is located on the periphery of the central business district. The physical make up is that of early sandstone buildings that run along one side of the main street Salamanca Place. On the other side of the street running along the total length are treed and grassed areas. The concentration of licensed entertainment venues is between Elizabeth Street Pier and the end of Salamanca Place (see Map 1). Within this area, there are approximately 18 licensed venues. These include 5 pubs, 4 clubs and a number of licensed restaurants and wine bars.

Typically, on a Friday night, patrons start to arrive at the end of the working day, most coming the surrounding office blocks. They start arriving from 6.00pm in groups and generally frequent the theme pubs. Most of these people are still dressed in suits or neat casual wear. This seems to be a ritual every Friday night as over the duration of the study the same people were being observed. The intention of these patrons was generally to have a meal with work colleagues and talk about the week events. They stayed for a few hours only and consumed small amounts of alcohol, by 9.00 p.m. most, but for a few ‘die hards’, left to presumably go home or to continue on elsewhere.

The exodus of the first wave of patrons then sees the arrival of the second wave. These patrons however, are here to stay in the area and generally know where to go depending on what they want to do. Many of these patrons are dressed in particular styles that reflect the style of the pub or club that they are going to attend. In comparison to the first wave of patrons, these patrons are much younger. They generally arrive by taxi and appear to have been to other venues. Coinciding with the arrival of the second wave of patrons are the bouncers, who begin work between 9.30 and 10.00p.m.

The bouncers generally arrive early; this appears to enable the bouncers to discuss with the bar staff and managers any operational problems or patrons that might create a difficulty during the night. As the night wears on the number of patrons frequenting the waterfront increases and by 11.00pm the first of the confrontations will have taken place. For example, in one case
observed, two young males wishing to enter an establishment were refused entry. On this occasion, the bouncers on the door in rather loud voices suggested that they would not be allowed in because they were not dressed properly and they looked like they had already had enough to drink. At this moment, all concerned began to yell at each other attracting the attention of the patrons inside the venue. Two more young men came out, and began arguing with the bouncers on the door. The result was that a fight broke out between a bouncer and one of the young men who had been refused entry. As the other bouncer moved to intervene and help his colleague, he was confronted by the remaining young men. The result was a fight with nine combatants that had spilt over into the street disrupting traffic and creating a large crowd of onlookers. The police arrived a short time later.

The police were very concerned that all had an opportunity to tell their side of the story. This was achieved by separating the combatants, moving the bouncers back toward the establishment and the patrons towards a park across the street. This process lasted 10 minutes and resulted in one of the bouncers and two of the patrons being taken in a police car, presumably to the station. In observing this particular fight and a number of other incidents at other premises on the Hobart waterfront, it would seem that most have the same ingredients. The eruption of interpersonal violence between males takes two main forms. The first is the refusal of entry by particularly male bouncers; the second is where male patrons are asked to leave the premises. In contrast, female bouncers seem to handle the situation differently.

Female bouncers generally do not use raised voices with the patrons in the entrance of the premises. They take a different approach. They take the customer aside into the premises. While inside, the conversation is relaxed and informal, with the female bouncers generally not suggesting that the patron is too intoxicated to enter, but that the premise is too full and has reached its capacity under the licensing act. In most instances, on Friday and Saturday nights, the licensed premises are filled to capacity and in two cases have table and chairs set up on the footpath to cater for the crowds. The approach utilised by female bouncers appears to modify the reaction of the
Occupational Masculinity and Bouncers

patron into a more moderate position and patrons generally comply with the female bouncers request to come back later in the night.

The small area of the Hobart waterfront allows for considerable mobility of patrons around the entertainment venues. All of them are in easy walking distance from each other. This creates a number of problems for bouncers in being consistent with patrons. The bouncers know many of the regular patrons and have no problems letting the regulars in regardless of their levels of intoxication. One particular nightclub has for example a VIP list of preferred customers who receive a badge to get them past the bouncers on duty. For other patrons waiting at the entrance of the venue this creates confusion and resentment. Those who are not on the VIP list may have been waiting much longer than the VIP patron, and are passed over by the bouncers. The result for this particular club has been a high level of interpersonal violence erupting at the entrance to this club.

It is clear from the observations that the level of violence on the Hobart waterfront is a result of male identity issues of domination and assertion or that of protecting a masculine identity. In all cases of interpersonal violence, the combatants were male. However, the number of incidents that were the result of male patrons fighting with other male patrons was small. In the cases observed, only four such occasions were witnessed. In general terms, the conflicts take place in the parks or grassed areas that surround the waterfront and do not involve more than two combatants and 3 or 4 onlookers. This approach to interpersonal violence between male patrons appeared to be a sense of honour among the combatants (see Tomsen, 1997). In other words, when two males enter into physical combat, others that may witness the contest remain neutral. Bouncers, however, operate on a collective system of ‘one in all in’ which heightens the level of violence between bouncers and other male patrons.

The violence observed between bouncers and male patrons was different in design. Generally, this type of violence was instigated by a combination of bouncers asserting their technical expertise by reciting various laws and codes to patrons refused entry, and the other method was to suggest that the
patron does not have the physical ability to get past the bouncer. This is a much more subtle form of challenge, which involves a general posturing and manoeuvring from the male bouncer into a position of height and body strutting. The male bouncers’ will move their bodies in front of the patron and usually one to two steps above, thus giving the bouncer a perceived height advantage and greater body mass.

Body positioning and posturing was observed in most male bouncers on the waterfront. This was certainly utilised by many bouncers to assert their technical knowledge and physical prowess, particularly in relation to male patrons. From my observations, it seems that the intervention of male bouncers contributed to an escalation in the levels of violence on the waterfront. Comparing these observations with the interviews conducted with bouncers, police, owners and managers coupled with a review of the police statistics on the callouts made to police, will enable a clearer picture to emerge. The next chapter will explore qualitative data gathered in the interviews with bouncers, police, owners and managers of entertainment venues on the waterfront. It will also review the statistical data supplied by the police on the number, nature of the offence and location of callouts received by police.
Chapter 4: Bouncers, Police and the Patron

In this chapter, an analysis is conducted of both the interview data and statistical data supplied by the police. This will also enable a cross reference with the observations made in the previous chapter. This will also explore the way in which bouncers, owners, managers and the police perceive the nature of security work.

Bouncers, the Police, and the Job

Traditionally the police have had the responsibility of responding to incidents of public disorder that occurs in public spaces such as licensed premises. However, many of the licensed premises on the Hobart waterfront, during Friday and Saturday night rely largely on private security guards policing the premises. This is reflected in the statistics supplied by the police service. Table 1 shows the number and nature of call outs received by the police service to the Hobart waterfront. Assaults and calls for assistance represent 38.5% and 41.5% respectively of all call outs responded to by police to the Hobart waterfront in a 12-month period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
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<td>25</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscene Exposure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>92.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police in danger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing attention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics supplied by Tasmania Police 6/9/2003
Occupational Masculinity and Bouncers

The nature of the call outs suggests that depending on the way particularly male bouncers, view their ability to deal with the offending behaviour of patrons determines whether the bouncer will call for police assistance. This finding was also alluded to in interviews with bouncers, with female bouncers suggesting that it is more appropriate to call for assistance from police before the incident erupts into a violent confrontation. For example, although the decision to call police is generally made by a collaborative process between the bouncer and manager, female bouncers tend to act on the side of caution. Acting on the side of caution tends to be two-sided, with one aspect being that if the police are called then patrons will realise that, as one female bouncer put it:

*Patrons know that you are not going to put up with any shit, any trouble is gone and the police will handle it thank you very much.* [FB 1]

The other side of the coin involves the commercial interests of licensed entertainment venues with the view that,

*But you also do not have bouncers standing out the front beating the crap out of them [patrons] because that looks worse and patrons will not come back because they will be frightened of security staff.* [FB 1]

However, male bouncers suggested that in most situations they have the training, and in many cases, the law on their side, to use violence to resolve issues with patrons. It was also evident that many of the male bouncers interviewed feel that to back away from a patron and rely on the police to intervene would be inviting trouble to continue later. For example, one male bouncer suggested that

*If you have a real egoist on your team then the police will not be called, they [the bouncer] want to do everything themselves. There is a real big ego thing with security, people see all these movies and*
hear all these stories of bouncers doing this, that and the other and
they want to be that big tough bouncer.

[MB 3]

The Injury and Insult

This appears to be a ‘loss of face’ aspect to male bouncers sense of maleness,
and if the police are called to assist the bouncer in dealing with an altercation
with a patron other patrons will not respect the authority of the bouncer.
This is reflected in statements that suggest male bouncers believe that they
have the physical prowess to handle most of the violent incidents that can
occur in the venue. For instance, one physically large bouncer expressed the
view,

You have to remember that bouncers usually have to grab some bloke
who is pissed and is making a cunt of himself, you have to be able to
go in and grab him and get him out before he hurts someone.
Sometimes you have to get violent to get the job done in the quickest
possible time. [MB 5]

These finding were also reflected in similar finding in an UK study. Hobbs et
al. (2003:123) found that bouncers in the UK had voiced the same view that if
the patron did not comply with their requests then they would go “... in
harder than the normal person...’ and subject the patron to a “... level of
pain...” that they are “...ever going to dream of”. The concern over the use
violence was also evident in interviews with police who voiced concern over
the number of bouncers who had some form of martial arts training. In many
cases, the police perception was that the decision to become a bouncer was
made due to the need test a martial arts ability. One experienced police
officer suggested

90% of them [bouncers] that I have spoken to have some form of
martial arts training, there are some that have been in the boxing
clubs. Most of them enjoy some form of person-to-person combatant
sport. [PO1]
In Figure 1 the times that offences occur correspond with the normal working hours that bouncers traditionally work. For example, 58.6% of all offences responded to by police to the Hobart waterfront occurred between the hours of 10pm and 4am. This would indicate that the number of police interventions increase as bouncers start work.

Figure 1 Time of night or day that offences occurred.

Many of the venues on the Hobart waterfront have two roles. The first is as a normal pub in which many of the office workers can come into at the end of normal working hours. The second is where the same pubs transform into nightclubs, which is usually around 10pm. At this time, they start to ask a cover charge before allowing patrons into the venue. It is also at this time when the security guards begin work. One bouncer stated that he would normally get to work a little bit early to help set up for the entertainment providers and for the dance floor conversion.
I usually get to work a bit earlier, that way I can get a feel for what the night will be like. I can have a yarn to the bar staff and the manager, help set up the dance floor and see who is there. [MB 4]

In this instance, the pub has a restaurant which stops serving food at 9.00pm and then removes all of the tables and chairs to convert it into the dance floor, once the last diner had been moved on. Observations at these premises revealed two security guards displaying security identity tags, moving and stacking the chairs and table. The diners who were the last in this area soon realised that their presence would become a hindrance to the bouncers and quickly finished their glasses of wine and moved on to the bar area.

The results of callouts (Figure 1) suggest that when bouncers are working the rate of offending behaviour is high. For example, the highest numbers of police interventions occur between 10pm and 11pm. It appears that within this hour the bouncers begin work and are responsible for the removal of patrons who appear to be a problem. It could be argued that with bouncers policing venues, many more patrons who may be behaving badly will be identified and action taken against them. Indeed, when compared to the venues (see Figure 2), 60% of all offences occur in pubs and clubs which have a number of bouncers working, as opposed to only 12.3% occurring in restaurants and takeaway shops, and 6.2% in parks that surround the Hobart waterfront.
Patron mobility indicated that moving around the streets from one venue to another does not attract the attention of the police roving patrols. This was also supported through observations made during the study. In one instance a group of young females, which appeared to out on a 'hens night', were moving from one venue to another, singing very loudly and sharing what appeared to be a bottle of wine. A marked police car drove by and observed the group. The young women responded by yelling out to the officers inviting the officers to arrest the young woman (wearing a bridle head piece) who was to be married. The police response to the conduct of the group was to engage in a humorous fashion by suggesting that the young woman was already in trouble and due to be jailed, and they continued on their way.

In general, the response by police who would occasionally drive through the main street of the waterfront was to just observe the behaviour of the crowds that were on the footpaths. Two of the pubs had tables and chairs set up on the footpaths, and barricades set up on the roadway to ensure that
pedestrian traffic was not interrupted. Both of these pubs were also close to nightclubs with one venue in the same multi-story building that housed a number of theme clubs. Access to the nightclubs was through a separate door located next to the pub. There was only one bouncer located (seated) at the entrance to the door leading to the clubs, while the pub had bouncers at the pub entrances and inside the complex.

The decision to call for police assistance also appears to influence the type of security guards employed by the owner or manager. Generally, the owner or managers are very aware that too many calls for police assistance may reflect negatively on their operating license. Thus, many owners and managers tend to employ physically large male bouncers and rely on their ability to handle any incident that may occur with violence if necessary. For example, one manager suggested, which was also reflected in police perception of the type of bouncer needed in venues,

女性保镖都是管理女性客人的好人选。当然，主要的，你需要的是体型较大的男性，他们能够自己处理这些人。这与法律相关，可以移动不良者。如果您的保镖没有得到客人的尊重，您会一直有冲突，最终人们会停止来因为麻烦。[OM 2]

The Nature of the Work: Big Women for a Big Job

The police perception of the type of bouncer needed was similar to that of venue owners and mangers. One officer suggested that the total number of female bouncers should be no more than 20% in any venue. However, there was the perception that the use of female bouncers was better when dealing with working class male patrons. It was suggested that in some entertainment venues frequented by working class patrons, the presence of a female would restrict the male patron from using violence against a female or in the venue. This was because of the working class ethic that “real men don’t hit women”.

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I think that all premises should have around 20% female bouncers, no more. In some instances you have people coming in from the country and the surrounding suburbs of the city and they will not hit a women or get aggressive with a women, if the women says something to them they will leave. [PO3]

There also appears to be the perception from both male bouncers and police that to save possible inappropriate or sexual harassment complaints, female bouncers and police officers are a valuable resource to have in controlling female patrons. The issue of sexual misconduct was reflected in interviews, with some bouncers suggesting that although they had no problems dealing with “unruly” females, it was sometimes more appropriate to have female bouncers when dealing with intoxicated female patrons found in the female toilets

If you get a pissed girl stuck in the loo, and you have a female bouncer on the job it is much easier to get them out... one of the biggest problems is when you have a group of girls they all seem to go for a piss together. The other thing is that when you have to call the police if they come with a policewoman they can handle the girl much better than the blokes... [MB6]

From a police perspective,

It can defuse the situation very quickly [having a female bouncer] if you’re dealing with intoxicated females. A female police officer can usually deal with the women on the same terms. They seem to calm down quickly with the presence of another woman... [PO 1]

However, the dominant perception of police, owners and managers is that the occupation should remain the domain of physically large men, with ability to use violence to solve issues of patron misbehaviour in the venue. Many of the male bouncers interviewed were of the opinion that it is very rare that women patrons would resort to violence to solve issues with other patrons, bar staff or security staff. Generally, male bouncers felt that female
patrons would resort to verbal abuse if confronted with the authority of the bar staff or bouncers. However, observations revealed that many of the young female patrons would use overt sexual advances to work around the issue of compliance to requests from male security staff. For example, one young woman was observing her friends from a clearly signed area that was restricted to patrons. When the male bouncer indicated that the young women would have to move, the young women engaged with the bouncer in a sexually promiscuous manner.

The Fringe Benefit.

The use of sexuality by female patrons was also evident in observations of entry issues to particular nightclubs. Male bouncers were confronted with numerous females during the night and many male bouncers can become the centre of attention for the young women. Young women in particular were regularly moving between the inside and entrance to the clubs to engage the door staff in conversations with explicit sexual overtones. These tactics were also utilised by some female bouncers,

...sometimes it is appropriate to batter the eyelids when you are trying to get a male patron to do what you want. It can be a good tool to have in some instances when they [males] are a bit upset with some other staff member or patron... [FB1]

Most male bouncers, however, suggested that they are not susceptible to the sexual overtures from female patrons. The male bouncers suggested that they were more interested that the female patrons had the relevant age identification than offers of sexual intimacy or promise. However, police perceived that many of the bouncers working in the Hobart waterfront enter into the occupation due to the image or a belief that part of the rewards in bouncing work involves the attraction of young women. As one officer stated

...you can see that many of the younger males are quite happy to have some of the young women to pay them the attention that they receive... I would even suggest, that it is part of the image that attracts a lot of them to the job... [PO1]
The Training

A major concern that both training providers and police had was the perceived lack of legal training received in the current training package. Training providers voiced considerable concern over the lack of legal knowledge on procedures and responsibilities bouncers have in dealing with the removal of patrons. The police also suggested that, apart from the concerns they had with the training, that was the need to develop a better system of screening that, in their eyes, would reduce the number of incidents in many of the licensed premises in Hobart generally. Police have suggested that the lack of any standard police check when applications were made to training institutions has led to an increase in the number of undesirable people entering the occupation. Under the current legislation, the system requires anyone wishing to become a bouncer to undertake the course with a recognised and accredited training provider, but they do not have to submit to any formal police approval or criminal record check.

A number of bouncers also raised concern over the lack of training. One bouncer suggested that the lack of training made him leave one position because of the way his work colleagues behaved,

I was at one pub with a security team that had just been employed there... there were a number of violent incidents that involved the police [being called]... In a month there were about 5, [incidents] that occurred where the police were called, this happened on every weekend... all of them was the result of the bouncers starting the trouble in the first place. After that I went to the boss and told him that I was no longer working there and was moving on [MB3]

The statistics supplied by Tasmania Police confirmed the bouncer’s story. In a period of one month, the police were requested to attend the pub continually every weekend for the month in question. When asked to elaborate further the bouncer suggested that due to the limited training received by the other member of the team most of them were under the impression that they had the right to use whatever mean at their disposal to remove patrons.
The police voiced the same concerns. Of particular concern was the type of physical restraint used by the bouncers. The ‘sleeper hold’ appears to be the most favoured by the bouncers. This hold requires the bouncer to place their forearm around the offender’s neck from behind, then bodily pick the offender up and apply pressure until the offender begins to lose consciousness. All of the police officers interviewed have told all bouncers that they encounter that the use of this technique may result in the bouncers being charged with the ‘use of excessive force’

... many of the bouncers don’t know the laws of excessive force in the execution of their duties as the police do, each crowd controller is told that if they use that hold they may be libel for prosecution. In a club in the north of the state, a crowd controller applied the sleeper hold on a patron he wished to remove, unfortunately, for both the bouncer and the patron the patron suffered from some form of respiratory problem and died, the bouncer ended up being convicted of manslaughter. [PO 1]

In an interview with a training provider, it was also suggested that the legal component of the training course needed further development. In particular, both police and the training provider felt that it would be appropriate for the police to train bouncers on their legal obligations and powers in licensed entertainment venues.

The issue of training featured prominently in the interviews with both bouncer and police. When asked to identify where bouncers felt what their responsibilities are, many indicated that they felt that it was a combination of three major components. These components were the legal issues and obligations to the legislation, to their employer and to the patron. The remarks of one female bouncer summed up what most of the bouncers thought about the issue.

... look there are a number of areas that you have to consider, the first is the legislation, regardless of what you do it will come down to
did you do it by the book. The second is you have to consider your employers interests, they are there to make money, and pay your wages, the other is the patron they come to the club and you fill them with drink you just can't turf them out because they get pissed. You have to take some responsibility for the poor bastards... so when you are working you have balance all of these things [FB 1]

The finding from the interviews and the statistical data support the unobtrusive observations made in Chapter 3. Many of the bouncers held the view that due to their training they had a technical expertise far greater than that of the patrons they met in their official capacity. It is also interesting to note the differences between the male and female bouncers. Males are much more likely to resort to violence to solve issues with patrons, while female bouncers were more likely to try to communicate and defuse any confrontational issues with patrons. In the next chapter, the issues and finding will be brought together to suggest that particularly male bouncers tend to create and inflate the incidence of violence on the waterfront.
Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusions

The findings of this investigation are similar to the research conducted by Hobbs and Hall (2000) and Monaghan (2000). Monaghan’s (2000) investigation of door staff in England found that, as in this research, bouncers are dominated by males. Monaghan’s (2000:11) research also found that the small number of female bouncers was generally used to control female customers. Moreover, the use of violence within the occupation of bouncing is seen a valued asset by other bouncers within the job (Monaghan, 2000:25). The ability to use violence, the willingness to risk bodily injury, and the need to regulate large hedonistic groups “...legitimates their use of sometimes injurious ‘sovereign power’” (Monaghan, 2000:25).

Hobbs and Hall (2000:6) found that the suggestion of violent potential is crucial to maintain non-violent control strategies in licensed venues, and astute bouncers are aware of the potency in controlling patrons, by presenting on the door an image of masculinity that is in some way removed from the norm. Observations made of bouncers on the Hobart waterfront certainly support Hobbs and Hall (2000) contention that the image of a physically large male on the doors of venues can be a deterrent for potentially violent male patrons.

However, the finding from this research indicates that the presence of physically large males at the entrance also increases the possibility of interpersonal violence. Moreover, hegemonic masculine identity (see Connell, 1995) that subordinates other forms of masculine identity is evident. These findings also support Monaghan’s (2000) contention that the occupational culture surrounding the nighttime security industry has developed dominant and subordinate styles of masculinities within the entertainment industry. This is particularly relevant when considering the training of new bouncers and the styles of intervention utilised by bouncers when at work.

The research also revealed that particularly for female bouncers, the class background of male patrons could negate any potentially violent incidents.
For example, both the police and female bouncers felt that working class ethos of ‘real men don’t hit women’ is used when female bouncers negotiate compliance issues with male patrons. However, this appears to be relevant only in the public sphere and may not transfer over into the private sphere (see for example the literature on Domestic Violence). This was also reflected in the way that male bouncers view female patrons. Many of the male bouncers viewed female patrons as non-threatening or at the most an annoyance that was part of the working environment of bouncers. This also indicates that the class background of male bouncers plays an important role in the way male bouncers confront male patrons who threaten their male identity.

This research supports Tedeschi and Felson’s (1994) argument that male aggression can be placed into two main categories of assertive and protective violence. Many of the male bouncers relied on the position that if you allowed male patrons to get away with too much there would be collective misbehaviour by the other patrons in the venue. This appears to suggest that the other patrons will not respect the authority of the bouncer. However, bouncers were acutely attuned to male patrons challenging the bouncer’s perception of hegemonic masculinity within the venue.

Hegemonic masculine identity is also constructed through the very nature of the occupation. Many of the interviews with the police and bouncers clearly suggested that masculine identity associated with security work attracts males from various lifestyles. For instance, it was evident that males entering the occupation saw it as a testing ground for other masculine indicators such as a martial arts prowess. The other major finding was that the occupation of bouncing also had perceived benefits such as the attention that it attracts from female patrons. Indeed, the police suggested that this attraction was one of the aspects of why this occupation attracts males.

It is evident that the way in which males are socialised includes not only institutions such as family, school and sporting systems, but the occupation itself. How private security is socially constructed is a major factor in the way male bouncers behave and carry out their duties. The expression of
superior technical expertise, the ability to exercise control over other in the workplace, and the ability to display physical prowess are evident in the occupational influence on male bouncers.

For female bouncers, the occupation appears to be that of employment and they generally do not immerse themselves too deeply into the masculine occupational culture. The research suggests that, although many male bouncers consider female bouncers an asset in the venue, they are only there to assist with problem female patrons. Many of the male bouncers suggested that female patrons are not worthy of the attention of male bouncers and that their time and expertise would be better utilised in the more demanding role of coping with the male patrons. Both the police and male bouncers expressed the view that females would not be able to cope with the physical rigours of dealing with aggressive male patrons.

In general, the way in which a bouncer "does the job" can be viewed as a complex myriad of individual and collective processes. The use of hegemonic masculine ideologies in bouncers certainly confirms Connell’s (1995) conceptionalisation of hegemonic masculinity. However, the working environment that both male and female bouncers operate in, violence can be an important tool they have to rely on to achieve a safe and secure space for the mass of patrons.

The application of physical force is an everyday occurrence in the entertainment industry. However, the issue here is what degree of physical force is required when subduing patrons who have broken house rules. For example, the physical restraint technics used by bouncers when removing a patron can have very serious consequences for the patron, bouncer and the owner or manager. In particular, when groups of both young males and females mix in licensed venues coupled with the consumption of large amounts of alcohol and the provision of particular styles of visual stimulation, often of an overtly sexual nature, the cocktail can erupt into violent confrontation between males. Many of these confrontations are premised on a masculine sexual assertiveness. How the bouncers react to this situation can inflate the conflict to violence that is even more destructive. The
research also suggests that with the nature of fashion, music and atmosphere of the clubs and pubs that surround the waterfront area the human interaction becomes one of asserting and consuming particular identities (see Chatterton and Hollands, 2003).

The point here is that the nighttime leisure activities of licensed entertainment venues promote and indeed require, for commercial reasons, methods of attracting young people to the venue. Many of the methods used are two fold; the first is to attract young males by the advertising that young females frequent the venue. In this instance, particularly when there are large groups of naval personal visiting Hobart, many of the management teams actively seek young single females to frequent the premises. Secondly, advertising different venues through the media as the place to be on a Friday and Saturday night for young women to attract young men also creates particular styles of venues. Particular venue styles then need a system of exclusion to ensure that the styled identity adopted is not compromised by allowing patrons in that do not project the styled identity.

Depending on the success of the advertising campaign, many of the venues begin to attract large groups of young people that can quickly get out of control and the owners and managers are forced to introduce systems of control. Generally, the control systems are the introduction of bouncers, who are traditionally physically large males and present a further ingredient to the cocktail of competing masculine identities.

Once bouncers are introduced into the entertainment venue the dynamics of the venue can change. On the one hand, many of the young male patrons feel that it is an intrusion into their social space that becomes a challenge to their male identity. On the other hand, the bouncers are there in an employment capacity, and have numerous obligations to perform. This is reflected in the way in which bouncers perceive their technical expertise. Many of the bouncers feel that the public do not understand the realities of security work in the entertainment industry.
Overall, the research indicated that bouncers construct masculinity through a complex combination of social background and occupational cultural factors. Male bouncers, in particular, rely on and reinforce a dominant form of masculine identity by subordinating other male identities that do not measure up to perceptions of physical prowess, legal technical ability, and a willingness to risk bodily injury. The assertion that male bouncers in particular help create and indeed maintain levels of violence in the nighttime economy is supported by this investigation.

Conclusions

This research has suggested the way in which masculine identity is constructed by male bouncers increases the probability of violence in licensed venues. This can certainly be linked with the dominant ideals of what bouncers believe are the major attributes of this occupation. The findings also suggest that female bouncers are much more effective in dealing with issues of patrons' complying with house rules. For example in Germany, one club has used naked female bouncers to reduce violence. One of the club patrons stated "it makes standing in the queue a lot more fun. When they come out on the street, they have to wear a coat, but its not fastened and there is plenty to see. It takes your mind off everything else". (News Web Site 2003)

However, the way in which bouncers do the job requires further investigation. In particular, more research is needed to consider the social setting of licensed entertainment venues and how patrons negotiate their social position within these spaces. Finally, more research is needed on the effectiveness of the training bouncers receive.
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