Bouncers' Interaction with Patrons in Five Durban Nightclubs: Effectiveness and Patrons' Perceptions of Bouncers

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DECLARATION

I, Nkosingiphile Mbhele (212538866), declare that the work presented in this dissertation is my own. It was never submitted previously to any other university for any other purpose, be it for a degree or an examination. All sources that were utilised in this dissertation have been acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA) is responsible for regulating and monitoring the private security sector. This was established in terms of section 2 of the Private Security Industry Regulation Act of 2002. The mandates and principles originating from this Act drove the regulations that currently guide the private security industry. Nightclubs in South Africa have relied heavily on private security companies to protect their property and ensure the safety of patrons during busy nights. However, as far back as 2003, Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister and Winlow (2003) stated that nightclubs and the nighttime economy generally were left unregulated with many activities revolving around a sea of alcohol. Because there is a plethora of evidence that links alcohol and violence, it is important to understand the relationship between bouncers and patrons, as well as the role and competence of bouncers in this relationship, from a scholarly perspective. Bouncers are key players in maintaining safety and security at nightclubs, thus this study investigated the relationship between bouncers and patrons and their respective perspectives on the extent of violence and aggression that occur in nightclubs as places of entertainment where alcohol is sold. The study identified 30 participants by utilising a non-probability sampling method. Of the 30 participants, 10 bouncers were sampled using the purposive sampling technique. Nine bouncers were male and one was female. Semi-structured interviews were utilised to elicit the views of bouncers. Moreover, 20 undergraduate students who had attended any one of the five nightclubs under study were sampled using the convenience sampling technique. Focus group interviews were conducted with undergraduate students at the Howard campus, University of Kwa Zulu -Natal. In this process, males and females were interviewed separately.

The study revealed that bouncers generally responded positively regarding their relationship with patrons. However, some concluded that their attitude and behaviour depended on patrons' behaviour. Bouncers indicated that they were compelled to deal with patrons in a physical manner at least once. Moreover, most of the bouncers had not received relevant security training and they were not in possession of PSIRA cards as recommended by PSIRA. Female patrons generally responded that bouncers conducted their duties correctly and effectively, which contradicted the views of male patrons. One male patron noted that the manner in which bouncers did their job depended on the environment. Neither the male nor the female participants were aware of PSIRA and its rules and regulations that bouncers should abide by. The majority thought that bouncers were only required to be big and physically fit. Some male patrons could recall positive experiences with bouncers, but the majority recalled negative experiences.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1   Introduction

Since the beginning of democracy, South Africa has seen massive growth in the nightclub, tavern and shebeen industries that serve various communities. This growth came with a high demand for the security of patrons and other physical assets. In addressing this requirement, the private security industry plays a crucial role in safeguarding people and assets globally (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015). Nightclubs and bars in particular have become popular for employing bouncers to keep their properties and patrons safe. However, it is a known fact that violence and aggression erupt regularly at these places of entertainment. In this context, alcohol consumption has been identified as the major reason for the violence and aggression that occur in nightclubs and other businesses where it is sold (Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister & Winlow, 2003). Faull (2013), citing the World Health Organisation (WHO, S.A.), reveals an established relationship between alcohol consumption and violence. To curb this problem, nightclubs in particular employ security staff commonly known as bouncers to maintain the peace. However, Schneider and Minnaar (2015) cite an instance involving the brutal killing of innocent civilians by private security officers. The uncontrolled behaviour of these 'security officers' has thus become a serious concern, particularly as these crowd controllers (also known as bouncers or doormen) commonly deploy force to manage rowdy patrons, and it is feared that their actions may sometimes be lethal (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015).

Faull (2013) concurs that alcohol is believed to be one of the primary factors that result in high rates of violence in South Africa. Schneider and Minnaar (2015) write that the application of force by the private security industry is an issue that should not be ignored. In instances where patrons misbehave and act aggressively towards bouncers or towards one another, bouncers, as supposedly professional private security representative, are obligated to act appropriately. For example, Section 8 of the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (PSIRA) No. 56 of 2001 stipulates that "professional private securities shall respond in a manner that

does not threaten or harm the public" and that they be required "to only use minimal, necessary and reasonable force in the discharging of their duties". However, there are numerous perspectives and levels of concerns concerning the application of force by private security officers (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015). In the South African context, PSIRA is responsible for regulating and monitoring the private security sector. This Act was established in terms of Section 2 of PSIRA in 2002. Various mandates and principles originate from this Act and thus Regulations were drawn up in terms of this Act. This Act also established a body that regulates and monitors the activities of private security service providers to ensure that they comply with and abide by the principles of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 and the law.

Hobbs et al. (2003, p. 21) refer to professional bouncers as "those [people] who collect detailed information about settings and are highly skilled at reading social contexts and the intricate signs of threat". In this context, Schneider and Minnaar (2015) state that the need to train private security officers is of paramount importance. The training should include management of adrenal response to be able to act rationally and effectively under extreme threat and attack situations.

Nightclubs in South Africa have relied heavily on private security personnel to protect their properties and ensure the safety of patrons during busy nights. Because of the mushrooming of such entertainment centers, the need for private security services is on the increase even outside South Africa due to a number of issues that exist in nightclubs. However, Hobbs et al. (2003, p. 37) state that nightclubs and the nighttime economy overall are left unregulated with many activities "revolving around a sea of alcohol".

The weekly events in nightclubs have placed a lot of pressure on public police resources, intensifying a high demand for private security companies and opportunities for new crime. The Private Security Industry Regulation Act recognizes these security service providers as an important security architecture in protecting and ensuring the safety of lives and properties in the security industry in South Africa. As the country experiences an unprecedented growth of private security providers, it is important that the legal principles guiding their operations are strictly observed in the overall interest of the main stakeholder, which is PSIRA (Act No. 56 of 2001).

Therefore, it is important to explore the relationship between bouncers and patrons in this context. The study therefore investigated the relationship between bouncers and patrons and their respective perspectives on the extent of violence and aggression that occur in nightclubs as places of entertainment where alcohol is sold. Schneider (2013) articulates that the level of crime and violence in South Africa has made it uncommon for private security officers not to revert to extreme force when dealing with unruly and violent patrons. It is therefore not surprising that bouncers are mostly perceived to be violent and aggressive individuals, but both male and female patrons readily link the cause of such violence and aggression in nightclubs to high alcohol consumption. In this context, the main aim of the study was to explore male and female patrons' perceptions of their relationship with bouncers to establish if patron gender affects the treatment meted out by bouncers. To achieve this aim, the study set out to determine if bouncers were well skilled, trained and qualified, as it was argued that the absence of these attributes is likely to affect bouncers' ability to deal with and solve complex problems that erupt in nightclubs and bars across South Africa in general, and in Durban in particular.

1.2 Study Background

1.2.1 The work of private security agencies: an overview

Private security companies derive their powers and functions from different pieces of legislation such as government policy and organisational or institutional policy. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 as the supreme law of the country, and the Criminal Procedure Act No. 51 of 1977 currently guide the constitutional foundation for employees under private security agencies. The latter Act is an Act of the Parliament of South Africa that governs criminal procedure in South Africa's legal system. It details the procedures for the whole system of criminal law, including search and seizure, arrest, the filing of charges, bail, plea, the testimony of witnesses, the law of evidence, verdict and sentencing, and appeal. PSIRA (Act No. 56 of 2001) provides for the regulation of the private security industry. For this purpose, a regulatory authority was established to provide for matters connected therewith, among others. It has become common practice across South Africa for various nightclubs to employ private security companies to protect and preserve their property and

to contain instances of aggression or violence that may occur in nightclubs. Therefore, it remains important for these employees to always familiarise themselves and comply with available legislative frameworks that govern their daily functions in the business environment.

Hall and Biersteker (2002, p. 19) define 'private' as "that which is not in the realm of the public". The work of private security agencies has grown in the extent of services they provide in different states around the world. To emphasise this submission, Sklansky (2008, p. 34) states the following: "They do not only provide their services to industrial facilities and commercial establishments, but also to office buildings, transportation facilities, recreational complexes, and entire shopping districts and residential neighbourhoods."

Lister et al. (2000) contend that, in the United Kingdom, the need for services provided by private security companies in the form of persons who are specifically known as bouncers is difficult to comply with as nightclubs emerge at an ever-increasing rate. Hobbs et al. (2002) state that the expansion of nighttime leisure in Britain has resulted in a high demand for bouncers. In the 1950s, private security officers in the United States were more than public police, and by 1982, this country recorded about 1.1 million private police (Braithwaite, 2000).

In South Africa, private security officers have become more popular and greater in number than in the USA and Europe (Braithwaite, 2000). Kole (2009) states that the South African private security industry has grown massively over the past two decades, to the extent that its numbers have bypassed those of the public police. Private security services have not only taken over from the public police in terms of providing services to sporting events, in high-rise buildings and in gated housing communities for rich people, but these services have also taken over the duties that the police previously performed during the night by patrolling the streets and venues where people are enjoying nightlife in cities. Furthermore, private security services are available in and around restaurants to keep staff and patrons safe when they attend business owned properties (Braithwaite, 2000). This indicates the popularity of private security services and their high demand across the world, but particularly in South Africa. Today, people in South Africa have resorted increasingly to employing private security firms for the protection of their families and properties, and the growth of this industry is possibly

an indication that it functions effectively and within the established legal framework. Unfortunately, the issue of the quality and professionalism of bouncers who work exclusively in nightclubs and similar establishments with respect to meeting the provisions of extant laws has never been studied by academic scholars in South Africa. This study therefore offers new perspectives on the issue of private security operations with specific reference to the work of bouncers in South African nightclubs. This study was the first scholarly endeavour in South Africa to study the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs in its quest to explore the reasons for and the nature of the violence that erupts between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs.

1.2.2 Bouncers working in nightclubs

The deployment of bouncers in nightclubs has caused a number of concerns among members of the public, especially patrons of nightclubs who are mostly exposed to the actions and attitudes of bouncers. Schneider and Minnaar (2015) argue that the use of lethal and excessive force on the public is usually associated with the South African Police Service (SAPS). However, private security officers are also guilty of exercising undue force in the discharge of their duties, and in this context Winlow et al. (2001) note that bouncers are characteristically masculine, large boned men. The latter authors also state that a characteristic that qualifies bouncers is that they are required to possess a hyper-masculine persona, which is displayed by their body language and the way they dress. However, this is not the reason they have drawn attention. The reason is the manner in which they conduct their duties, which is likely to involve violence. Bouncers are hired for their capability to manage violence and physically intimidate with their appearance (Winlow et al., 2001). This occupational culture has resulted in a number of injuries and sometimes, tragically, the death of individuals. However, many such violent incidents go unreported due to a number of factors such as the unwillingness of the SAPS to provide assistance. Moreover, members of the SAPS seem to be uninformed about the legitimate codes of conduct of bouncers, simply because this issue does not lead to many deaths. According to Schneider and Minnaar (2015), unlike the overlooked incidents by the media of private security staff resorting to force, the public perception of the SAPS being driven to the use of force has been largely shaped by media reporting, such as the killing of Andries Tatane in 2011 and the Marikana shooting which ended the lives of many miners in

2012. However, the media have reported a few cases about patrons being assaulted by bouncers. For example, eNews Channel Africa [eNCA] (2015) reported the death of a young man, Shane Boruchowitz, who was stabbed by a bouncer at TY's nightclub in Pretoria, South Africa. Another incident was reported in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper (Patrons assaulted in the Fourways nightclub, 2013) when a bouncer posted a video on YouTube of himself punching young boys in the toilet at a nightclub where they were caught by this alleged bouncer for smoking drugs. These revelations were, in this researcher's view, a tip of the iceberg, as numerous stories and anecdotes narrate the extreme and unnecessary use of force that is exercised by the private security sector, with particular reference to nightclubs where many young people, and also students, 'hang out'. It was these unexplored stories that prompted the researcher to launch this investigation in the quest to tell the stories not only of patrons, but also of bouncers themselves.

In the international arena, there is a highly publicized case of use of force by a private security officer. This incident occurred on 16 September 2007 in Nisour Square in Baghdad, Iraq, when an officer employed by Blackwater International Security Company killed 17 people. This controversial incident led to a ruling by Paul Bremmer, the then appointed American Proconsul in Iraq, that private security officers were not liable to be charged for violence perpetrated in the act of carrying out their duties in Iraq (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015). This incident demonstrated the little anticipated consequences of the use of force by private security officers that may cause the death of civilians. It also highlighted that use of force in most cases is justifiable but also has complications. Such issues are exacerbated in societies where security legislation and guidelines are not in place or enforced. Combining such shortfalls and highly threatening environments may lead to problematic issues around the use of force (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015).

In another incident that was reported in *The Mercury* (2004, cited by Tomkins, 2005), a high profile cricketer, David Hookes, died after sustaining head injuries when he was punched by a bouncer at the Beaconsfield Hotel in the Melbourne suburb of St Kilda. The bouncer involved was later charged with manslaughter. The same bouncer that was involved in the altercation with David Hookes had other assault charges pending against him from other incidents. The highly publicized death of David Hookes brought public attention to a diverse range of problems associated with security work in licensed venues (*The Australian*, 2001 cited in Tomkins, 2005). This incident further raised questions about how security guards perceive their work and whether they receive adequate training to deal with circumstances of violence in the nighttime economy (Tomkins, 2005).

Schneider and Minnaar (2015) highlight the fact that the extension of specialized training that focuses specifically on the use of force and the principles and tactics for private security officers has been minimal to zero globally. Law enforcement officials can use the example of the United Nations (UN) Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms. This UN convention is an international document that defines the context of the use of force by law enforcement officers. It defines situations in which law enforcers are eligible to use force or firearms. Schneider and Minnaar (2015) further emphasize that the key aspect of implementing the UN convention and its standards is governments' responsibilities and commitments to ensuring that its policing agencies comply with these standards of use of force and firearms. According to the UN principles, law enforcement officials may only use firearms when other means of achieving peace are insufficient or ineffective. For example, a firearm may be used after a verbal warning has been given to the perpetrator. It may also be used to prevent death or serious injuries (UN, 1990).

In utilizing force or firearms, private security or law enforcement officials must respect and preserve human life while simultaneously preventing or minimizing damage and injury to the targeted victim, including innocent bystanders. Moreover, Principal 4 of the UN document emphasizes that law enforcement officials should, as far as possible, apply non-violent tactics before resorting to the use of force or making use of firearms. Principal 7 emphasizes the point of having governments that shall ensure that arbitrary or abusive use of force and firearms by law enforcement officials is punishable as a criminal offence under their law (UN,

1990). As the UN principles imply proper, correct and adequate training to be provided relating to general policing activities and handling of weapons, Schneider and Minnaar (2015) raise the question of what level of practical firearm handling is adequate for police training programmes.

The use of force by private security officers is specifically addressed in the Montreux document as cited by (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015, p. 130), which is an important international convention and protocol that is supported by the International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015). The Montreux document was developed because of the unmitigated use of force in the Nisour Square incident. The Swiss government in collaboration with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) initiated it. Governmental experts from Afghanistan, Angola, Australia, Austria, Canada, China, France, Germany, Iraq, Poland, Sierra Leon, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Ukraine and the United States of America (USA) participated.

The need to regulate the operations of private security companies has existed for a long time. As far back as 2002, Braithwaite (2000) noted that it was within the government's ability to regulate the standards of private security providers. More recently, Schneider and Minnaar (2015) noted that the private security industry had role players ranging from individual officers to regulators whose responsibility was to enforce legislative compliance. According to Kole (2009), every legitimate private security service provider should be aware of the Private Security Industry Regulation Act and of the codes of conduct that are presented under this Act. However, there have been some perceived inadequacies with PSIRA in terms of monitoring and regulating the private security sector. Former Deputy Minister of Police, Ms Maggie Sotyu, concurred when she stated that she required the PSIRA Council to sort out non-compliance in the industry that employs bouncers. She also undertook to pay further attention to the forgotten issue of bouncers who are generally armed when they take up their posts. In 2008, the former President of South Africa, the Honourable Thabo Mbeki, stated in his State of the Nation Address that private security service providers were necessary at that stage of the South African history, because of the need to consolidate the mechanisms that were created to sustain a democratic and equitable society (Berg, 2008). The question

remains however whether these operatives are trained to function within legitimate parameters, or whether their actions and behaviour remain uncontrolled within ad hoc employment and regulation practices.

It was in this context that it became imperative that scholarly investigation should illuminate and understand the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons and to investigate how it might lead to violence and aggression. Understanding the root causes of this phenomenon means that intervention strategies can be designed and implemented to prevent the unmitigated eruption of violence and aggression among bouncers and patrons in the future.

1.2.3 Patrons who attend nightclubs

A majority of patrons who attend nightclubs, shebeens, taverns and bars attend these entertainment centers with the particular purpose to purchase and drink alcohol and thus 'to have a good time'. However, this exorbitant quantity of alcohol that is consumed has been a concern due to the link between violence and high alcohol intoxication. It usually becomes complicated for bouncers in nightclubs to diligently and effectively play their role of maintaining stability and peace due to chaos and disorder caused by highly intoxicated patrons. However, not all patrons attend nightclubs to focus on intoxication. There are other entertaining activities that motivate some patrons to attend these venues, such as enjoying good music, the vibe, singing karaoke, and others who are just there to socialise with their peers. There are even some patrons who do not drink alcohol but who attend nightclubs to socialise. However, the majority of patrons attend nightclubs to consume alcohol, especially during weekend nights. Nightclubs in Durban are highly attended by young individuals above the age of 18. However, it has also become highly possible to find children under the age of 18 at these centers because they find it easy to gain access to these nightclubs. Entry is no longer strictly controlled, and it seems that bouncers before entry no longer verify the identity documents of patrons.

1.3   Statement of the Problem

The prevalence of violence in nightclubs in South Africa has not been given adequate attention by the country's key holders. This may be due to inadequate reporting of incidences to the SAPS and inadequate media coverage. In addition, most of the assaults that occur in nightclubs do not result in severe casualties. Patrons of nightclubs are therefore barely protected by the state and most of the safety and security responsibilities in and around the nightclubs are left in the hands of bouncers. An investigation into the nature of the relationship between patrons and bouncers was therefore paramount, particularly because during the night most patrons in nightclubs rely on bouncers for protection. When the nightlife begins, public police become invisible around places where nightclubs are situated. Even when they are visible, the protection of patrons and property is abdicated to bouncers who are hired either by nightclub managers or by private security service providers. The police do little or nothing to monitor the activities of private security officers who operate in nightclubs, probably because they do not perceive themselves as having a mandate to do so. The PSIRA emphasizes the codes of conduct for private security service providers, but little to zero is done by the state to ensure that they respect and comply with the Act (Kole, 2009).

Nightclubs are popular for enjoying alcoholic drinks which is a practice which, when used in excess, results in violent behaviour (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkews, Suffla & Ratele, 2009). When patrons have excessively consumed alcoholic drinks, bouncers are at risk of threats, insults and violent behaviour. How they respond to such behaviour is of paramount importance. Skills to adjust and respond to such behaviour need to be obtained and developed through proper training, because the safety of patrons depends on the competence and skills of bouncers to handle risky situations. However, some bouncers fail to handle misbehaving patrons in a manner that is characterised by professionalism and, in most instances, they respond with violence and aggression to solve the matter (Seedat et al, 2009). Bouncers seem to argue that the offending patron is intoxicated and therefore behaves in a manner that is provoked by alcohol consumption, and therefore the patron does not deserve gentleness and understanding (Winlow et al 2001). The interaction of bouncers and patrons should not be a violent, but it has become a culture of bouncers working in nightclubs to solve problems of misbehaving and intoxicated patrons violently and aggressively (Winlow et al

2001). Such action deviates from the code of conduct of the Act, it violates Section 10 of the Constitution, which protects the dignity of all individuals, and Section 11, which entrenches each person's right to life.

An investigation into the competence of bouncers and whether they completed appropriate training was therefore important. It was also necessary to investigate if bouncers understood that they had to be registered with PSIRA to be eligible to render private security functions. The Act requires private security staff to undergo training and be registered with PSIRA to obtain a PSIRA recognised identification that all legitimate private security officers should have in their possession during their shifts. It was important to establish if bouncers were aware of the PSIRA Code of Conduct and if they complied with the rules and regulations of the Act. In this context, it must be mentioned that it is the duty and responsibility of nightclub managers and private security service providers to make sure that they hire bouncers who are competent, well trained and skilled to handle intoxicated individuals and other issues. Persons in authority must also enforce rules to ensure that the relationship between bouncers and patrons is neither violent nor aggressive. However, the execution of their responsibilities by managers was not within the scope of this investigation, and it will therefore be referred to only peripherally in this report.

1.4   Purpose of the Study

The Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority is responsible for regulating and monitoring the private security sector. This was established in terms of Section 2 of the PSIRA of 2002. The mandates and principles originating from the Act established the regulations that guide the private security industry. Nightclubs in South Africa have relied heavily on private security service providers to protect their property and ensure the safety of patrons during busy nights. As was stated earlier, Hobbs et al. (2003, p. 34) argue that nightclubs and the nighttime economy in general are left unregulated "with many activities revolving around a sea of alcohol". Because alcohol and violence have been shown to have a link (WHO, S.A.), it is important to understand the relationship of bouncers and patrons in nightclubs as well as the role and competence of bouncers in the relationship, as they are the key players in

maintaining safety and security at these places of entertainment. This study thus also investigated the nature of acts of violence and aggression that might occur between bouncers and patrons from the perspectives of both bouncers and male and female patrons.

The outcomes of the results will assist the wider community in the sense that the information may be published in selective articles and publications that will serve to sensitise and inform the public of their role in curbing this phenomenon. The roles and professional requirements that regulate the operations of bouncers are little understood by society, probably because a limited number of studies have been conducted in this field and even less information has been shared with the public. It is important that society, particularly young people who are proliferate visitors of nightclubs, should know where it stands in relation to bouncers and how bouncers should behave in their posts. It is especially important that individuals who attend nightclubs and interact with bouncers should know what the rights and position of bouncers are, and that they should interact more frequently to build mutual respect. This study will further enlighten nightclub managers in terms of the legal aspects that they should abide by and follow when seeking to employ private security service providers.

Private security service providers will also benefit from this study. Both security service providers and nightclub managers to improve relationships between bouncers and patrons may use the perspectives and attitudes shared by the participants of this study.

Moreover, this research will provide the South African Police Service with insightful information that will reiterate and may therefore refresh their understanding of their responsibilities in terms of the protection of nightclub patrons and property and their responsibilities in the event of the eruption of violence at and around these venues. This may restructure the platform that SAPS officers seem to have abandoned when they abdicated their responsibilities towards this sector of the entertainment industry in favour of private security firms and, in effect, bouncers.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The aim of the study was to understand the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in selected nightclubs in Durban, South Africa, and to investigate bouncers' competence as private security officers in these entertainment centers. More specifically, this study aimed to achieve the following objectives:

- To explore the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs in Durban, South Africa;
- To assess patrons' experiences with bouncers in nightclubs in Durban, South Africa;
- To assess bouncers' experiences with patrons in nightclubs in Durban, South Africa;
- To differentiate between the perceptions and attitudes of male and female patrons towards bouncers who worked in nightclubs in Durban, South Africa;
- To investigate the legitimacy of bouncers in nightclubs in Durban, South Africa by establishing what training they received and what qualifications they held.

1.6 Research Questions

- What is the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in selected nightclubs?
- What kind of experiences have patrons had with bouncers?
- What kind of experiences have bouncers had with patrons?
- How do males' and females' perceptions and attitudes towards bouncers differ?
- What training did bouncers undergo and what qualifications do they hold?

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One: Introduction

This is the introductory chapter that presents the background of this study, the statement of the problem, and the objectives of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter offers an evaluation of the literature that was reviewed. Literature of studies that had been done by other scholars that related to the topic under investigation was perused and reviewed. Various results and findings pertaining to this study are related and compared.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Scholarly theories that guided this study are presented and illuminated in this chapter. Three theories will be explained, namely the social disorganisation theory, the frustration-aggression theory, and the culture of violence theory.

Chapter Four: Methodological Approach: Data Collection and Analysis Methods

This chapter presents the methods of data collection and sampling that were applied. Furthermore, the nature of the study design is explained.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis and Discussion

A discussion of the data and an evaluation of the results are presented in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter elucidates the conclusions the researcher reached and further provides recommendations that emerged by evaluating the findings of this study.

1.8   Ethical Considerations

The researcher requested the permission of the gatekeepers of the selected nightclubs to conduct the study among bouncers working there and patrons frequenting the place. The management of five nightclubs agreed to allow the researcher to involve their bouncers to be part of the study. In the interest of the ethical considerations that guide the sensitive nature of a study of this kind, the names of the nightclubs are withheld. Where relevant in this report, they will be referred to by pseudonym, as will be the names of bouncers and patrons. A letter of authorization for this study was also received from the Registrar of UKZN to conduct interviews with UKZN students who regularly attended nightclubs and who voluntarily agreed to participate in the study. The researcher also received ethical approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. All ethical procedures as prescribed by the university's ethical guidelines were followed to ensure that the study remained strictly within ethical boundaries in its execution and reportage. The researcher provided consent forms to the participants, which they signed in agreement of their voluntary participation in the study. None of the participants – bouncers or student patrons of nightclubs who were older than 18 – were in any way compelled to be part of or remain in the study against their will.

1.9   Operationalization of Key Terms

Bouncer: a person employed by a nightclub or similar establishment to prevent troublemakers and other unwanted people from entering or to eject them from the premises (Moore, 2008). One of the bouncer's responsibilities in nightclubs is to incorporate nightclub visitors/patrons into the rules and discipline protocols of the nightclub (Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister & Winlow, 2002).

Patron: a patron is a customer (male or female) at a nightclub who is there to purchase and consume liquor.

Nightclub: a club that is open from the evening until early morning, especially during weekends, providing facilities such as a bar and disco or other entertainment. Carlini, Andreoni, Martins, Benjamin, Sanudo & Sanchez (2014, p. 13) define a nightclub as "an

entertainment venue that sells alcoholic beverages and has a dance floor, and patrons make entry through payment of an entrance fee at the door."

Violence: behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone. "Violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation" (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi, 2002).

Aggression: feelings of anger or antipathy resulting in hostile or violent behaviour; readiness to attack or confront. Behaviour directed toward another individual carried out with the proximate (immediate) intent to cause harm (Anderson & Huesmann, 2003).

Private Security Industry: organisations and services other than public law enforcement agencies which are engaged primarily in the prevention of crime, loss, or harm to specific individuals, organisations, or facilities. De Waard (1999, p. 151) defines the private security industry as follows: "Private security firms are undertakings that perform activities on a professional basis for third parties. Their objective includes the preservation of the security of persons and property or the maintenance of public law and order, using mainly manpower for that purpose".

1.10   Summary

This chapter highlighted the preliminary phase of this study, which established the foundation from which this research project was launched. An important part of the study, which was the methodological execution, was not discussed in this chapter. The introduction to this chapter highlighted some important considerations that resulted in the decision to undertake this study. The aim and objectives of this study were thus stated to highlight what the researcher sought to achieve. The key research questions that guided the study were enumerated and the structure of this study report was provided.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Private security officers who operate in nightclubs are generally known as bouncers. These security officers play an influential role in maintaining peace and stability in nightclubs. They ensure that patrons abide by the rules and regulations of the nightclub. However, evidence exists that, in South Africa, there are some shortcomings in overseeing and monitoring the work that bouncers do. For example, the government has observed that there are issues that need to be taken care of to better regulate the work that bouncers do. Therefore, there is the requirement that bouncers should go through the processes as stipulated by PSIRA to gain legitimate status as private security officers in South Africa. Furthermore, PSIRA is entitled to monitor the registration of private security officers. However, as former Deputy Minister of Police, Sotyu (2016) mentioned in a speech in 2016, PSIRA "does not bite hard enough" to ensure that private security companies and officers comply with the law. In this chapter, related research conducted by international scholars on the role of bouncers is discussed in an effort to position the role of bouncers and patrons in nightclubs in South Africa in an appropriate context.

For instance, Lister et al. (2000) did extensive research on bouncers in the UK. Geoffron, Sader, Ouellet and Boivin (2015) conducted an ethnographic study in Canada where they engaged in field observations and conducted interviews with bar personnel. In comparison with extensive research that was conducted on the study topic internationally (Lister et al., 2000; Hobbs et al., 2002, 2003, 2005; Monaghan, 2003; Rigakos, 2008; Lister, 2000; Van Liempt & Van Aalst, 2016; Dick et al., 2007; Hobbs, 2007; Hadfield, 2008; Homel et al., 2004; Talbot, 2006; Graham, La Rocque, Yetman, Ross & Guistra, 1980), there was limited research in the South African context that focused on the issue of bouncers, patrons and violence in nightclubs. As far as could be ascertained, the current study was the first study in South Africa that focused on the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs. Thus, this study aimed to fill the gap in the research. The findings will therefore contribute significantly to the discourse in the literature on this field. In lieu of thick data in South African literature on the

study field, this review of the literature on bouncers and patrons in nightclubs was largely retrieved from the literature of international scholars. However, to position the topic in the South African context, the influence of the regulating body for the private security industry in South Africa will be located centrally in the discussion. Therefore, key sections and provisions contained in PSIRA will also be highlighted in this chapter.

2.2   The Occupational Culture of Bouncers

According to Hobbs et al. (2002), nightclubs are labelled as places of enjoyment where a number of individuals seek entertainment by drinking alcohol, dancing and listening to music. Nightclubs are meant to provide allure through their human and nonhuman technologies that create public intimacy. Hobbs et al. (2002, p. 364) assert that many towns and cities have experienced the development of a night time economy that can be understood in terms of "the colonisation of after-dark urban spaces by the leisure industry". This colonisation should be seen as "part of a post-industrial restructuring process, which has been actively facilitated by recent shifts in the political and economic projects of urban governance and, in particular, by the adoption of an entrepreneurial ethic by municipal authorities" (p. 365). According to Hall and Hubbard (1996), this growing commercial activity is attracting unprecedented numbers of almost exclusively young people who flock to these venues where they focus predominantly on purchasing and consuming alcoholic drinks. The last decade has seen a huge growth in "the number of youth-orientated on-licence premises, in admissions to nightclub premises and in the profitability of the night-time leisure industry" (Montgomery 1995, p. 103). However, economic indicators seem to belie the intensity of commercial activity within the night-time leisure sector, as productivity is highly concentrated within the temporal and spatial parameters of the weekend leisure circuit (Montgomery 1995, p. 104).

Hadfield (2008) is of the view that during the night, nightlife businesses of western cities rely heavily on private security firms for social order and successful flow of business. Hadfield (2008) further highlights that policing, regulations and governance of nightclubs in central London in the UK are undertaken to shape and influence the behavioural conduct of patrons who attend nightclubs either as individuals or as groups, with the aim of achieving an environment that is safe for consumers, which is a situation that Hadfield (2008) refers to as a 'security discourse'.

Hobbs et al. (2000) engaged in an ethnographic study using observation, interviews and documentary analysis to study nightclubs in terms of violence, policing and door security in Britain. Based on their findings, they suggest that the state has abandoned and passes over many of its policing duties to bouncers. They observed that, during the operational times of nightclubs, there was minimum police visibility, and therefore "bouncers took responsibility for incorporating night-time visitors into the disciplines and procedures of the late night leisure market" (Hobbs at al., 2000 p. 708). Bouncers therefore were given free rein to adopt their own occupational culture and informal practices within this unregulated environment. This 'door culture' has emerged as a strategy of economic and personal survival, control and domination within a hostile and chaotic working situation (Hobbs, et al., 2000).

Loader (2000) agrees that, as night-time economies have evolved, so too have indigenous forms of regulation and policing. As the day gives way to the night, the state relinquishes and devolves many of its policing duties to bouncers. Within this specific context of "policing beyond government" (Loader, 2000, p. 234), bouncers are permitted wide discretion in their task of imposing commercially rather than legally or morally justifiable behavioural codes. Within this ambiguous enacted environment, it has been found that bouncers forge powerful occupational subcultures and have developed their own informal and situational expedient practices (Hobbs et al., 2002). According to Van Maanen (1978), a bouncer's tasks involves the vetting of potential customers at the door of the venue. This is one of the most important tasks, as only those synonymous with commercially defined imperatives are judged suitable for access. In making such judgments, bouncers become expert at reading signs of trouble and, with both their own safety and the interests of the business in mind, they are willing to make decisions "that can banish certain individuals to forever wander the night-time streets as part of the Legion of the banned". This licence for discretion "is a crucial aspect of door staff occupational culture and reveals the twin nexus of their authority" (Van Maanen, 1978, p. 227).

On the one hand, bouncers are directed, to a greater or lesser extent, by the 'rules of the house', which are rules of entry that relate to commercial perceptions of a venue's market niche. Such restrictions allow door staff to swiftly reject those who dress or behave 'inappropriately'. However, many of the people who are refused entry are excluded because of the bouncer's perception of them as 'scum' or 'arseholes'. Such categories, which operate

as informal typologies of threat and disrepute, are used to assist the selection process and closely resemble those employed by the public police when identifying persons perceived to be 'police property' (Choongh, 1998). A bouncer's 'property' will typically include those (usually young men) who are perceived to be disrespectful and 'cocky' or who, by virtue of their attire, demeanour or body shape, are deemed to be potentially violent. Similarly, the barred will also include those who have already proved themselves disruptive or those who bring with them a 'reputation'.

According to Alvarez (2006), security in the context of the work bouncers do means the ability to exercise power; it is to be given or to accumulate enough power to be in a dominating position. On the other hand, Buzan (1991) defines security as "the pursuit of threat". Alvarez (2006) further asserts that discourses provide identification of threats and insecurities, which, if successfully recognised, provide the power of security. For the nightclub to be successful mainly as a business and secondly as a place of leisure for patrons, it is important for involved actors to achieve a 'security discourse'. Hence, nightclubs hire private security bouncers to secure the property and to ensure the security of patrons. However, most problems lie with the manner in which security in the context of night clubs is achieved. However, this view does not deny the fact that bouncers play an important role in nightclubs, but it does raise questions about the manner in which policies that govern this line of work are implemented.

2.2.1 Male bouncers

Graham, Bernards, Osgood and Wells (2006) report that the presence of bouncers who work in nightclubs is associated with aggression and violence. According to Monaghan (2002), masculinity and male gendered dominance are relevant in nightclubs. He further states that the violent work of bouncers must be elaborated alongside its situated sensuality and he critically articulates that the violence shown by bouncers is also limited, as they act from a basis of reflexive agency. Whitehead (1999, cited in Monaghan, 2002) states that women may also exercise dominant masculinity because gender is something constructed by society. Monaghan (2002) perceives force as a tool of the trade, just like the work of police. Bouncers can use force to remove drunken patrons from nightclubs, control crowds, and settle arguments. However, there are limits and constraints.

The physicality that bouncers bring to their career is referred to as 'crude bodily capital' (Monaghan, 2002). Bouncers contribute this capital to nightclubs as they provide nightclubs with their bodies and themselves, which are perceived as marketable assets. Male bouncers have the physical ability to exercise their duties due to the physicality of their bodies, their speech, their body language, their facial expressions and their demeanour, which all connote danger and threat. Patrons who attend nightclubs understand the meaning of muscles, tattoos and shaved heads, and these powerful massages are important as part of the package of the employer-employee contract (Winlow, 2009).

2.2.2 Female bouncers

To date, the issue of violence and aggression in nightclubs has been perceived as a male centred phenomenon as only men are involved in this industry as it is men who are recruited for this job from both public policing institutions and the private security industry. However, Hobbs, O'Brien and Westmarland (2007) articulate that the growth of nightclubs or night-time economies in Britain particularly has been charecterised by major changes, particularly in the gender context as young women now avail themselves as security officers or bouncers in the night-time entertainment sector. This has called for innovative transformations in the maintenance of order and control in arenas where female bouncers are employed. The work of bouncers naturally involves physical interaction with customers, which is mainly for disciplinary and control purposes. Consequently, this has led to serious legal implications caused by the fact that inappropriate touching of customers may occur when women perform their duties. However, this phenomenon is more common when male bouncers are accused of touching female bodies inappropriately. In Britain, Section 182 of the Licensing Act of 2003 supports the employment of women as bouncers and it stipulates provisions that guide the searching of persons.

Dick et al. (2007) indicate that a vast majority of male bouncers do not see the need to employ female bouncers for practical policing purposes. Male bouncers maintain that female bouncers are helpful only for searching handbags and monitoring female toilets. However, the negative image of door staff is actively being cleaned up by promoting the importance of women as door staff in nightclubs. It has been argued that women possess the emotional qualities that are needed to clean up the violent and aggressive image of bouncers, which

might help achieve the objective of having a non-aggressive style of door attendance at nightclubs (Dick et al*.,* 2007). It is also assumed that female bouncers will employ a non-violent approach to handling nightclub conflicts (Dick et al., 2007).

According to Hobbs et al*.* (2007), the Security Industry Authority (SIA) in the United Kingdom(UK) participates animatedly in substituting the picture people have of bouncing, and for this reason, it is prioritising women to take up the role as a strategy to address the violent, militant image associated with bouncers. Hobbs et al*.* (2007) interviewed a nightclub owner who had been in the nightlife economy industry for three decades. His explanation for the need for a new image of venue security was that he saw the need for female bouncers as opposed to male bouncers. That is why he was the first person to hire females as bouncers. He thought that having female bouncers would help curb and even eradicate violence, as they had better problem-solving skills and they could calm a crowd down when violence and aggression erupted. Male bouncers portrayed a masculine image and exuded manliness, but this was often the cause of violence (Hobbs et al*.*, 2007).

According to Hobbs et al. (2007), women bouncers that they studied in Britain showed great diversity in their culture. They came from backgrounds where they had been exposed to and engaged in physical violence. They were equipped with emotions and physical skills to handle violence and to be a match for the masculine culture of bouncers (Hobbs et al., 2007). According to the latter authors, a 32-year-old British woman who had been a bouncer for ten years was most suitable for the job: "She has seen some things that most girls would run and hide from. It is probably her upbringing that made her the way she is. As a kid, she would get bashed and sent back out until she won (p. 29)."

Conversely, a 24-year-old white British woman who wore size 8 clothes and was only 5 feet 3 inches tall, stated that she did not draw on bulk to gain control over the venue and the behaviour of patrons who showed hypermasculine characteristics. Instead, she used her experiential knowledge of aggressive masculinity and she employed verbal, non-intimidating approaches to gain control and authority (Hobbs et al*.,* 2007). Therefore, although some women working as bouncers show traits of masculinity, violence, and aggressiveness, Hobbs et al*.* (2007) contend that the effectiveness of women bouncers depends on their experiential knowledge of physical violence and a violent culture in order to perform their duty as violence experts. However, even though women bouncers seem to be handling their duties effectively

and efficiently, they tend to discuss the performance of the 'violence worker' role with their male colleagues. Generally, though, their physique and speculations about their emotional influences produce a resource to that industry that signifies that new demands and new patterns of security control are considered and that there is an attempt to replace violence with safety.

Moreover, Hobbs et al. (2007) indicate that there is diversity in the culture of female bouncers. The latter study found that a vast majority of women came from a working-class background where they commonly experienced physical violence by either being exposed to or engaging in it. Women in this study put emphasis on how their emotional and physical skills were enhanced by their cultural heritage, which is why they were able to face violence and fit into the hyper masculine culture of door work. It was found that neighbours, families and childhood networks introduced some women who worked as bouncers to the industry. Boyfriends, husbands, brothers and other male relatives who already worked as bouncers also served as channels of introduction. Her father, a boxer, brought one woman to the industry as she had experienced exposure to fighting from a young age, which was an experience that proved to be an asset in her job as a bouncer as it strengthened her ability to deal with male patrons she had to control.

Female patrons can also exhibit unruly behaviours in nightclubs, and to deal with the issue it is important to have gender specialists to deal specifically with violent or aggressive women patrons (Gough & McFadden, 2003, cited in Hobbs et al., 2007). Some nightclubs therefore specifically employ female bouncers in order to monitor and control violent and aggressive women. However, Hobbs et al. (2007) warn that female bouncers can be regulated by the rules of violent masculine conduct. This means that female bouncers will be guided or closely monitored by their male colleagues, and it may occur that they adopt some of their male colleagues' behaviours and attitudes in order to fit in. Thus, female bouncers' control strategies are regulated by the rules of masculine violent conduct, which is dominantly applied by male bouncers (O'Brien, Hobbs & Westmarland, 2007 cited in Hobbs et al., 2007).

2.3 Patrons' Behaviour in Nightclubs

According to Carlini, Andreoni, Martins, Benjamin, Sanudo and Sanchez (2014), binge drinking by patrons is related to physical aggression, risky sexual behaviour, sexual violence and even death at nightclubs and is considered very dangerous and a public health concern. Being able to understand and facilitate the manner in which patrons engage in binge drinking in nightclubs is important. In addition, the introduction of a licensing policy and harm reduction initiatives need to be prioritised in order to curb intoxication-related harm in nightclubs.

Graham, Bernards, Osgood and Wells (2006) argue that aggression in nightclubs is a phenomenon that is linked to multiple factors, including the characteristics of patrons, the effect of alcohol on patrons, and the environment in which the nightclub is situated. Graham et al. (2006) state that patrons in nightclubs, or any other drinking establishment, always run the highest risk of being exposed to aggression or injury. However, levels of aggression and injury differ from nightclub to nightclub based on the type of patron who frequents a particular nightclub (such as a high number of male patrons and heavy drinkers), the setting and environment in which the nightclub is located, and the ability of staff to control the behaviour of the patrons. The age and social background of patrons also have an effect on the level of aggression in nightclubs. Graham et al. (2006) state that nightclubs that accommodate young males, groups of males and marginalised sub-populations are more likely to experience higher levels of aggression. The risk of aggression and violence thus increases in line with the characteristics and the nature of the behaviour of patrons.

Homel, Carvolth, Hauritz, Mcilwain and Teague (2004) conducted a study in which they sought to make nightclubs safer by understanding key observable changes in nightclubs that were closely connected with the reduction of violence and aggression that occurred between two waves in the period 1994 and 1996 respectively. Based on their findings, Homel et al. (2004) argue that controlling the drinking patters of patrons is not sufficient to decrease aggression and violence in nightclubs, as the change of environmental and managerial factors has a higher likelihood of causing a reduction in aggression or violence. Nevertheless, they do not deny the fact that other unobserved changes may have occurred that were not identified. Scott and Dedel (2006) report a number of factors that led to the eruption of aggression and violence in nightclubs, bars and other drinking establishments and these authors argue that

the causal factors mainly point to the behaviour of patrons such as alcohol abuse, the culture of drinking, and a high proportion of young male strangers.

2.4 Nightclubs as Entertainment Centers

Demant (2013) defines a nightclub as a space for enjoyment and excitement where alcohol and music are the primary tools to achieve these feelings of joy and euphoria. Historically, nightlife in the UK was perceived as a social problem (Talbot, 2006). The government in the UK therefore ruled that the control of licensing, policing and the management of alcohol supply to such establishments was a priority. Cities in the UK have seen a steady rise in nightlife venues that are open almost all hours of the day. Social fears concerning the rise of these nightlife venues have also increased. According to Hobbs, O'Brien and Westmarland (2007), the massive growth in the night-time economy in the UK has increased the need for the state to provide appropriate and adequate public policing to ensure both commercial and social control. Talbot (2006) further states that the night-time economy in the cities of the UK is associated with problems such as noise, nuisance, drugs, violence, and armed crime. In addition to these problems, he also highlights the violent door culture that is provoked by bouncers as a growing concern, which was the focus of the current research.

Hadfield (2008) notes that, in the UK, the process of negotiation and re-negotiation of mandates, preferences, and desires that relate to private security concerns indicates that state-centred ideas of security governance are not influential. Measham (2004) and Binnie and Skeggs (2004, in Hobbs et al., 2007) indicate that the growth of night-time enterprises in the UK has led to enormous changes that are based on consumption patterns. They further observe that young women have started attending nightclubs in large numbers and that British women aged between 16 to 24 years consume more than the safe requirement of alcohol per week. Hobbs et al. (2007) also state that binge drinking among young British women has doubled when compared to the alcohol consumption of women in the 18th and 20th centuries. This unprecedented and almost uncontrollable increase of the youth's engagement in nightlife behaviour has called for innovative ideas and strategies to control night-time environments. For example, the need for more female bouncers is perceived as a plausible and desirable solution (Hobbs et al., 2007).

Moreover, the anticipated growth of the night-time economy has resulted in the mushrooming of a new range of services such as youth pubs, dance bars and super-clubs that provide entertainment during the long trading hours in the night when selling alcohol and marketing are the main objectives (Hobbs et al., 2003). Such activities have continued unabated to the present time, with the added threat of illicit drug consumption that is made possible in many entertainment venues because the night-time economy is not well policed or regulated by the government. In this context, Hadfield et al. (2003) state that the setting of nightclubs and other drinking establishments is characterised by varying rules of social behaviour, with aggressive sexuality, alcohol intoxication, illicit drug use and loud and abusive behaviour becoming increasingly problematic. The proliferation of such acts has placed massive pressure on public police resources and forcefully raised the need for private security intervention due to the eruption of new criminal opportunities (Hobbs et al., 2003) and, in this researcher's informed opinion, the growing inability of the public police to contain the situation.

2.5   The Culture Associated with the work of Bouncers

Bouncers are not exempt from the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, which means that their behaviour and routines at work should be guided and affirmed by the law. However, there is every indication that the existing legal framework governing their activities and behaviour is not the primary mechanism by which they affirm their authority when carrying out their duties. According to South (1989), the use of physical force and threat is a tool that is most commonly used in the security arena. The world of bouncers seems to be no exception, as their employability in the frequently violent environment of the night-time economy is based on their potential to use violence as a means of social control (Lister et al., 2000). In the South African context, Schneider (2013) argues that the private security industry is continuously adapting and expanding to fill new and emerging gaps. Services normally provided by institutions such as, among others, the police and the military are now performed by the private security industry. In the past, private security companies were associated with the use of excessive force and, in some instances; they were linked with thuggery and unprofessional behaviour (Schneider, 2013). The problem seems to have persisted with security staff working in nightclubs, as these people seem to perceive

themselves as enforcers instead of viewing themselves as protectors of patrons' safety (Scott & Dedel, 2006).

There is no doubt that the work of bouncers has become very popular and even necessary in recent times. The growth in the need for bouncers in the privatised night-time economy has illuminated the importance for the sound regulation of their functions and behaviour, because a paucity of information and scholarly discourse suggests that very little attention has been paid to this particular leg of the private security industry in South Africa compared with countries such as the UK, the Netherlands and Australia, where extensive research has been conducted on the role of bouncers (Lister, 2000; Van Liempt & Van Aalst, 2016; Dick et al., 2007; Hobbs, 2007; Hadfield, 2008; Homel et al., 2004; Talbot, 2006; Graham, La Rocque, Yetman, Ross & Guistra, 1980). These research projects strongly suggest that nightclub violence and aggression are issues that are common to all societies and that they do not face only South Africans, but states around the globe. Research has indicated that bouncers who victimise patrons predominantly perpetrate violence. For example, Lister (2000) conducted research in the UK over three years (from 1996 to 1999) on the prevalence of violence involving bouncers and the influence of their behaviour on the public order. Their findings that were based on a divisional Crime Information System (CIS) highlighted that there had been up to 49 incidents that had involved bouncers and, of these 49 incidents, as many as 42 had involved bouncers as the alleged perpetrators of the assault.

2.5.1   Violence and aggression

Blok (1974, p. 98) argues that what earns bouncers the 'respect' due to them is their "capacity to coerce with physical violence and thus invoke fear in others". In these few words, this author summarises the culture in which bouncers perform their duties. This implies that bouncers gain respect through intimidation coupled with violence and aggression. It is perceived that to be competent as a bouncer, one needs to be masculine and intimidating. However, these sentiments are incorrect.

Bouncers are mostly known to be large, muscular men. Their job is not very common as it entails the threat and use of violence. Winlow (2001) asserts that the bouncing career is now a viable career option for men who stand a chance to exert their violent natures. There is an indication that such men mostly derive from a lower class background. Legally, there are requirements that bouncers should abide by. However, the industry has shied away from lawful proceedings, which in consequence means that being a bouncer does not necessitate adherence to many requirements. In essence, possessing a history of violent behaviour in combination with a physically intimidating appearance is enough (Winlow, 2001). Furthermore, Hobbs et al. (2002) contend that private security operators "have developed their own informal and pragmatic techniques of containment which conform to the demands of commercial and cultural, rather than legally justified, imperatives". The 'door culture' has thus emerged as a strategy of economic and personal survival, control and domination within a hostile and chaotic working situation (Hobbs et al., 2002).

Generally, there seems to be the perception among scholars that bouncers sell themselves and their bodies to the market, as the employability of bouncer's lies in their ability to present a physically strong body and aggressive speech, body language, facial expressions, and demeanour. Winlow et al. (2001) articulate that bouncers send the message of danger if patrons behave in a manner that deviates from the rules of the nightclub and they thus share the common viewpoint that the work culture of bouncers is grounded in masculinity and violence. However, Scott and Dedel (2006) indicate that security staff and bouncers in nightclubs lack the necessary skills to deal with and deter violence and aggression in a sustainable manner, as confrontations with some patrons are encouraged merely by the presence of large muscular men dressed in black.

Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2016) assert that bouncers do the dirty jobs in the nightclubs where they serve. Lister et al. (2000), Hobbs et al. (2002; 2003; 2005), Monaghan (2003), and Rigakos (2008) corroborate this view. Furthermore, Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2016) state that if bouncers behave in an illegal manner and they find out that they have been reported to the police, they act quickly before the police arrive on the scene to clean up any evidence or proof. These authors also claim that bouncers have historically been criticized for using unnecessary violence and physical force.

Nightclub owners recruit bouncers informally by using their networks. A respondent in Van Liempt and Van Aalst's (2016) study that was conducted in Utrecht and Rotterdam stated that bouncers were recruited in gymnasiums where they worked out. They further stated that they were recruited based on their physicality and masculinity and that their social skills did not matter. What mattered was that a bouncer had to be physically fit and know how to fight (Van Liempt & Van Aalst, 2016). Furthermore, Scott and Dedel (2006) reported that bouncers had been implicated in a major percentage of assaults, regardless of whether these accusations could be proved or not.

In the Netherlands, bouncers are known as 'uitsmijters', meaning people who 'throw you out'. In this country, they are considered important people to focus on when designing safe nightlife policies (Van Liempt & Van Aalst, 2016) particularly because, when bouncers are aggressive and turn violent, their behaviour undermines consumer confidence and profit margins. Therefore, in many nightclubs bouncers are expected to be 'nice' because they are perceived as hosts. However, the respondents in Van Liempt and Van Aalst's (2016) study pointed out that the softer and inexperienced bouncers sometimes faced difficulty with the job because they could not deal with the violence they were exposed to in nightclubs. They also pointed out that there was a distinction between bouncers who were 'fighters' and 'talkers'; if a bouncer was a talker, he would not be put at the door alone, but he would be paired with a fighter (Van Liempt & Van Aalst, 2016).

The use of bouncers in nightclubs has caused a number of concerns among the members of the public, especially patrons of nightclubs who are exposed to the work of bouncers who are masculine and large boned and possess a hyper-masculine persona, which is displayed by their body language, and the way they dress (Winlow et al., 2001). However, this is not the reason they have drawn attention. The reason is the nature in which they conduct their duties, which incorporates the likelihood of violence. It is this occupational culture that has resulted in the injuries and even the death of a number of nightclub patrons around the world (Winlow et al., 2001).

As was previously mentioned, Lister's (2000) research highlighted that there were up to 49 assaults that involved bouncers and, of the 49 assaults, as many as 42 involved bouncers as the alleged perpetrators. However, it was found that only one case had been concluded with the successful prosecution and conviction of a bouncer. In contrast, of the seven cases in which bouncers were alleged victims of assault, four were successfully prosecuted, one resulted in a police caution, one had insufficient evidence to proceed, and in one case, the complainant declined to proceed. Putting aside the fact that these findings represented small numbers in a relatively limited investigation, they reveal a trend that suggests that bouncers usually get away with assault and, in contrast, that assault committed against bouncers usually leads to prosecution and conviction.

However, some assaults go unreported due to a number of factors such as the unwillingness of the public police to provide assistance, the police being uninformed about the legitimate code of conduct of bouncers, and also because this issue does not lead to a lot of deaths (Lister, et al. 2000). However, in some cases the media reported incidents in which bouncers had assaulted patrons. For example, in South Africa eNCA (2015) reported on the death of a young man, Shane Boruchowitz, who was stabbed by a bouncer at TY's nightclub in Pretoria. Another incident was reported in the *Mail & Guardian* (patrons assaulted at Fourways nightclub, 2013) of a bouncer who posted a video on YouTube of himself harmfully and violently punching young boys who had been caught in the toilet in the nightclub where they were allegedly smoking and using drugs.

Roberts (2009) highlights that, in most instances, bouncers are predictors of aggressive behaviour in nightclubs. However, there exists a link between aggressive bouncers and nightclub aggression, according to Roberts (2009). He further asserts that aggression in nightclubs does not solely depend on one variable or cause, but there are diverse variables and causes of aggression. To understand the causes of aggression, one must consider the social context or the 'total environment' of the nightclub. Graham, La Rocque, Yetman, Ross and Guistra (1980, in Roberts, 2009) conducted a study in Sydney and Vancouver to investigate the variables that led to high levels of violence around nightclubs that were known to be at high risk of violence and around nightclubs that were known to have a low risk of violence. When comparing Vancouver and Sydney nightclubs, Sydney nightclubs experienced 50% higher violence than those in Vancouver. However, Roberts (2009) admits that this

finding was due to the oversampling of violence-associated nightclubs in Sydney. They revealed that the primary variables that were noticed during violent occasions in nightclubs were groups of male strangers, high boredom, and high drunkenness. Another factor for violent scenarios was the presence of aggressive and unreasonable bouncers (Roberts, 2009).

Roberts (2009) reports that the presence of bouncers in Glasgow, Scotland was a significant contributor of aggression in nightclubs because of their unprofessional and aggressive behaviour. Roberts (2009) further asserts that bar staff relies heavily on bouncers to handle problematic patrons. Monaghan (2004) states that bouncers with experience exercise and share with each other what is known as the 'technique of evasion' to avoid the opportunity of police officers to arrest and prosecute them. These techniques include taking pages out of logbooks that staff members sign at the beginning of their shifts; removing identification badges and unique clothing; and avoiding hanging out around areas that are captured on close-circuit television [CCTV] cameras. Hobbs et al. (2007) argue that male bouncers are derived from environments that most likely embrace violence, and that those who are hired as bouncers bring with them the culture that admires masculinity and the prerequisite of using violence as an integral part of everyday social interaction.

Geoffron, Sader, Ouellet and Boivin (2015) conducted a study to examine aggression inside barrooms in Canada using a 'bouncer-ethnographer' methodology. They relied on bouncers to complete reports they had to write which contained information on every event that took place. These reports contained proper and specific information on what took place, when and where it took place, and within which venue it occurred. In addition, the bouncer ethnographer study engaged in field observations and interviews with bar personnel to identify hotspots and rush hours for three types of actors in the barroom: (a) bouncers, (b) barmaids, and (c) patrons. Their results indicated that aggression was prevalent amongst patrons alone, patrons and barmaids, and among patrons and bouncers. Aggression that involved bouncers was perceived to be common at the entrance doors. One bouncer that was interviewed stated that the reasons for such aggression at the door entrance were patrons' drinking that was in line with when they were refused entry due to intoxication. This caused them to become easily frustrated.

Bouncers also had to deal with aggression inside the bars due to poor service provided by the barmaids to the patrons who, in turn, would harass the barmaids. In such instances, the bouncers would be required to assist or intervene. As a result, they were exposed to frustrated patrons. The results also indicated that aggression increased as it got later. Patrons (particularly highly intoxicated ones) did not respond well when the bar was closed, and this caused unruly behaviour by patrons as a form of a protest against the 'early' closing of a bar.

Hobbs et al. (2002) engaged in an ethnography study involving observation, interviews and documentary analysis in which they investigated night-time entertainment environments and, in particular, violence, policing, and door security at nightclubs. In some instances, bouncers were observed to be responsible for preventing violence. These authors thus argue that it is a fallacy to imply that all bouncers are violent. However, they did contend that, within the sphere of night-time leisure security, violence is a highly marketable economic resource and that the ability to fight is important.

Numerous studies were conducted across the world that focused on the issue of bouncers, nightclubs and violence (Roberts, 2009; Sogaard, 2014; Hadfield, 2008; Miller, Bourdeau, & Johnson, 2014; Monk-Tuner, Allen, Casten, Cowling, Gray, Guhr, Hoofnagle, Huffman, Mina, & Moore, 2011; Hobbs, Lister, Hadfield, Winlow, & Hall, 2000). However, few of these, if any, looked at the South African context of bouncers, nightclubs and violence. Tutenges, Soggard, Kroll, Bloomfield and Hesse (2015) concede that the hiring of bouncers has been a solution to the problem of the rise in alcohol consumption, violence and alcohol-related problems at nightclubs. It was therefore important to determine whether bouncers were instrumental in eradicating violence at nightclubs, or whether they were part of the causes of violence at nightclubs in South Africa. However, this research did not focus on bouncers' ability to eradicate violence in and around nightclubs; rather, it focused on their ability to perform their duties professionally without violating any work ethics, such as acting violently towards patrons.

2.5.2   Masculinity: the gender question

Winlow (2001) stipulates that masculinity cannot be regarded as universal; however, the concept of what masculinity entails comprises common and unique component parts. He further suggests that masculinity does not mean comprising certain traits. Masculinity relates to certain kinds of relationships between men and women, and among men. Brittan (1989, cited in Winlow, 2001) states that, as time passes, aspects of men's behaviour that can be regarded as that which constitutes masculinity fluctuate. The fluctuation of men's behaviour varies from man to man. In some cases these fluctuations may last for years or decades, and in others it may last for weeks or months. Masculinity is a social construction, and biological factors may be its foundation. However, the construct is man-made; it is also flexible, subject to change over time, and differs significantly from culture to culture. Gender identities, roles and relationships do not remain frozen in place, either for individuals or for groups. There are continuous contests and confusion over what constitutes male identity. It means different things to different people at different times, and sometimes-different things to the same person at the same time (Brittan, 1989).

According to Brannon (1976, cited in Winlow, 2001), the ideas about basic rules of manhood are the following:

- 'No sissy stuff' – only behaviour with no hint of femininity is allowed.
- 'Be a big wheel' – be powerful and successful.
- 'Be a sturdy oak'- show no emotions, be dependable.
- 'Give `em hell' – take chances, be daring, etc.

Men of all social classes show a growing concern for a great desire of a muscular physique. However, those who exhibit more seriousness and desire to build the size of their bodies are largely from lower class backgrounds. This is viewed in relation with the growing pace of changes in the structure of male power and identity over recent years (Winlow, 2001). The better way to depict masculinity is to encapsulate the body. Connell (1995, cited in Winlow, 2001, p. 15) states the following: "True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's body, to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body". Vibrant maleness is predominantly illustrated by having large muscles. Moreover, there is "no need for mutually congratulatory conversations or complex verbalising to see masculinity.

One's physicality is enough to lay a claim to the spirit of all that is masculine and accentuating difference from all that is feminine" (Winlow, 2001, p. 16).

2.6   Antisocial Behaviour - being a Bully

Bullying is a shocking reality that is unsuspected by the majority of the population. Bullying is seen as a problem for children in schools and most people never suspect the range, severity and depth of misery created every day, nearly everywhere, by the bullying of adults by adults. The scourge of workplace, community and family, adult bullies create polluted environments where self-esteem withers, confidence is lost and talents are stifled. Victims also experience great shame at their inability to control their own lives once they are at the mercy of the more powerful bullies (Randall, 2003).

2.6.1   Defining antisocial behaviour

According to Millie (2009), it is easy to spot antisocial behaviour. For example, Alun Michael (MP), who shared a common sentiment in a debate held on the Crime and Disorder Bill in 1998, concluded that "it is for the police, the local authority and courts to recognise what has been identified as antisocial behaviour", which he maintained was easier to recognise than to define (Millie, 2009). For example, he argued that the behaviour of some bouncers empirically exhibited characteristics of antisocial behaviour, which were also identified by many members of the public. Such behaviour does not need a definition to be viewed as antisocial behaviour (ASB).

The term antisocial behaviour has been used in psychosocial literature to refer to unwanted behaviour, which may occur because of personality disorders. From a psychosocial perspective, this kind of behaviour includes theft, burglary, robbery, violence, vandalism, fraud, drug use, bullying, reckless driving, heavy drinking, sexual promiscuity, heavy smoking, heavy gambling, employment instability and conflict with parents (Millie, 2009). Of these characteristics, only violent behaviour was relevant to the topic of this research. However, the definition above is exceptionally broad. It is therefore necessary to consider a narrower conception of ASB to understand this phenomenon within a public order enforcement context. In this study, it was also linked with the behaviour of bouncers to understand and define their attitude towards patrons who frequent nightclubs.

Millie (2009) asserts that ASB complements incivilities, disorder and the quality of life crimes. These terms evoke a sense of social unpleasantness and environmental mess. He further focuses on the term 'incivilities', which he argues is behaviour that lacks civility and consideration for others. Occasionally, people who engage in such behaviour, for example bouncers, become genuinely offensive to reasonable people in ways that constitute an offence against them. An individual who is antisocial is, by definition, not being social, and commonly lacks consideration for or is unaware of the effects of his/her behaviour on others. This behaviour is no doubt common among bouncers, as they are widely known to exhibit traits of antisocial behaviour.

Millie (2009, p. 45) refers to the words of Tony Blair, an erstwhile Prime Minister of Britain, when he stated that "the misfortune of antisocial behaviour affects us all and in our biggest cities, in the suburbs and in the rural areas. We all know the consequences of it. People are afraid to go into the city centre at night". Millie (2009) suggests that if such strong, powerful words are true, then a strong policy response is required.

2.6.2   Causes of antisocial behaviour

In Tony Blair's words:

> "Family problems, poor educational attainment, unemployment and alcohol and drug misuse all contribute to antisocial behaviour. However, none of these problems can be used as an excuse for ruining other people's lives. Fundamentally, antisocial behaviour is caused by lack of respect for other people" (Home Office, 2003 cited in Millie, 2009).

This quote notes that there are a number of factors leading to antisocial behaviour, which can be summarised simply as a lack of respect for other individuals. Millie (2009) suggests that antisocial behaviour is perceived as a simple result of people not taking their responsibility to others seriously. Because there was no respect within communities, the concept 'respect' became a central concept for the British government's policy on antisocial behaviour beginning with the launch of the 'Respect Action Plan' in 2006. However, according to Millie (2006), it was still unclear why the lack of respect for others was the most important factor to consider as the fundamental cause of the unraveling of respect within communities. Millie

(2009) also argues that Criminologists have failed to agree on the core definitive causes of crime. Therefore, determining the causes of antisocial behaviour will likely be as difficult.

In a national survey published by Millie, Jacobson, McDonald, and Hough (2005, cited in Millie, 2009), the respondents were asked to identify what they understood as the worst form of antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhoods. Only 6% identified drunkenness/drinking in public places. In another poll that was conducted by 'Ipsos Mori' in 2006, 52% of the respondents noted that alcohol and drugs were the top two causes of antisocial behaviour (Millie, 2009). In this context, there is consensus that Britain is facing a huge problem concerning drugs and alcohol consumption in their cities at night.

2.6.3   Defining bullying

Despite the fact that it is as common as ASD, Randall (1997) maintains that it is problematic to define what bullying exactly is, and hence the systematic study of bullying becomes extremely difficult. However, even though the term is difficult to couch in a standard definition, bullying is common to most societies and has had an impact on the lives of most people. Randall (1997, p. 45) cites Buss's (1961) definition which states that bullying "is a response that delivers noxious stimuli to another organism". Bullying exists in the form of an unfavourable stimulation, which is transferred from one individual to another. It can be perpetrated through different tactics, whether by a bone-breaking punch or just an insult. Moreover, Tattum and Tattum (1992, cited in Rigby, 2002, p. 27) define bullying as "a wilful conscious desire to hurt another and put him/her under stress". This definition suggests that a bully makes either a rational decision to victimise others and to hurt them physically or emotionally, or both. Bullying is regarded as a vicious, even evil state of mind of an individual who actually knows better.

According to various academics who are cited in Randall (1997), bullying may, amongst other ramifications, constitute the following:

- Olweus as cited in (Randall, 1997, p. 3) "A student is being bullied or victimised when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more students".
- Smith and Sharp as cited in (Randall, 1997, p. 3) "it is described as the systematic abuse of power".
- Smith and Sharp as cited in (Randall, 1997, p. 3) "It is repeated aggression – verbal, psychological or physical – that is conducted by an individual or group against others or another".

According to the above definitions, bullying can be regarded as a repetitive act of presenting aggressive behaviour, and therefore it is not a once-off act. According to Randall (1997), the bully has an intention to inflict pain unto others in whatever form the bully selects, so there is much more to bullying than just repetitive aggression. However, even though an act of bullying can occur as a once-off incident, the important factor is the fear of repeated bullying and not the actual occasion of bullying.

2.6.4   Causes of bullying

No person is born a bully. Bullies are created by the complexity of social processes that result in an antisocial personality through faulty learning. The antisocial personality is characterised by the way bullies are able to aggressively manipulate other people (Randall, 1997). Rigby (2002) gives a number of points that explain the different beliefs that people of various cultures have in explaining bullying. These points include the supernatural, nurturing, genes, environment, home environment, the association between parenting and children's interpersonal behaviour, and peer group pressure and bullying. One can argue that all of these elements may have an influence on an individual becoming a bully. Nevertheless, the most important points are those that are more evident in contemporary society.

Of all the points stated by Rigby (2002), the home environment is recognised as the most prevalent as it makes the deepest contribution to the way children behave in both their homes and outside their homes. Nurturing is a very important concept that is used to describe

the function of the home environment. Nurturing assists children in developing physically and psychologically. The way a child is reared and nurtured does really have an effect on its subsequent behaviour and the way he/she behaves toward other family members and also to non-family members.

In conclusion, violent and aggressive bouncers cannot be distinguished as either antisocial or bullies. Rather, their behaviour is a combination of both. Both definitions imply that harm is caused to an individual intentionally due to various reasons. But the fact that harm is inflicted intentionally on another individual implies that the perpetrator of harm is both a bully and antisocial. Hence it may be concluded that most bouncers may be termed bullies as their behaviour is often both antisocial and bullying.

2.7   Background of the Private Security Industry

The work of private security agencies has grown in terms of the extent of the services they provide in different states around the world. "They do not only provide their services to industrial facilities and commercial establishments, but also to office buildings, transportation facilities, recreational complexes, and entire shopping districts and residential neighbourhoods" (Sklansky, 2008). Lister et al. (2000) contend that, in the United Kingdom, the need for services provided by private security staff that are specifically known as bouncers is hard to fulfil as the nightclub industry mushrooms. Hobbs et al. (2002) state that the expansion of night-time leisure has resulted in a high demand for bouncers in Britain. In the US, the number of private security officers was higher than that of the public police during the 1950s. By 1982, the US saw about 1.1 million private police compared to the lower number of public police (Braithwaite, 2000).

In South Africa, the services of private security companies are more popular and in greater demand than in the US and Europe (Braithwaite, 2002). Kole (2009) states that the private security industry has experienced a steady growth over the past two decades in South Africa, to the extent that its number has surpassed that of the public police (Kole, 2009). Furthermore, private security services have not only taken over from the public police in terms of providing services at sporting events, high-rise buildings and in gated housing communities for rich people, but they have also usurped the role of the public police on the streets at night when people are enjoying the nightlife in cities. They also provide security

services in restaurants and nightclubs to keep staff and patrons safe (Braithwaite, 2002). This state of affairs in this country reflects the popularity of private security services and the demand they enjoy across the world. Today, many people have resorted to employing private security companies for the protection of their properties. The nightclub industry is one of the commercial ventures that has resorted to hiring private security staff so that their patrons may enjoy a safe environment that is also conducive to lucrative business enterprising.

In terms of legal requirements and regulations, Shearing (2006, cited in Hadfield, 2008) states that private security institutions are not paid attention to, even though they have obtained jurisdiction over large tracts of urban space. However, private security institutions that govern themselves seem to run their activities on the premise that public institutions (such as the police) have limited influence on their operations. Moreover, Hadfield (2008) maintains that private security companies more often than not exercise their daily activities based on the defense of the social and economic interests of privileged groups. Shearing (2006) affirms that private security institutions may only conduct their businesses under the auspices of the provisions provided by the government in relevant legal frameworks. He maintains that private institutions "are governed by terms that are entrenched in the Constitution as much as they are providers of governance on behalf of state agencies" (p. 25). It is thus noteworthy that private security institutions are present everywhere and that their impact has shaped and is still shaping the world in a significant and dramatic manner.

2.7.1   The National Key Point Act

In the historic past, there was a desperate demand in South Africa for additional security staff to deal with political unrest and strategic attacks by the African National Congress (ANC) on key installations (such as the attack on a fuel plant outside Johannesburg) in instances that state forces could not be utilized for their defense (Shearing & Berg, 2006 cited in Diphoorn, 2013). Tasks that had previously been the responsibility of the state police were later handed over to the private sector through various alterations in legislation. The establishment of the National Key Points Act [NKPA] No. 102 of 1980 was one of the key changes in legislation. This Act highlighted that the responsibility for security provision at strategic sites, which were regarded as very important for national security, should be given to the management or owner of these sites (Diphoorn, 2013). The state remained to hold authority and control over

these sites even though private individuals were reassigned with the task of providing security. This Act is a good example of the state handing over its security duties to the private sector (Diphoorn, 2013).

2.7.2 The Security Officers Act

The creation of the Security Officers Act [SOA] No. 92 of 1987 strengthened the collaborative relationship between the private security industry and the apartheid state. This Act was an extension framework of the network of a state-corporate partnership policing in civil society (Brogden & Shearing, 1993 cited in Diphoorn, 2013). There was a growing need for formal regulation during the 1980s when the industry started to grow exponentially. The formal regulation was particularly intended for monitoring and controlling security officers, most of whom were black males. Due to a number of political problems at that time, such as the fear that some security officers would spy for the ANC, company owners used their contacts within the SAPS to initiate an informal screening system through which private security companies assessed potential employees to prove their viability for employment. The informal screening system was later formalized by the then Minister of Law and Order through the SOA (Diphoorn, 2013). The Act emphasized registration with the Board of SOA and set rules about disqualification and withdrawal of registration. Currently, the regulation of the private security industry is implemented and enforced by PSIRA. However, the SOA was the first step towards state regulation of the industry. During this period, the regulation of the industry showed collaboration between the public and the private sectors, which was a unified effort to reach the same goal (Diphoorn, 2013).

2.7.3 Regulating the private security industry

Schneider (2013) utilises a model of regulatory classification of the private security industry and applies it to specific sub-sectors of the private security industry. Each Industry can be considered regulated by identifying two key components an industry should possess using this approach. These two key components are a training regulatory structure and a regulatory/licensing authority. A training regulatory structure sets standards and ensures that private security employees receive proper and effective training, while the

regulatory/licensing authority makes sure that security firms and security officers comply with best practices and legal frameworks (Schneider, 2013).

According to Schneider (2013), regulatory options are divided into three categories, and each category has a criterion that defines it. First, a 'regulated' private security industry is underpinned by minimum competency standards that are accepted, supervised and regulated by an oversight body. The industry must reregister and retrain their security staff to demonstrate competency with the regulatory body within a given period; for example, once every three years. Secondly, 'partially regulated' industries are those that are not enforced by the licensing or regulatory body. Relevant bodies (Schneider, 2013) effectively apply most South African industries that provide services specifically in nightclubs fall under the partially regulated category due to a lack of enforcement and monitoring that. Thirdly, a 'non-regulated' private security industry means the industry has training and industry standards that are not observed by the industry players. In this category, licensing or regulatory bodies are virtually absent. South African nightclubs also fall under this category.

2.7.4 The Montreux document

The Montreux document was pioneered to regulate the inspection of international private military and security companies (PMSCs). This document sets out various provision for PMSCs on how to operate internationally and guides governments on how to legislate those that operate in their countries in terms of how they are run and operationalized. South Africa was one of the countries that were part of the drive to develop this document with other countries such as Afghanistan, Angola, Australia, Austria and Canada, among others. Consultation occurred with representatives of civil societies and of PMSCs (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015).

Schneider and Minnaar (2015) identify four principles that guided the development of this document:

- International law that governs the relations between governments and PMSCs already had a number of well-established rules that were applicable, especially in events of armed conflict, with much anticipation particularly in terms of international humanitarian law and human rights law.

- Compliance with international humanitarian law and human rights law during armed conflict, coupled with good practices, are referred to in this document.

- The good practices and obligations referred to above may also be applicable to post conflict and other similar events.

- Co-operation, information sharing and assistance between states are envisaged in this document. To achieve full respect of international humanitarian and human rights law, commensuration with each state's capacity for PMSCs is needed. This should occur by means of co-operative implementation in collaboration with and support from the PMSCs themselves.

According to the Montreux document, PMSCs is defined as "private business entities that provide military and/or security services, irrespective of how they describe themselves" (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015). The document further elaborates on the nature of the services that PMSCs should be involved. For example, it provides for armed guarding and the protection of persons and objects such as convoys, buildings and other places, maintenance of forces and security personnel, and the involvement of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015).

According to Schneider and Minnaar (2015), an obligation is placed on states to exercise vigilance in managing PMCSs that operate internationally because they are contracted by governments. This is done to ensure that international humanitarian law violations do not occur. PMSCs are further not provided with duties or powers that are assigned to the agents or agencies of the state in respect of international humanitarian law. Schneider and Minnaar (2015) further highlight that contracting states have an obligation to ensure that PMSC personnel are trained accordingly and are aware of all their obligations under international law. If violation occurs, lawful measure is to be taken by the contracting state that is within the state's own legislative framework to sanction wrongdoings of both domestic legislation and international law.

2.7.5 The international code of conduct for private security service providers

An international code of conduct for private security service providers was initiated following the development of the Montreux document (Schneider & Minnaar, 2015). This code of conduct emphasises the limited use of force as it states that PMSCs must advise their personnel to avoid using force. If it happens that force is used, it should be in a manner that is consistent with the law. Use of force "should not exceed what is strictly necessary and should be proportionate to the threat and appropriate to the situation" (Swiss Confederation, cited in Schneider & Minnaar, 2015, p. 15). The South African Constitution clearly reflects these principles in its provisions in Section 49.

Furthermore, the international code of conduct states that security officers are not obligated to use firearms against anyone, unless in situations of self-defense or in defense of others against perpetrators that threaten to cause serious injury or the death of a victim or victims. However, for a security officer to have access to a firearm, he/she must have successfully completed appropriate firearm training.

According to Security beyond Borders (2011, cited in Schneider & Minnaar, 2015, p. 134), "reasonable, minimum and proportionate force is that which is regarded as not excessive and is appropriate in terms of protecting yourself or your property". It must be applied in a manner that is least forceful to permit a police or security officer to subdue a perpetrator while maintaining safety for himself or herself. According to the US Department of Defense (2005, cited by Schneider & Minnaar, 2015, p.136), minimum action means, "it is sufficient to get a situation under control, even when use of armed force is included. When the perpetrator complies with instructions and ceases aggressive behaviour, all action must cease immediately". Using firearms is to be seen as a means of last resort.

To determine reasonable force, the Denver Police Department highlights four factors that need to be considered. These factors assist when use of force may have deadly consequences. Hence, it is important to assess practical implications. These factors can be applied to the private security industry as well, and are as follows:

- How imminent is the threat to officers or others?
- How actively is the suspect resisting?

- How tense, uncertain and rapidly evolving is the situation? and

- How severe is, the crime the suspect has just committed (Martin, 2003 cited by Schneider & Minnaar, 2015, p. 140).

2.7.6 The Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA)

PSIRA is a statutory body that regulates private security industries in South Africa. PSIRA is a licensing body and a training regulatory body. The Act PSIRA No. 56 of 2001 states the main functions of PSIRA. The primary objective of this body is to effectively regulate the private security industry (Schneider, 2013).

PSIRA is responsible for exercising effective control over security service providers in the public and national interest. It needs to achieve its purpose subject to the Act to promote a private security industry that is legitimate, which means that there is a set of principles that industries must comply with. It is also required that private security service providers provide services that are in the best interests of the public and the nation as a whole. The question that pertains to this point is whether bouncers act in the interests of their employers/nightclubs or in the interests of the patrons and the Constitution. The answer to this question might reveal the reason for the manner in which bouncers interact with patrons.

Moreover, PSIRA seeks to promote a private security industry that is characterised by professionalism, transparency, accountability, equity and accessibility. This is the space in which this research sought to fully explore the views of patrons. PSIRA also ensures that the process of registration of security service providers is transparent, fair, and objective, conducted timeously, and promotes high standards in the training of security service providers and prospective security service providers. According to PSIRA, bouncers are compelled to attend training as private security personnel. The researcher was intrigued to discover whether bouncers actually complied with this latter requirement.

Schneider (2013) points out that, in a number of countries such as Australia, South Africa and the UK, the governments have been responsible for regulating the private security industry. Overseeing and regulating private security services is common, but it varies in shape and form from region to region (Schneider, 2003). Braithwaite (2002) notes that it is within a government's ability to regulate the standards of private security providers. In this context, it

was important that this study understood the underlying reasons behind bouncers' tendency to resort to violence when a patron misbehaved in a nightclub. Understanding the root causes of this form of violence means that intervention strategies can be implemented to prevent or eradicate violent incidences in nightclubs.

According to Kole (2009), all private security service providers should be informed about PSIRA and should be aware of the rules and regulations that are supposed to guide and regulate the activities of private security service providers. However, PSIRA experienced some shortcomings, which was the reason that a strike was called in the private security sector throughout South Africa in 2006. Issues such as low wages and poor working conditions prompted the strike (Berg, 2008). In 2008, former President Thabo Mbeki stated in his State of the Nation address that private security service providers were necessary at that stage of South Africa's history because of the need to consolidate the mechanisms that had been created to sustain a democratic and equitable society (Berg, 2008). It is the researcher's contention that this view is still applicable in South Africa today.

The codes of conduct that apply to all registered officers that work within and outside the country are implemented by PSIRA (Schneider, 2013 as cited in PSIRA, 2010; Minnaar, 2008). Furthermore, PSIRA's code of conduct makes the clear point that "a security service provider may only use force when the use of force as well as the nature and extent thereof is reasonably necessary for the circumstances and is permitted in terms of the law" (South Africa, Department of Safety and Security, 2003, p. 9 as cited in Schneider, 2013). According to Schneider (2013), South Africa produces all the necessary structures that are relevant to effectively regulate the industry. Schneider (2013) mentions that the South African private security industry is one of the largest employers in the country, and that it pays more attention to the guarding sector than any other sector.

The Deputy Minister of Police at the time of the study, Ms M.M. Sotyu, was aware of the shortcomings of PSIRA and of the complications that affected the work of bouncers, as he mentioned in a speech in 2016 that PSIRA was not as effective as it should be and that it should "bite harder" against non-compliance. He further mentioned that he would anticipate the PSIRA Council to sort this out urgently and to report to him within the next six months, as every policy should be in line with the Constitution.

A transformation issue that seems to be conveniently forgotten is the fact that most bouncers carry firearms on their persons at the establishments where they work. In the course of this study, no data were traced to determine if these bouncers were actually registered with PSIRA as legislation dictates or if they were licensed to carry firearms, but the respondents were asked to comment on the issue of registration with PSIRA. Again, politicians seem to overlook this matter, as it seems that all they care about is 'ownership' as opposed to 'compliance'. For example, the then Minister of Police said, "In no way do we say [that] multi-national private security companies operating here pose a threat to the country's national security and sovereignty. However, they must obey our laws and our Constitution" (Budget Vote Speech, 2016).

2.8   Summary

Many international studies have been conducted on the operations of bouncers in nightclubs, but a very limited number focused on the relationship between bouncers and patrons and, if they did, this was only addressed peripherally to other foci in these studies. Furthermore, no study could be traced that investigated the role of bouncers in the South African context. Former Deputy Minister of Police mentioned that those who were responsible for overseeing and monitoring the private security industry in South Africa had neglected the issue of bouncers.

Regulations and legislations for the control of the private security industry have been adopted to guide the impressive growth of nightclubs in South Africa. As the growth of private security industries not only affects South Africa, an international code of conduct for private security service providers was drafted and adopted to inform a code of conduct for private security service providers across the globe.

Studies conducted in England, Australia and Britain have shown that most bouncers fail to comply with the law and that their occupational culture is fraught with violent and aggressive actions. The non-compliance of bouncers and private security companies with the legal framework that informs this industry constitutes a serious threat to staff and patrons in nightclubs. PSIRA (Act No. 56 of 2001) is the current regulating Act, which obligates private security service providers to comply with and operationalize the provisions in the Act in a way that complements the Act and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. In light of the

paucity of data and information on the topic under investigation in the South African context, and the threats that the growing nightclub industry poses for South African night-time entertainment seekers, it was vital to conduct a study of this nature in order to understand the actions and attitudes of bouncers and their relationship with patrons.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1   Introduction

This chapter will present the theories that were applied to guide the study. The theories that were adopted were Clifford Shaw's and Henry McKay's (as cited by Bezuidenhout, 2011) social disorganisation theory, the frustration-aggression theory proposed by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower and Sears (1939), and the culture of violence theory of Wolfgang, Ferracuti and Mannheim (1967). These theories will be discussed and it will be explained how they applied to this study.

3.2   The Social Disorganisation Theory

Social and personal disorganisation is a theoretical approach that was relevant to this study and hence it was considered as part of the theoretical framework that would be appropriate to guide the study. The theory served to explain the environment and the setting of nightclubs, which was the environment in which the study was situated. Furthermore, it explains the social and physical environments of nightclubs in terms of minimal supervision and the requirement for compliance with the rules and norms of society.

Social disorganisation is a sociological theoretical approach that was developed by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay in 1942. Because it is a sociological theory, it was applicable to the criminological issues under focus. According to Bezuidenhout (2011), the main point of this theoretical framework is that the behaviour of individuals develops and changes because of the social and physical environments that individuals are exposed to, rather than simply by genetic characteristics. Social disorganisation refers to a norm-less society/environment, or state of anomie. It is the opposite of social control, which means how formal institutions (government, a criminal justice system) and informal groups (family, community and peers, among others) are used to encourage group members to abide by the laws and norms of

society. When rules and norms of an environment are inadequate and cannot regulate the attitude and behaviour of citizens, then social disorganisation occurs.

To illustrate the application of the social disorganisation theory, Briscoe (2001, as cited in Miller, Penny, Jenkison, Droste, Chikritzh, Tomsen, Wadds, Jones, Palmer, Barrie & Lubman, 2013) refers to research that was conducted in Australia that showed that rates of injuries that had occurred as a result of alcohol consumption were not uniformly spread among geographical regions. Instead, the rates appeared to be higher in regional areas as compared to metropolitan areas. For example, nightclubs, bars, and other drinking establishments in rural and regional areas seemed to have higher levels of hospital admissions that were due to alcohol-related assault than nightclubs in metropolitan areas. This suggests that assaults in nightclubs are somehow dependent on the geographical area in which they are located if, according to the social disorganisation theory, they are socially disorganised or controlled. It can be deduced from the foregoing that rural and regional areas experience social disorganisation while metropolitan areas experience social control.

The environment in which nightclubs exist is characterised by violence and aggression, which influence the behaviour of both bouncers and patrons. According to Bezuidenhout (2011), this theory puts emphasis on the changes that occur in individual behaviour that are enforced by the surrounding physical and social environment in which the individual exists at that point in time. It does not view individuals as aggressive beings; however, it points to the environment in which the individual exists. Bouncers change their behaviours to adapt to the environment in which they work, and this environment is crowded with patrons in various states of intoxication who are most likely to misbehave. Consequently, bouncers adopt a masculine, aggressive behaviour, which they believe complements the environment they are working in. However, the adopted behaviour is not justifiable as it deviates from the rules and norms of society, as aggressive behaviour might lead to acts of criminal offence. Ironically, due to the unpleasant, violent and chaotic working environment in which bouncers work, their behaviours have to change not only to suit the environment, but also to 'protect' patrons who may feel threatened by intoxicated miscreants. Such experiences are commonly observable during the night-time when nightclubs become eventful. Consequently, bouncers and patrons engage in behaviour that is detacrhed from the norms and laws of society

(Tasmin, 2013). These venues are also under-supervised and monitored by the legal authorities who leave the safety of patrons and citizens in the hands of bouncers.

At the time when a nightclub becomes eventful, it takes up a space that is outside the boundaries of the state's regulations. Hence, more social disorder and disorganisation are experienced as patrons engage in activities that they would otherwise not engage in when in a different context or not intoxicated. The public police who shift their responsibilities to bouncers further exacerbate this situation. This is evidenced by the few police officers who are visible at night-time entertainment venues. Nightclubs thus employ bouncers to enforce social control, social order and social organization in the environment in which they are situated. The regulations that govern nightclub operations and the protection of staff and patrons are then reverted to bouncers who are expected to enforce peace and stability in often-riotous circumstances. In this context, bouncers are viewed as encouraging social control (Bezuidenhout, 2011). However, many nightclubs, as were those that were selected for this study, function in socially disorganized environments. Individuals in nightclubs become personally disorganised and resort to rejecting rules, norms, values and beliefs. Eventually, delinquency becomes an alternative mode of socialisation and youths become attracted to a deviant lifestyle (Bezuidenhout, 2011) Hobbs et al. (2002) assert that, in order for bouncers to maintain peace and order in nightclubs, they devise and endorse their own regulations and forms of policing.

3.3   The Frustration-Aggression Theory

The frustration-aggression theory is another theoretical approach that was relevant to this study. This theoretical approach postulates that a frustrating situation will lead to aggressive behaviour (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). Bouncers spend 8 to 10 hours every night of the weekend working to control and monitor patrons who, due to intoxication, are most likely to misbehave by not conforming to the rules of the nightclub and instructions by the bouncers. Such behaviour tends to be frustrating for bouncers. It can be and is frustrating for some patrons. Consequently, according to the frustration-aggression theory, bouncers resort to aggressive behaviour in response to threats and delinquency. Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower and Sears (1939) proposed this theory. It is important to understand the concepts 'aggression' and 'frustration'. Psychologists use the terms in many different ways, sometimes referring to

external instigating influences and sometimes to an individual's response to this event. "Frustration is an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence" (Dollard et al., 1939 cited in Berkowitz, 1989, p. 60). The word aggression refers to any pattern of behaviour, the goal-response to which is the injury of the person towards whom it is directed. "Aggression is seen as an action which has the objective of causing injury, but not as a response to a harmful stimulant" (Dollard et al., 1939 cited in Berkowitz, 1989, p. 67).

For the purpose of this study, this school of thought explicated the nature of the behaviour of bouncers in nightclubs, which in some instances tends to result in aggressive behaviour towards patrons. According to this perspective, bouncers act aggressively due to patrons who are behaving in a way that deviates from the rules of nightclubs. Bouncers respond first by being frustrated by the ongoing misbehaviour of intoxicated patrons. Consequently, they handle the matter aggressively due to their frustration.

Zimbardo and Gerrig (1999) cited the following example of frustration that led to violence: "I'd been having a really bad day. I needed to register late for a course. I could not find anyone to help me. When I was told for a thousandth time, 'You've got to go to a different office,' I got so angry I practically kicked a hole in the door." This is an example of an instance that captures the general relationship of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. It is believed that there is high empirical support for the existence of a link between frustration and aggression. Bouncers get frustrated when patrons misbehave and do not follow the rules of the nightclub, which stipulate, among others, that it is bouncers' duty to ensure that patrons abide by the rules (goal).

However, it is false to assume that misbehaving patrons are the only reason bouncers get frustrated. There could be a number of other reasons as well. According to Zimbardo and Gerrig (1999), researchers have used this relationship to explain aggression at both personal and societal levels. Furthermore, they contend that individual and societal forces interact to produce a net level of violence. However, when an unintentional circumstance fosters frustration, people are less likely to be aggressive than when a circumstance is intentional.

3.4   The Culture of Violence

According to Wolfgang, Ferracuti and Mannheim (1967), aggression and violence start at a childhood phase when it serves as a socialisation tool to control children to be obedient and conform to the rules of both the family and society. However, when violence and aggression are used to control children, it leads to violence and aggression in the future, although it may be latent for a long time. This theoretical framework stipulates that different groups in society learn and develop norms and values that emphasize and justify physical force as an acceptable behaviour and therefore it is practiced as part of their culture (Wolf et al., 1967). Furthermore, Wolf et al (1967) makes use of the high epidemic of violence observed within the black communities in the U.S., to state that in the U.S. the subculture of violence is present which as a consequence implicates that "there is a potent theme of violence current in the cluster of values that make up the life-style, the socialisation process, the interpersonal relationships of individuals living in similar conditions" (Wolfgang *et al*, 140). Such can be attributed to the socialisation process in nightclubs, where violence is mostly instilled to certain patrons as a tool to maintain peace and order. Instances where bouncers react in a violence manner has become a culture observed in numerous nightclubs.

Patrons may thus perceive bouncers' aggressive and violent behaviour as an acceptable part of their duties to maintain order in nightclubs, which may affect their decision to report instances of actual assault. Conversely, bouncers may be violent and aggressive because they were taught violence and aggression at an early age by the example of family members. In addition to this, Barak (2003) stipulates the intergenerational transmission of family violence is a familiar example of social learning theory, where individuals who have either witnessed or suffered physical family violence while growing up stand a greater chance of becoming a perpetrator of violence at a later stage in life.

Wolfgang *et al* (1967) states symptoms of individuals who have been suffering from violence at an early stage of life. These symptoms range from physiological and/or psychological imbalance(s) expressed by combination of obsessive ideation, compulsive repetition, poor impulse control, rapid desensitization to violence, diminished affective reactivity, failure to adapt to changing stimulus-reinforcement associations, hyper dependence, depression,

anxiety, low self-esteem, paranoia, dissociation from their own feelings, anti-social tendencies, failure to empathize and a fear of intimacy (Wolfgang *et al*, 1967)

3.5   Summary

The theories that were explicated in this chapter clearly illuminate the behaviour of bouncers within the environment in which they work. The elucidation of the social disorganisation theory explained that nightclubs are spaces in the form of anomie, which results in chaos and disorganisation. The frustration-aggression theory and the culture of violence theory specifically explain the characteristics of bouncers and their role in nightclubs. Frustration-aggression explains that bouncers become aggressive because they feel that they will otherwise fail to maintain peace and stability in nightclubs due chaos and instability caused by patrons. Furthermore, the culture of violence explains the violent behaviour of bouncers as a characteristic that was learnt at an early age; later in their adult lives, they recognise that this behaviour is a proper and justifiable way of behaving in a chaotic and threatening environment.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1   Introduction

This chapter highlights and explains the design of the study and the methods applied to collect the data. The data were collected using focus groups and one-on-one semi-structured interviews as data collection tools. The chapter will further explain the sampling techniques that were applied as well as the rationale for adopting those techniques. In conclusion, the methods of data collection will be explained and the thematic manner in which the data were analysed will be elucidated.

4.2   Research Methodology

Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2015) indicate that the term 'methodology' refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers. Research methods are fundamental components in any research study. They systematically guide the researcher with fieldwork while making it to collect data that are valid and reliable and that answer the key research questions. According to Berg (2004, p. 32), research involves "systematic steps used in a form of collaborative approach to solve specific problems" and, to achieve this, this approach "should apply consensual, democratic, and participatory methods to encourage people to share their problems or particular issues that affect them or their community". Therefore, this chapter will discuss the methods that were applied to ensure successful data collection for this study. The procedures for data collection, sampling and analysis are discussed. Furthermore, the preferred research design is explained, and the challenges that were experienced during the data collection phase are briefly touched on.

Briefly, the data collection techniques were in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The participants were sampled using non-probability purposive as well as convenience sampling. Data were analysed by means of thematic analyses.

4.3   Nature of the Research Design

According to Bouma and Atkinson (1995), qualitative research refers to research into the lives of people, their stories, and the way they behave. This kind of research allows the production of rich, descriptive data in the form of detailed information that is garnered from the owners of stories who share their own spoken or written words or observable behaviour. Steven, Robert and Devault (2016) concur that qualitative methodology produces the broadest, most descriptive information that contributes to research. It was important for the researcher to choose a qualitative research design as it was capable of illuminating patrons' perceptions of bouncers and their experiences, as well as bouncers' perceptions of patrons and their experiences. A quantitative research design would not have been able to produce such detailed information about the perceptions and experiences of the research participants. Barbour (2008) points out that qualitative research considers questions that look at the strength of the relationship between variables. He also holds that qualitative research provides understanding of how official figures are created through social processes. A qualitative methodology was therefore appropriate for this study as it was helpful in procuring rich data from the participants.

In this context, a qualitative research design addressed the requirements that this study had to meet, which was that the perceptions and attitudes of bouncers and patrons had to be obtained and compared. In this process, the researcher was able to explore the nature of the relationship, which the participants could describe and explain by exposing their feelings and narrating their experiences, which were key factors in achieving the aim and objectives of this study. Steven et al. (2016, p. 11) present a notion of qualitative research, which can be summarised in the following points:

- Qualitative research is concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their lives. Qualitative research is about understanding people from their own point of view, or from their own frame of reference. The researcher should be willing to experience reality as they experience it. The fundamental aspect is to understand how the individuals in the study view things (Steven et al. 2016, p. 11). It was thus of paramount importance for the researcher to understand the perceptions of the patrons on how bouncers performed their duties; if they were violent and aggressive or if they behaved respectfully towards

patrons. It was also important gain the insights of the bouncers and to elucidate their perceptions about patrons to understand their attitudes.

- Qualitative research is inductive. Researchers of qualitative research create concepts, insights and understandings from patterns in the data. Qualitative research produces new ways of thinking, in contrast to collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses or theories. It is more in relation to building theory, much like how Glaser and Strauss (1967) introduced grounded theory. According to Steven et al. (2016), research in this scenario of qualitative research begins the study with a set of research questions that are vaguely formulated. For instance, the research questions of this study were: (a) What is the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs? (b) How do patrons perceive bouncers? (c) What experiences do patrons have with bouncers? (d) Do bouncers have qualifications that are recognised by PSIRA? (e) Are the companies that employ bouncers recognised by PSIRA?

  However, when a study begins, a researcher does not know exactly what to look for or which specific questions to ask until s/he has spent some time in the location/setting of the study. The researcher can then decide on additional data (and even respondents) based on how the participants viewed their experiences and as they learn about the setting.

- In qualitative methodology, the researcher looks at settings and people holistically: people, settings or groups are not reduced to variables, but are viewed as a whole (Steven et al., 2016). Qualitative research thus makes sure not to lose sight of the human side of social life by studying individuals in the context of their pasts and the situations in which they find themselves. This approach allows the researcher to relate with participants' experiences and also to get to know them personally.

- Qualitative researchers are concerned with how people think and act in their everyday lives. Qualitative research is naturalistic because it adopts methods that are in line with how people act in the course of daily life, mainly by interacting with participants in a natural and unobtrusive manner (Steven et al., 2016). For example, people who regularly frequent nightclubs and have extensive experience of the nightlife economy will tell you more about the nightclub environment and how bouncers behave and conduct their

duties in the workplace than people who have never been to nightclubs and never interacted with a bouncer on duty. Gathering information from knowledgeable individuals is beneficial to the study because the researcher gathers information of real-life experiences.

- In qualitative research, all perspectives are worthy of study. According to Steven et al. (2016), qualitative research disparages from 'hierarchy of credibility' which, according to Becker (1967), means that it is the assumption that the perspectives of the less powerful are not as important as those that are obtained from the more powerful. Qualitative research accommodates the perspectives of everyone regardless of social class or status, gender, race, religion, and so forth. The aim is to examine how things look from different vantage points. The perspectives of bouncers were therefore just as important as the perspectives of patrons, and the perspectives of female bouncers were as important as the perspective of male bouncers and the perspectives of female patrons were just as important as those of male patrons.

- Qualitative researchers emphasize the meaningfulness of their research as the approach gives the researcher the space to make sense of the empirical world. It ensures that there is a close connection between the data and what the people do and say in real life (Steven, et al., 2016). For example, obtaining information about the experiences bouncers faced during their time of duty and their challenges of monitoring a venue full of intoxicated individuals gave the researcher first-hand knowledge of social life in the context of nightclubs.

- For the qualitative researcher, there is something to be learned in all settings and groups. Steven et al. (2016) propose the argument that no social life is too mundane or too trivial to be studied. This author further states that all settings and people are at once similar and unique. Some social processes may be found in any other group or setting, which clarifies similarity. Relationship of bouncers and patrons cannot only be best understood at the five nightclubs included in this study, they can also be understood in other nightclubs around the world as well. They are also unique in that some part of social life can be best studied or understood in each setting or through each participant because it is best illuminated through this process (Steven et al., 2016).

- Lastly, qualitative research is a craft. It is different from other research methods in that the methods applied in qualitative research are not standardised or refined. Qualitative research is a flexible approach in that it does not consist of rules, but guidelines. The researcher is not obliged to rigidly follow procedures or techniques but the methods serve the researcher (Steven et al., 2016).

4.4 Sampling Procedures

Bouma and Atkinson (1995) contend that it is often more preferred to study a sample than to study the whole population. Furthermore, a properly selected sample makes the task possible and produces results that are more accurate. Coon and Mitterer (2013, p. 34) state that a representative sample "is a small group that reflects a bigger population". They further assert that a good sample must have the same proportion of the study population for example men, women, young and old. In addition, Coon and Mitterer (2013) point out that a biased sample (i.e., a sample that leans only in one direction) does not accurately reflect the characteristics of the whole population. The sample of this study did not necessarily represent the whole population due to the adopted non-random sampling technique. Bouma and Atkinson (1995) state that if non-random sampling is adopted, one can only hope that those selected for the study bear some likeness to the larger group.

The study had a total sample size of 30 participants. The sample was made up of ten bouncers that were currently employed at the five nightclubs. The study focused on two bouncers from each nightclub. The sample also included ten undergraduate females as well as ten undergraduate males from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Howard College campus, who had been to any one of the five nightclubs of interest. The bouncers were recruited using purposive sampling while the undergraduate students were recruited using the convenient sampling technique. Both techniques are non-probability sampling techniques. The reason for choosing purposive sampling technique for undergraduate students is, according to Maree (2007), purposive sampling is used as a way of getting the best information by selecting items or people most likely to have the experience or expertise to provide quality information and valuable insights on the topic. Sampling bouncers using purposive sampling will serve the best purpose for the study as bouncers have the experience of interacting with patrons and the experience of conducting duties as a bouncer. Convenient sampling technique was utilised to

recruit students at Howard College Campus because they are easily accessible at campus as compared to patron at the nightclub.

According to Bouma and Atkinson (1995), by sampling we tend to generalise what we gathered from the samples we draw in our everyday life. In order for the researcher to understand common behaviour patterns among bouncers who work in nightclubs, the researcher sampled 10 bouncers from five nightclubs in the South Beach area of Durban. Bouma and Atkinson (1995) articulate that it is important to sample with care in order to make sure that the sample accurately reflects the whole population from which it is taken. For example, we look at the weather through the window we choose and we judge the weather as a whole from the sample that we can see through the window. The same applies in practical sampling of participants. However, "the manner in which the sample is drawn determines to what extent we can generalise the findings [to the entire population or phenomenon under study]" (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995, p. 138). This was an important point that was considered in his study, as it implies that reliable information about the larger population depends on the sample being studied. It should therefore show representativeness to the larger population. If the sample fails to be representative, the results of the research must only apply to the sample that was studied.

The reason samples are used is to reduce the cost in time and energy of studying large populations. It is often difficult or undesirable to study everyone. Samples are useful to gain a reliable picture of the larger population (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995, p. 139). To select a sample, one needs to understand how to select a sample, which involves knowing what one, wants to know, and about whom one wants to gather information. It is impossible to know everything about everyone or all groups. Therefore, careful selection is important. In this study, knowing more about the relationship between bouncers and patrons at nightclubs required the researcher to recruit bouncers and patrons who frequented nightclubs, as they were the main subjects of the study. It was impossible to recruit all the bouncers and patrons who frequented nightclubs in Durban at the time. Therefore, the research had to draw a sample from the population of bouncers and patrons (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995).

The researcher chose to employ two research instruments, namely focus group discussions and one-on-one semi-structured interviews.

4.5 Data Collection

This section discuss the instruments adopted to gather data from the participants. Data was collected using one-on-one interviews and focus group discussion.

4.5.1 One-on-one interviews as a data collection instrument

Barbour (2008) maintains that semi-structured interviews allow interviewers to draw on data that are solely based on the perspectives that are most important or noticeable among respondents, rather than on a situation in which the researcher controls the direction of the interviews. Therefore, the researcher allowed the participants to lead the interviews by posing open-ended questions to them. Interviews were conducted with bouncers only as the researcher wanted to obtain insight based on their personal perspectives and experiences. The bouncers were asked to respond to the following questions:

1) How would you describe your relationship with patrons?

2) What causes violence in nightclubs?

3) What are the requirements for being a qualified bouncer?

These questions intended to elicit responses that would stimulate insight about their experiences as bouncers and their interaction with patrons. It was also important to establish if the bouncers thought that training would have a positive effect on the way they carried out their duties.

The interviews were conducted with 10 bouncers; 9 males and 1 female. As there is every indication that males dominate the bouncing industry, the researcher was fortunate to include at least one female's point of view. She was sampled from one nightclub as the rest of the nightclubs employed only male bouncers.

The interviews were conducted in September of 2016. The only time that the researcher was able to conduct interviews with the bouncers was during the evening, before the start of their shifts. This was usually at 5 pm on Fridays and Saturdays. Some bouncers were sometimes reached when it was too busy, so the researcher had to wait until the end of their shifts, which was around 3 am when the nightclubs closed. The interviews were conducted in private spaces in the nightclubs with permission from the owner or manager. Due to loud music at

nightclubs, the researcher had to make sure that the spaces that were provided would not interfere with the voice recordings. Each interview lasted for about 10 to 15 minutes. There was 13 questions (Appendix 1), because the interviews were semi-structured and open-ended. The interviewer sometimes probed the respondents for deeper answers for clarification.

The interviews were conducted in either isiZulu or English, depending on the preference of the interviewee. The choice of language allowed for frank and open expressions in comfortable conversations that excluded any confusion or threat to the respondents.

4.5.2 Focus group discussions as a data collection instrument

Barbour (2008) indicates that focus groups are unique in that, if they are administered appropriately, they can produce very rich data with high potential for comparison. A focus group is considered to work well with approximately eight participants who engage in a discussion, with a facilitator who will make sure that the specific topic is not lost along the discussion. Participants give their views and expressions in discussions, which produce qualitative data (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, 2009). Bloor, Frankland, Thomas and Robson (in Barbour, 2008) state that focus groups are a useful method if the researches investigates group norms, group meanings and group processes.

In response to these requirements, the researcher included 10 males and 10 females for separate focus group discussions. The rationale behind the separation of the genders was that it would facilitate insights on how bouncers treated males and females; the study set out to determine if the manner in which they were treated was similar or different, and if it was different, it needed to be established in what manner these differences occurred. According to Barbour (2008), focus group discussions are in most instances utilized to access groups that are viewed as difficult to reach. In this study, undergraduate students who frequented the five nightclubs that the study focused on were difficult to reach and therefore, for one of many reasons, the researcher needed to do a focus group discussion with each gender group.

Hancock et al. (2009) note that focus groups discussions need to take place in locations that are accessible, comfortable and conducive to a relaxed atmosphere. The researcher therefore conducted the focus group discussions at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College campus in the boardroom of the school for Criminology and Forensic Studies. Most participants were familiar with the venue as they were students of this Department. The boardroom was big enough to accommodate the ten participants for each focus group, and the facilities ensured the comfort and safety of the participants.

4.5.3 Preparing for the interviews and discussions

The researcher requested and obtained the participants' permission to record the interviews (bouncers) and discussions (patrons). The recordings ensured that all conversations were transcribed accurately. A researcher's assistant also took notes during the interviews and discussions, which helped in the transcription and data analysis processes.

Because a nightclub is a place with loud music, the researcher had to make sure that the space for the interviews was not too loud and that it was conducive for a recorded interview. Each interview would last for 10-15 minutes. Two bouncers were interviewed at each of the five nightclubs.

Before each interview and discussion group, the researcher explained in detail what the core factors of the study were, and ensured the participants of their voluntary participation, the confidentiality of the information they would provide, and they were issued with consent forms which they all signed voluntarily.

Similar processes applied for the interviews and the focus group discussions. In the focus group interviews, it was important to emphasise that before the respondents spoke, to protect the identity of the respondents in the interest of adhering to a strict ethical code, each participant was allocated a number by which he or she was identified according to the sequence in which they were seated. The first participant was Respondent #1, and so on. They were also allocated pseudonyms for reference in this study report.

4.6   Location of the Study

The main study site was located in five nightclubs that are situated at Durban, South and North Beach area. The researcher physically went to these nightclubs to conduct the interviews with the bouncers because that was where the bouncers worked and it was guaranteed that they would be available from Friday until Sunday, as those are the days when nightclubs are busy. However, the managers' and the bouncers' consent was obtained in writing before they participated in the study. An appointment was made with each of the ten bouncers who had agreed to participate. The researcher and assistant researcher travelled to all five nightclubs to seek permission from the gatekeepers, which was received in writing, and to conduct the interviews with the bouncers.

The venue where the group discussions were conducted was on the UKZN Howard College campus where discussions were held with male and female Howard College students who had been patrons of at least one of the nightclubs under study. As was stated earlier, the two focus group discussions were held in the boardroom of the Criminology and Forensic Studies Department in the Memorial Tower building on campus. The discussions were conducted on a Friday, and a trained assistant who also assisted with the recruitment of the student participants supported the researcher.

4.7   Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is a process that analyses data by exposing and utilizing themes that emerge from the data. Data are analysed in this process by "minimally organizing and describing the data set in rich detail and may going as far as interpreting various aspects of the research topic" (Boyatzis, 1998 in Braun & Clarke, 2006). "Data analysis involves summarising the mass of data collected and presenting the results in a way that communicates the most important features" (Hancock et al., 2009, p. 67).

In this process, the researcher first transcribed then analysed the data with reference to the themes that emerged from the data. During the transcription of the conversations and interviews, the researcher also noted patterns of experiences and expressions, including common ideas. Consequently, data that were presented that related to already classified themes were also identified. The themes that had been identified were then explained in

detail based on the conversation that related to a particular theme. Thereafter, the themes were combined into sub-themes. These sub-themes were taken from the conversations of the participants, which were then combined together to result in a comprehensive picture of the collective experiences and perceptions of the participants. The researcher then used the completely analysed data and referred back to the literature to link the findings with those of other scholars.

4.8   Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are an important factor that must be adhered to in any research. In this regard, this study had many issues to consider. Any kind of research is confronted with ethical issues. Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2001, p. 94) note that ethics means, "having to do well and avoid harm". Harm is prevented or decreased via the application of relevant ethical principles.

4.8.1   Ethical approval

The researcher thus first applied to the UKZN Ethics Committee for ethical clearance, which was approved (Appendix 2). The reference protocol number is HSS/1426/016M. The researcher also followed the necessary procedure to apply to the gatekeepers at each nightclub for permission letters to include the selected bouncers in the study. In addition, the researcher applied to and received a letter of approval from the Registrar of the University of KwaZulu-Natal to involve undergraduate students studying at Howard College campus who had been to one of the nightclubs under study (Appendix 3).

According to Munhall (1988), the confidentiality of exchanges between the researcher and the participants is a fundamental ethical consideration that must be adhered to. The researcher thus emphatically informed the participants that their personal details would not be disclosed to anyone or be revealed in the research dissertation. The researcher thus made use of pseudonyms to ensure that no participant's name would be revealed.

Moreover, the tapes and transcriptions of the interviews and discussions will be securely stored and destroyed according to requirements.

4.8.2   Informed consent

The process of data collection should be existential and authentic by involving the negotiation of trust between the researcher and the participants (Munhall, 1988). The researcher thus first explained the study to the participants and ensured them of their anonymity and confidentiality in participating in this study. The researcher clearly outlined what it would entail to participate in the study. The participants were given an opportunity to raise their concerns and to ask questions. They were given every opportunity to decide to voluntarily participate, and when they agreed to participate, they were given consent forms to sign. It was also emphasised that any participant could withdraw from participating any time s/he felt uncomfortable. Annas, Glantz and Katz (1977) cited in Munhall, 1988, p. 291) define informed consent as "knowing consent of an individual or his legally authorized representative, so situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice without undue inducement or any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress or other forms of constraint or coercion".

4.9   Challenges Experienced

The researcher faced some challenges; however, they were managed cautiously for the study to remain valid and reliable.

4.9.1   Gaining access

The one challenge that stood out was the researcher's difficulty in gaining access to the bouncers. All the nightclubs, except one, hesitated to grant the researcher approval to interview the bouncers of the nightclub. Winlow et al. (2001) state that gaining admission and understanding into partly or completely deviant individuals or groups is fraught with complications. Even though the researcher provided a student card, a gatekeeper's letter and a letter from the supervisor explaining the aim and objectives of the study, managers still found it difficult to give permission to proceed. However, after numerous visits and assurances, permission to interview the bouncers was granted.

4.9.2 Recruitment

Challenges were experienced in recruiting undergraduate students at Howard College campus, mainly because the researcher was not always on campus during the week due to other commitments. Consequently, the researcher had to find an assistant who could recruit participants, but only students at Howard College Campus, who have been to any of the nightclubs being studied. The assistant was given recruitment criteria to abide by when trying to locate participants.

Sampling criteria for participants:

Bouncers:

- Currently worked at the selected nightclubs.

Patrons:

- Currently an undergraduate student at UKZN Howard College campus.
- Must have been to anyone of the five nightclubs chosen by the researcher.

4.9.3 Venues for conducting the interviews

It was difficult to find the right venues in the nightclubs where the interviews could be conducted. The noise often interfered with the interview recordings as some spots were exposed to loud music, and this affected the quality of some recordings. In some instances, a second venue had to be found where the quality of the voice recordings was better.

In essence, all the challenges listed above were overcome, which contributed to the reliability and validity of the study.

4.10   Limitations of the Study

One limitation was the relatively small scope of the study (10 bouncers and 20 patrons) which precludes the findings from being generalised to the large bouncer and patron populations across Durban and, naturally, across South Africa. Various large scale and longitudinal studies are therefore required to fill this gap.

Another limitation was that the views and perceptions of the managers of nightclubs were excluded from the study. It is acknowledged that managers are a pivotal factor in the work of bouncers as they generate employment contracts that are underpinned by various legal provisions and that may contain specific instructions or requirements. These employment contracts were neither required nor perused, and managers were not interviewed to elucidate their views on the employment requirements of the bouncers that worked at the nightclubs. Future studies are therefore required to address this gap and to contribute to the discourse in this field of scholarly investigation.

4.11   Summary

This chapter articulated an important section of the research project. It stated the nature of the study and the procedures followed to make data collection a success without violating the ethical principles that were required by the Ethics Committee of UKZN. The researcher followed all the required procedures to make sure that the data that were obtained were reliable and valid by recruiting a sample that would answer the research questions.

Various challenges that had been experienced and overcome were listed as these might guide future students in this field to avoid similar barriers. However, the limitations that were mentioned should be addressed in future studies in order to complete the tapestry of bouncer and patron relationships in nightclubs in order to inform future policy-makers of possible effective measures that could curb acts of violence and aggression in the nightclub industry.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1   Introduction

This chapter explains the manner of data analysis and discusses the findings. The findings are in turn related to the objectives of the study to empirically achieve the aim of the study. The data that were obtained are also linked with other sources in the literature, which is a process that adds validity to the study. This study was conducted to investigate the perceptions of bouncers and patrons regarding the nature of their relationship and to establish the competence of bouncers in relation to the standards set by PSIRA. Data were obtained through one-on-one interviews with bouncers and focus group discussions with male and female nightclub patrons respectively. The interviews were transcribed from the recordings in IsiZulu, and then translated from IsiZulu into English.

By listening to the recordings and meticulously reading the transcriptions of the interviews, the researcher identified predominant themes that emerged from the common ideas that were expressed by the participants. The researcher thus categorized all the responses into similar points that were developed into themes. Identified themes were then developed into categories to create a single image that presented the views of all holistically. Themes from the findings were then linked with corresponding or contradictory themes that emerged from the literature review. The comments and arguments of the respondents are presented verbatim in italics. Due to ethical considerations and in the interest of confidentiality, individuals will not be mentioned by their real names, but by pseudonyms. The participants were also asked during the interviews not to mention the names of the nightclubs when responding to questions to fully maintain the confidentiality of these enterprises.

5.2   Analysis of the One-on-One Interview Data: Bouncers

The data presented below are views of bouncers from one on one interviews that were conducted.

5.2.1   Experiences with and perceptions of patrons

The bouncers expressed some negative views when asked to describe their relationship with patrons of nightclubs. For example, Nomfundo, a female bouncer explained her challenge with her relationship with patrons. Nomfundo shared an experience that caused her great distress:

> *"Today I faced a challenge. In this club you are not allowed to come with alcohol and you are dismissed from the club [if you are in possession of] alcohol. If you are caught with alcohol in public, the owner of the nightclub will be charged and I might even lose my job. When I tried to stop a male patron from leaving with alcohol, the first thing he did was to push me away and he went out. I could not fight with him because I am a woman. However, that affected me and made me sad, because he was undermining me. The second one was rude to me. He just said, 'What's your problem? Are you a bouncer's girlfriend? Why you talking to me like that?' I told him I was a female bouncer so he was undermining me. Women can drive ships, they can drive trains, they can drive [sic] an aeroplane, a woman can fix the streetlights, and a woman can build a stadium. So do not judge me because I am a female bouncer. We always face those kinds of challenges with patrons. People undermine you because you are a female bouncer. And I'm even short, so people won't take me seriously."*

Simo, who is a male bouncer, explained his relationship with patrons as a 'cool' relationship. He tried to be kind and calm at all times. However, problems occurred when a patron misbehaved. He further stated that he beat patrons sometimes when they deserved to be beaten, but he first talked to a patron and gave him/her warnings to first show them that they were wrong. He narrated one situation when he ended up beating a patron:

"What happened was, a guy was drinking his beer and he put the beer on the table. Another person came and drank his beer and when he asked him why he was drinking his beer, he told him to shut up. When I went to him, I told him what he was doing was wrong, and he responded by saying, 'Who are you!' I told him I was a bouncer. I was working there. He said, 'If you're a bouncer then go do your job.' I told him not to do this, and if he behaved like that, I would take him outside. He continued to pick up the beer of the other man in front of me and he drank it. If I did not do anything, the person would think I was scared of him. Therefore, I decided to take him outside. When I touched him, he pushed me back. I would not allow that, and I gave him a slap. Some people deserve that. That is why I'm saying, as a bouncer you need to be a man; you need to be tough."

Bandile also explained his relationship with patrons:

"The first thing [that you need to know] about me is that I respect my job. Secondly, I understand what is required of me as a bouncer, so what I am trying to cover is that I have to respect people and know what to do. Hence, by those two you will know how to deal with people. Even if someone comes to you angry and you know how to talk gently to that person, that person will be calm and hear what you are saying and if there is a problem, that problem will end up [being] solved. I have a positive attitude towards patrons. I treat patrons with respect. Nevertheless, sometimes you face grumpy people who have a negative attitude, so your attitude at the time depends on the individual you are facing. I am also human; sometimes I react with anger, and the anger is temporary. Otherwise my attitude towards patrons is the same."

5.2.2 The causes of violence and aggression

There were varying reasons given by the bouncers for the eruption of violence and aggression in nightclubs. For example, Skho said:

"Violence will never stop in nightclubs – it will never stop. If the violence stops, that means customers no longer drink alcohol. If the customers continue to drink alcohol, violence is going to carry on."

Mandla shared the following sentiment:

"Drunk people act like they have no brains; they act in different ways. Sometimes, you find a person who starts a fight with you. I am human too so, I end up getting frustrated and I fight back, and that makes it seems like I fight with people and it portrays a negative image about bouncers who are seen as people who like to fight with people. Sometimes, there are situations that force us to be aggressive. Like when an individual hits you first, you have to defend yourself, or when an individual insults you by mentioning your mother, which becomes a problem for a person. So you end up frustrated and aggressive."

In addition, Ntsika revealed the following:

"Some patrons come to drink and when they are drunk they sleep here at the club, and when you ask the patron to wake up and leave the club, they tend to resist. Therefore, you have to grab the patron and throw him outside. Some fight with you and hit you first. So, when the patron hits you, as a bouncer you will hit back." He further added: *"Violence is not common in this nightclub because the nightclub has customers who come here all the time and they understand the way the nightclub works. Violence usually comes from people who are not common customers of this nightclub. For example, on days like 16 December, people end up hitting each other with bottles outside the club or they want to forcefully come into the club when it is already full."*

Cyril concurred with Ntsika's perception that violence is, in most instances, caused by patrons who are not regulars at a nightclub:

"Violence is not something that happens all the time. Maybe it happens once or twice a month during weekends when it is full. This place has regular customers; fights happen when there are people who are not regulars of this nightclub."

5.2.3   Reasons for being a bouncer

Based on the findings of this study, the majority of the bouncers indicated that they loved and had a passion of the job. The reasons that were presented varied as to why they loved their job. However, some respondents provided reasons that could not be categorized as being passionate and having a love for the job, but they still emphasized that they loved the job of

being a bouncer. For example, someone who is passionate about and loves his/her job would state activities about the job that make them love and be passionate about it. However, in this study all the bouncers justified their passion for their job with reasons that were not job related, such as gains and benefits that one would obtain from any profession other than bouncing. No reasons or explanations justified their love for the job from a practical standpoint during duty hours. When the researcher asked the participants about their experiences as bouncers, it was expected that the answers would provide insight into the practical duties that made them love their work.

However, the bouncers who claimed that they loved their job provided reasons such as the ability to earn money to go to the gym and the opportunity that the bouncing industry gave them to go to the gym. This implies that they loved going to the gym, and not doing their job! One bouncer was an exception, as Bandile's reason for being a bouncer was not his love of bodybuilding or going to the gym, but he loved being a bouncer for the following reason:

> *"Being a bouncer does not require any specific qualification; it is a job that one does because of a passion and love for the job, and because one is fit enough to carry out the job."*

Bandile's rationale for being a bouncer concurred with a finding by Winlow (2001), who contends that the bouncing industry seeks individuals with a physically intimidating appearance and a history of violent behaviour. Blok (1974, p. 34) also mentions that what earns bouncers 'respect' "is first their capacity to coerce with physical violence and thus invoke fear in others". The above statements imply that it is common rather than uncommon for bouncers to revel in and improve their physical appearance by, as was clearly revealed, going to the gym. Bandile included physical attributes as a reason for being a bouncer because being physically fit is an important requirement in this occupation. It seemed as if most participants loved the job because they perceived that it involved strength and the ability to work on their bodies, as being a bouncer requires physical fitness and strength.

Wandile provided a different perspective for admiring the job. His reason focused on the flexibility of the times they had to report to work and the ability to work fewer hours compared to other security professions:

"I have been a bouncer for ten years now. I decided to be a bouncer because I do not want to work long hours as a security. In other security jobs, you work for 12 hours, but as a bouncer, it is too much. The maximum amount of time I work is like 9 hours. It is better, I can do other things. I can sleep and do other things."

Nomfundo**,** who was the female bouncer participant, was in the industry on a part-time basis. She was a student at a college in Durban and had been a bouncer for two years. Even though she did it on a part-time basis, she maintained that she loved being a bouncer. When asked why she loved being a bouncer, she stated:

"I do it on a part-time basis, as it keeps me away from doing bad things during the weekend. It keeps me busy; it keeps me away from my friends. Especially, during festive seasons, I am always working because there are many gigs in nightclubs. I love it because it saves me from a lot of things."

Some participants admitted that they did not love the job. The most common reason that appeared for not loving their occupation was the lack of employment opportunities. These participants believed that it was easy to get a job as a bouncer if you were physically fit. Hence, some respondents ended up being bouncers. Moreover, some bouncers procured this job as a vacation job, as they were students and got into this occupation while they were still students. Consequently, when a physically strong student completes his/her course and finds him/herself unemployed, he/she is likely to resort to being a bouncer because it is easier to be employed if you have a body that suits the job. Mandla was one such student:

"It is because when I started this job I was a student, so I wanted to get a job to earn money. When I completed studying I couldn't find another job so I decided to stick to this one."

Ntsika was a Human Resource Management student when he first began a career in bouncing, and his hope was to be in the industry temporarily to earn money. When an individual is stuck in an occupation that he/she does not like, his/her attitude towards the occupation and the people around him or her is affected negatively. Unemployment tends to be frustrating, and if a bouncer is stuck in this occupation unwillingly, he/she is more likely to be unhappy, which

might be a contributing factor for aggression and violence. As Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) mention, the frustration-aggression theory stipulates that a frustrating situation will lead to aggressive behaviour. This is a concern because potential scapegoats of bouncers for their negative attitudes and dislike of the job will be patrons of nightclubs. If there is no love and passion for the job one is doing, there will be less tolerance and patience, which are very important attributes to possess as a bouncer or for any other occupation, especially if one who is engaged in the occupation has to engage with different kinds of people. If they lack such qualities, their competency becomes questionable.

5.2.4 Important characteristics of bouncers

When Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2016) conducted a study in Utrecht and Rotterdam, one of their respondents, who was a bouncer in one of the nightclubs, stated that they had been recruited in the gym to go and work for a nightclub as bouncers. According to Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2016), bouncers are recruited based on their physicality and masculinity and thus social skills do not matter. What is important as a bouncer is that one is physically fit and knows how to fight. Chapter 2 (10a) of PSIRA Act 56 of 2001 stipulates that private security service providers may not allow any individual to render any services as a private security officer unless that individual has successfully completed training as a private security officer and has been registered in terms of the Act. However, most participants of this study did not mention physical fitness when asked about important characteristics of bouncers, until they were asked specifically about being physically fit and having a big body as an important attribute for the job. When first asked about important characteristics of bouncers, most mentioned personality attributes. For example, Nomfundo stated:

> *"A bouncer should not be short tempered. You must have perseverance no matter how angry patrons make you. You must be calm and alright because some people will irritate you but you must be calm and not react."*

In addition, Skho stated:

> *"As a bouncer you must try very hard to be calm and polite, and it is very important to master those two skills. It is not easy sometimes because you will meet some customers who will push you to your last nerve."*

The female bouncer also did not mention anything about physical attributes as an important characteristic of being a bouncer. The only time that she stated the importance of physique as a bouncer was when she was specifically asked about it. Some participants mentioned that physical fitness was important when they were asked to list the important characteristics of a bouncer. Some mentioned that physical fitness did not mean being violent, as it only served to intimidate. This implies that the respondents did not perceive a propensity for violence as an important characteristic to be a bouncer, as Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2016) suggest that it is. Ntsika also did not see violence as an important characteristic; rather, being physically fit was key. He shared the following insight:

"A bouncer needs to be fit physically, not be violent. You need to be an understanding person and understand someone is misbehaving because he is drunk".

Cyril put a high premium on being physically fit and the need to visit the gym and to be strong. He stated the following:

"A bouncer needs to gym and be stronger than everyone they guide in the club. The duty of bouncers is to go to the gym and be fit, because it happens sometimes that there are fights. If the customer is stronger than you and you cannot handle the customer, you end up losing your job."

Mandla further revealed the following:

"A bouncer needs two attributes. A body structure also counts because when you have a small body a patron will not take you seriously. In the four years' experience I have had as a bouncer I have seen bouncers with a small body always having a hard time dealing with misbehaving patrons."

Bouncers rely on their physique to perform their duties. All bouncers (except the one female) that were interviewed had big bodies with big muscles. They all looked like people that go to the gym to work out. In addition, when looking at their colleagues, it was clear that they had a similar physical appearance of masculinity and strength. Although interviewing managers was not within the scope of this study, it was assumed that bouncers, particularly male bouncers, were hired based on the appearance of their physical bodies, with little or no attention to other attributes or characteristics. The smaller physique of the female bouncer

("I am even short, so they don't take me seriously") was interesting, but because the ratio of female bouncers versus male bouncers appeared to be extremely low by merely observing the gender of bouncers working in the nightclubs under study, it may be assumed at this point that female bouncers are employed as a peripheral gesture to comply with gender equity requirements, and/or to deal with sensitive matters that affect female patrons only. The significantly larger number of male bouncers may also serve as protective barrier that shields the few female bouncers in the nightclub industry. Be that as it may, this phenomenon needs further investigation in the South African context.

Mpilo's unique response supported the capacity of bouncers to revert to violence as an important characteristic. His response was also a reflection of how unsafe it was during the night-time for both bouncers and patrons:

> *"For security and safety reasons, you need a gun to be safe. As a bouncer, sometimes you need to have something to defend yourself. This is a dirty place; anything can happen. Everyone shows up here: criminals, murderers, so you do not know what is going to happen. Some come with their guns here and become rude to us because he has a gun and he is going to shoot us if we respond. We cannot always use our muscles. Muscles for us is to look good and fresh. It does not mean that because we are bodybuilding we are doing it to abuse people when they are drunk. Protection is the main thing to have. Some bouncers carry knives because he is protecting himself."*

5.2.5 The importance of a strong physical appearance

Bouncers' bodies are a very important tool that they use to perform their duties. However, views on how important this tool is as part of bouncers' job differed when the bouncers were questioned whether they used their bodies as a tool in a physical manner or whether they used them only for intimidation. It was observed that all the male bouncers in the nightclubs under study were physically big and fit. Only one nightclub in the North Beach area had one female bouncer standing at the door. When the interviewer asked Nomfundo, the female bouncer, what her views were concerning the importance of the physical appearance of bouncers, she replied as follows:

"Yes, physical appearance is important as a bouncer, because being a bouncer you need to be fit and strong so that you can intervene in fighting situations. There are people who like to fight, so when you are physically fit you must be able to handle those people. In most instances, if you go to a nightclub you will find physically fit bouncers, and you will not find thin bouncers. So it is important to go to the gym and be fit."

Although Nomfundo herself was not physically intimidating, her view concurred with that of Winlow (2001), who states that bouncers are generally known to be large, muscular men. Moreover, bouncers sell themselves and their bodies to the security market, as their employability is based on their ability to utilize a physically strong body, powerful speech, body language, facial expressions, and demeanor. Furthermore, they send the message of danger if patrons behave in a manner that deviates from the norms of the nightclub (Winlow, 2001). Most of the participants believed that a strong physical appearance was important for bouncers, except Mlondi and Bandile. Bandile felt that fitness was more important than a strong body:

"Physical appearance is not important; my fitness is for intimidation. Being fit as a bouncer does not mean you have to take advantage and harm other individuals. That is one of the things that creates enemies at work and you can even get hurt."

Mlondi agreed with this statement, and added:

"If you are a bouncer, it is not all about how your body looks. I believe that muscles are just to make people scared of you. You can work with no muscles and do a better job than the one with muscles, because the one with muscles hits patrons all the time, while the one with no muscles is able to talk nicely with patrons and patrons respect him. Bouncing is not all about muscles; you have to know how to work with people, how to communicate and understand people, especially if you are working with people who are intoxicated."

Some of the respondents thus saw fitness and the ability to work with people as vital characteristics, which were all linked to the safety and security of themselves and patrons in nightclubs. Simo agreed with Nomfundo and Bandile when he stated:

"Yes, in bouncing you must be physically fit. You see, as a bouncer you also need to have size. There are some of the places where I cannot work, as you see I am short. They need taller people. Those people I work with, they would go there to drink, and when they get drunk, they lose control and they fight. If you are not strong enough, they will beat you, they will hit you. You must be strong, not to fight with people, but to defend yourself if someone is coming to fight with you".

5.2.6 Training and a Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority qualification

Two of the bouncers who were interviewed admitted that they had been exposed to safety and security training. Only two respondents mentioned that they had a qualification certificate that recognized them as private security officers. However, the manner in which they responded was not very convincing, as both respondents had never heard of PSIRA. Furthermore, the researcher noted their facial expressions when they were asked about PSIRA, which, in the researcher's view, indicated confusion and ignorance. Mlondi stated:

"I did go for a security course and I obtained grade B."

However, when he was probed about his knowledge of PSIRA and his PSIRA number, he replied:

"I have heard people talk about PSIRA, but I have never been clearly informed about it, and I have no idea what a PSIRA number is".

It does not make sense that a qualified private security officer that successfully completed training in South Africa and is rendering private security service does not know about PSIRA and does not have or know about a PSIRA number. In the researcher's opinion, his response indicated that he did not have a grade B security qualification and had never been to this form of training. Moreover, Wandile's response appeared even more suspicious as he first stuttered in his first response about the private security qualification that a bouncer needs to possess to qualify as a bouncer, and his first few words did not make any sense:

"Ummh … but you know especially, actually, not qualify, but the problem is, you have to, if you have like ummh what you call? Uhmm…diploma, that it is ok, you can do the job."

The researcher asked for clarity in terms of which diploma he was talking about and if it was relevant for the security profession, and he added the following:

"That diploma … and then certificate for the, for the, for the bouncer, it under security. If you have grade D, grade E or grade C you can do the job."

What Wandile was talking about did not make sense and gave the researcher the impression that he was not in possession of the required qualification. Hence, the researcher probed further to clarify what he had meant when he had referred to the qualifications that he said he possessed and the training that he had attended. His response was:

"I have umhh…I got training and I have grade D."

When he was asked to further explain what grade D was, he said:

"Grade D, that's why I come tell you now, grade D is under umhh security, that thing they give to umhh, what you call? If you go for umhh interview for everything to be a security, they give you that symbol".

Schneider (2013) states that each private security industry can be considered regulated by identifying two key components an industry should possess using this approach. These two key components are a training regulatory structure and a regulatory/licensing authority. A training regulatory structure sets standards and ensures that private security companies receive proper, effective training, while a regulatory/licensing authority makes sure that security firms and security officers comply with best practice in appropriate ways (Schneider, 2013).

Mandla had a precise idea and information that a bouncer needs to be registered with PSIRA and obtain a PSIRA card to be fully qualified as a bouncer. However, he did not have those qualifications. When the researcher asked him to provide reasons why he did not have a qualification to be a bouncer, his response was as follows:

"[coughs] That is a hard question. As I said, I am not here to stay. I could do it just in case, because being a bouncer is a job almost similar to VIPs' protection. All those jobs, and as a VIP protector, you are obliged to have those qualifications. But I won't be a bouncer my entire life."

Section 10 of the PSIRA clearly states that security service providers may not -

(a) Use or make any person available for the rendering of a security service, whether directly or indirectly, unless such a person -

(i) Is registered as a security service provider in terms of the Act and may render the relevant security service in terms of the Act; and

(ii) Has successfully completed the security training required in terms of law in respect of the rendering of the relevant security service.

Furthermore, Section 11 (1) (a) of this Act concludes that a security service provider employing any person in the private security industry "must comply with all obligations imposed by law on employers aimed at the training and skills development of such an employee". However, as Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2016) mention, if bouncers are recruited informally, neither service providers nor management pay attention to the legal processes that apply when seeking to employ bouncers. In their study, they found that bouncers were recruited at gyms on the strength of their physical size only. Social skills and psychological maturity did not matter. In this study, the participants fell under the same culture of recruitment. Nomfundo, who was the only female in this study, mentioned the following:

> "No, you don't need a qualification to be a bouncer. The only thing you need as a bouncer is to go to the gym and work on your body. Your body is a qualification you need. If you have a nice body for the job, the owner of the nightclub will like you and hire you to be a bouncer at his/her nightclub, and maybe at the nightclub if they want to know you, they may ask for your Identity Document copy and proof of residential address."

Some of the participants believed that skills training was not important and necessary to do the job of a bouncer. Mpilo stated the following:

> "You do not need to go to school to learn about being a bouncer. Have you ever heard about a school, which teaches about being a bouncer? It is your own risk, because you may attend training but you get hurt every time you come to work because you cannot protect yourself. Most people here are not people whom you may take lightly; some

are fighters, some do boxing, we do different sports, some do martial arts … it is not only about bouncing."

However, Bandile's perception contradicted those of Mpilo and Nomfundo about the importance of training as a bouncer. Even though he had never attended a training course for bouncers and did not have a PSIRA recognized qualification, he still maintained that training was important:

"Bouncers need training because this job requires experience. You can see a big difference between someone who has three months' experience and someone who has six years' experience. The newcomer will come with the mentality that if you are a bouncer and you are fit, if a patron makes one mistake that means you must hit that patron. I have experience, so I know that the priority is patrons' safety and you talk with patrons, you do not just react. So bouncers require training so that when he comes to work, he knows what is expected and what he should do in different situations."

5.3   Analysis of Data from Focus Group Discussions: Male and Female Patrons

In this section, the data that was obtained from the discussion groups involving male and female patrons respectively will be analysed and discussed. The views of males and females will be compared to understand their perspectives and to identify differences and similarities in their views.

5.3.1 Female respondents' perspectives

In general, the participants understood bouncers as individuals who were aggressive and who exuded a 'stop-your-nonsense' personality. They imitated their facial expression as frowning in most cases and agreed that there was no chance of socialising with them. The participants believed that that was how they were supposed to be, as it was required because of the nature of the work they do. If they became too social, intoxicated patrons might take advantage of their easy and 'forgiving' personalities. However, it was brought up that favouritism of some patrons affected the execution of their task. It was felt that only those patrons with less money to spend in the nightclubs were marginalized or accosted.

Yolanda mentioned the following:

"I do not think it is about doing their job correctly or doing what they are supposed to do, it is about who you are and about how much money you have. If you go to a nightclub with less money to spend on drinks, obviously the reaction of the bouncers towards you will be harsher, unlike someone who will go to a nightclub with a large amount of money to spend. For example, if I go to a nightclub with my sister who is 16 years old, bouncers will be aware that she is under age and not allow her to go in because I am not rich. I do not have a lot of money to spend in the club. If, however, she goes with someone that is rich and willing to spend a lot in the club, they will probably let her in. Therefore, I do not think in that regard bouncers are doing their job in the correct way."

Yolanda was the only patron who thought that bouncers behaved inappropriately in terms of the perceived wealth of patrons. All the other participants believed that bouncers adopted the right attitude towards exercising their duties. One participant mentioned that when bouncers were around, she felt safe, as bouncers took care of patrons that did not respect the Constitution and the rules of the nightclub which could put the lives of other conforming patrons in danger, such as using drugs and carrying harmful objects inside the nightclub. It is indeed true that bouncers are very strict when it comes to harmful objects and illegal drugs in nightclubs. For example, the *Mail & Guardian* (Patrons assaulted in the Fourways nightclub, 2013) reported about a bouncer who posted a video on social media of an event in which he harmfully and violently punched young boys whom he had caught using drugs in the toilet of the nightclub where he worked. This person entitled his video: "This is what I do to people who smoke drugs where I work." The concern is not the fact that the man tried to prevent the use of drugs, but the manner in which he sought to keep the nightclub and the patrons safe**.** Ironically, his response indicated severe elements of aggressiveness but he maintained that he was using harm to do his job correctly.

Another female patron implied that bouncers' aggressive behaviour in instances of patrons' inappropriate behaviour might be condoned:

"Based on my experience, I was at a nightclub and I fell asleep on the couch and the bouncer approached me by first hitting me and then telling me that if I carried on sleeping on the couch they would throw me out. I was aggressively removed from the

couch, so yeah, they do not take nonsense and I think it is the right way to do their job."

Zama also condoned an intimidating appearance:

"Bouncers frown a lot and I agree with that kind of behaviour. They are not supposed to get along with people. They do their duties the right way because as girls when we are drunk, guys like to take advantage of us and touch us inappropriately. That is where they come to intervene if a girl does not want to be touched by guys. Bouncers will be there to protect you and guide the guys to do the right thing, hence I say they are doing a good job."

5.3.2 The perceptions of male participants

Most of the female participants supported the manner in which bouncers carried out their duties in nightclubs. However, the female patrons only expressed such positive perspectives. All the male participants had negative perceptions and related negative experiences when asked whether they thought bouncers performed their duties appropriately. Most of the male participants indicated that they had been victims of assault by bouncers. Zethu stated:

"Other bouncers do not do their work properly. What happened when I was at one of the nightclubs was that my friend and I were heavily intoxicated, and bouncers usually guide patrons not to sleep in the nightclub. Therefore, my friend and I happened that we slept inside the club and the bouncers approached us aggressively as they handled us by our shirts and everyone was watching us being manhandled aggressively by the bouncer who threw us out of the nightclub. It is not the right way to take advantage of patrons like that, because now that you are big and strong you think you can carry a patron anyhow."

Both males and females in this study indicated that bouncers were aggressive and possibly violent. However, it was evident that perceptions of the extent of the violence varied between the genders. The male participants reported higher exposure to aggression and violence from bouncers than the females. The females agreed that aggression and violence were exhibited by bouncers, but condoned this behaviour as it mostly served to protect them. As one female participant stated, she felt safe around bouncers because no boys would touch her and act

inappropriately towards her. However, none of the males admitted that they felt safe in nightclubs, even with bouncers around. This could mean that the protection that is afforded to clients in nightclubs is reserved for female patrons and that male patrons are excluded from security services in nightclubs. The overwhelming negative responses from the male patrons seem to suggest that male patrons are more likely to be the victims of the aggression and violence that bouncer's exhibit. For instance, Mikel stated:

> *"Bouncers do not usually do their job the correct way. You cannot reason with bouncers when there is a misunderstanding. What you get is a surprise fist in your face. There was this day when we were at this nightclub. I was accompanying my friend to buy a prostitute. Then this guy came to the bouncers claiming that one of the prostitutes he had been sleeping with had stolen [money] from him, and as he tried to explain [what happened] to the bouncers, they just did not listen to him and they just beat him up until he was bleeding."*

Lindo's narrative supported this negative view of bouncers:

> *"Bouncers do not do their job properly. They do not know about human rights. When one enters a nightclub, one's human rights are limited. They cannot reason with you as an individual. Once they think you are guilty, and in most cases you will be because you are drunk, you will get ill-treated. On those grounds, I maintain that bouncers cannot do their job."*

However, it was mentioned that not all bouncers were violent and aggressive. One male participant mentioned that it depended on the environment where the bouncers worked. He stated that there were nightclubs that had good bouncers, and those nightclubs were situated mostly in suburban areas and are visited by rich people. For example, bouncers in establishments in Florida Road, Durban, were perceived to be more professional than bouncers in establishments in Point Road, Durban.

5.3.3 Training and PSIRA recognised qualifications of bouncers

As the literature that was reviewed for this study indicted, training is important for bouncers. However, the majority of bouncers did not undergo or successfully complete training as private security officers. The patrons' perceptions varied with regards to the requirements needed to be a bouncer. However, only a few mentioned training and the majority of both males and females mostly indicated bodily requirements as a necessary requirement for being a bouncer. However, the participants did not refer to these physical requirements as a factor that they regarded as important, but rather as a requirement for bouncers that existed in most of the nightclubs they attended. For example, Mikel mentioned the following:

> "I will make an example with my neighbour who is studying at Berea. He is a bouncer at some other nightclub. He sometimes talks about his experiences as a bouncer and he in some instances mentions that he gets excited when he hits patrons over some misunderstandings. He sometimes carries something that is [made of] iron like what you put on your fist to punch people, and it actually excites him that he gets to hit patrons. So in that case, I think it is important and appropriate for bouncers to take a security course because it will make them have a sense of feeling that being a bouncer is a profession."

Moreover, Lungelo felt strongly that bouncers had to take a security course because they were private security officers and were actually doing a security-related job. Some of the participants also believed that being a bouncer should not be accessible to just anyone. There should be proper recruitment and screening procedures to see if a person is fit to be a bouncer. For example, screening must be done to understand a person's behaviour, anger and frustration. One participant also raised the point that bouncers also drink while on duty and that it should not be done, because it leads to irrationality and poor decision making.

Sandile stated:

> "Most people become bouncers depending on whether they are physically fit or not. However, when you look at the behaviour of those bouncers, it is not someone worthy to be a bouncer. Bouncers should be people who know how to work with people, who know how to persevere and how to solve problems, not someone who just knows how

to hit people. As a bouncer, you need to consider what happened and how it happened before you react. So most of the time it happens that bouncers do not go to training. These bouncers are only good at hitting and embarrassing patrons; they cannot solve problems."

The above point supports Winlow's (2001) argument that the bouncing industry revolves around the body structure of an individual and that the recruitment of bouncers occurs mostly informally when they are approached at a gym on the strength of their big and strong muscles. All the female patron participants stated that bouncers should be physically fit and should know how to intervene in fights. Yolanda stated her views as follows:

"I think that a bouncer must be physically fit; that is the first requirement. Maybe he may have a belly but muscles must be on. They must not be the social type, they must limit themselves. Usually bouncers do not talk too much, that is the reason they do not talk too much because they do not want to build a relationship with a patron. Some of them are nice when you are a regular in the club; they greet you and you see by their response that they are used to seeing you, and it is not like they will be too nice because they are avoiding attachments."

Zama concurred with Yolanda, as she stated:

"I agree with Yolanda when she says bouncers must be physically fit and that they shouldn't be a person that smiles all the time. Even though you are a regular, they can be friendly but not too much. Based on my experience, I have dated a bouncer for two years and I knew that he did not take nonsense. There was a time when I went to a club where he worked and I was not going to drink because I was waiting for him to complete his shift. The guys would come and offer me drinks and he would grab them and throw them aside. He did not take nonsense and bouncers should be like that. And when people look at you, they must know a bouncer will do something [to protect you]".

The perceptions of the patrons concerning each subject varied between the males and females and many perceptions were based on experience. It could be concluded that the females did not have such bad experiences with bouncers as the males had. The males indicated that they were more likely to be subjected to victimization in nightclubs than

females. Moreover, it seemed as if the bouncers were more protective of women and women received full security priority in nightclubs. Conversely, male patrons were regarded as a threat or dangerous. Furthermore, as the rights of women and children are more openly championed in South Africa than the rights of men, it has become difficult for any male individual to publicly victimize women physically or even verbally. Women are regarded as weak and vulnerable, and therefore law and society better protect them. A case in point is the fact that there are many provisions in international and domestic conventions and legislation that specifically highlight the rights of women, children and vulnerable others, whereas no such provisions address the rights of men by name.

5.3.4   The potential for females to become bouncers in nightclubs

The majority of the participants did not support the view that females should be appointed as bouncers. A major concern among the participants was that violence usually erupted in nightclubs, and that female bouncers would not be able to contain such situations. Both the male and female participants were not confident that females could assume the roles and responsibilities of being a bouncer. Some participants contended that it would be complicated as we still live in a traditionally male dominant society where men do not abide by rules or instructions when they are told to do so by women. Society still believes that men should instruct women regarding the rules and regulations that they need to abide by. However, the literature contends that women are needed in nightclubs as bouncers because they have an important role to play. First, they are needed to clean up the negative image bouncers have in society, because females have a non-aggressive, non-violent approach (Dick et al., 2007). Secondly, male bouncers cannot and do not search female patrons at entry points. This makes the nightclub dangerous because some male patrons may give their prohibited weapons or drugs to female patrons who then enter the nightclub with these items, which may cause havoc when used.

Lindo believed that even though a nightclub was a violent place by nature, other measures could be employed to resolve disputes that occurred in nightclubs amongst patrons. For example, females could be bouncers and use measures such as pepper spray or a teaser to control a misbehaving patron. He further stated that it was through not only violence or aggression that violence or misconduct could be solved in nightclubs. However, some participants bemoaned Lindo's assertion. Brian for instance stated:

> *"Since I have started going to nightclubs, I have never seen a female bouncer, and I think it is something that won't work because she will be undermined by people who drink. As the guys has said, sometimes there are fights between patrons and bouncers, and it happens that one sees himself as a man, therefore he cannot just do nothing if he is violently approached by another man. It becomes worse if a bouncer is a female. Imagine how many problems would be caused just because you do not want to be told by a woman what to do. Some people still have that conception and for that reason, it would be a problem."*

Most participants were worried that females would not have the strength and body structure needed to be able to intervene in fights and at the same time be able to defend themselves, as bouncers are often required to do. This means that participants strongly view physical fitness as an important characteristic a bouncer should possess. Sizwe mentioned the following:

> *"Even though a nightclub can hire a female bouncer, some intoxicated individuals should better be dealt with violently. I understand that a woman will be trained and go to gym, but it will still be an ongoing problem because she will still be exposed to everything that is happening inside the nightclub and will also be exposed to the reality of male dominance, and that men shouldn't be dominated by a woman, which is a case that still exists in our country. This problem is something that will not end because a man will not rest easily if a woman holds him roughly. Then there will be those men who will begin trouble on purpose because they enjoy being held and touched by a woman. As much as women can be physically fit, you as a man will like to be touched by a woman's body, which is why women are soft individuals. Even if you are drunk and you are caught by a female police officer, you will enjoy that moment of being held and touched by a female police officer and wish it continues."*

A female respondent, Samuke, believed that females might qualify as bouncers if they were body builders. She argued that such women could stand up against a man because they were strong and had physical abilities to face a man and be feared by a man. Nevertheless, normal women would not be able to stand up as bouncers that are competent to handle patrons in nightclubs.

Yolanda maintained that women should not be completely disregarded as bouncers, because many women had become successful soldiers:

> "We can say that the 50/50 thing [between men and women] is something on paper, but now look at the times when it was only men who were soldiers, but now even women can be soldiers. War is scarier than being a bouncer. If you have physical requirements that an owner of the nightclub thinks is needed to qualify you as a bouncer, then that is it, it should not be about gender. Because when it comes to mood swings, we all have moods. We know guys who have mood swings but what is important is to know that you are at work and that is how you have to do your work."

Swords (2013) refers to a few studies that present the rising role that women occupy as bouncers. As was evidenced by the responses of participants, the role of the bouncer has been defined by power, control, toughness and violence; these are characteristics that are perceived as masculine. However, according to Sword (2013), women are an increasing convenience to the occupation and are believed to conduct the job in a calmer manner compared to men in certain contexts. The study by Hobbs et al. (2007) indicated that males were more likely to adopt a violent approach to bouncing. A woman who was interviewed in their study brought up an important perspective regarding women in bouncing. She had been a bouncer for six years before starting her own security company. She explained the position of women in this industry as follows: "Women are a necessity in the business. I used to look at it as women providing a niche market but it is not anymore; women have to be employed in these venues. You cannot have men searching women or dragging women out of toilets with their knickers round their ankles. It's a necessity; it's got to be done. You need females in those roles to deal with those situations" (Hobbs et al., 2007, p. 25).

5.3.5   Eradicating violence in nightclubs

Sword (2013) states that bouncers and patrons often engage in conflict, and bouncers are usually blamed for being 'bullies' or looking for a fight from the perspective of patrons. However, there is evidence that even without bouncers being present at nightclubs, aggression and violence are still likely to erupt in nightclubs. When the participants in this study were asked how to eradicate violence in nightclubs, most of their responses were based on what bouncers should do and how they should behave in response to patrons' misconduct. None of the participants based their responses on how patrons should behave to avoid conflict between them and bouncers. Yolanda stated:

> *"It is a matter of having respect. We cannot control the level of respect between patrons who are under the influence of alcohol and a sober bouncer. A sober bouncer should know that a person under the influence of alcohol is stubborn, but they lack understanding and that is why bouncers are rough all the time. I think having respect, changing attitudes towards the community, the society and people that attend nightclubs will make both parties treat each other well."*

Zama asserted the following:

> *"I do not know if it would help, but if I were a manager, I would tell my bouncers that before you react to misbehaviour, warn them first even though they are drunk. For example, if a patron is sleeping inside the nightclub, a bouncer should wake the patron up, tell him/her that there is no sleeping in the club and if you want to sleep get out of the club, and go to your place. As a girl, you feel embarrassed that you are even being told to stop misbehaving. Even when you stand on top of a chair or table to dance, they should tell you to stop it and get down. Before a bouncer beats someone, they must first think and act rationally. Patrons when drunk are stubborn, but it does not mean bouncers must physically assault them."*

The above assertions from the female participants seemed to contradict the point they made when they were asked to comment on the nature in which bouncers conducted their duties. Most of them responded that bouncers should be tough and intimidating in the course of their duties. Now when they were asked about ways in which violence can be eradicated, they

mentioned that there should be changes in the ways bouncers conducted themselves while discharging their duties. However, only one participant, Samuke, still maintained that bouncers were doing their work correctly and they should not change their adopted strategy. She stated:

"I think they must continue doing their job the same way. For example, when participants were stating their experiences, one participant stated that she slept inside the nightclub and she was harshly handled and woken up. That is the reason why nightclubs say that no one under 18 years of age is permitted to enter: it is because they want grown-ups because they can think. Standing on top of the table! What is that? Obviously, it will lead to harsh punishment. You are old [enough] and you can think. The fact that you could not think that you should not stand on top of the table shows that you do not deserve to be in the nightclub. That is something you should not be told. The way bouncers do things is right."

The other participants were quick to disagree with her point, stating that it was the duty of a bouncer to wake people up who were sleeping in nightclubs, not to beat them up. Even if a bouncer had to wake ten people up each night, he should not get frustrated because they argued that it was his duty to wake people up when they fell asleep. It was his duty to guide people not to deviate from the rules of the nightclub. They further stated that if a patron was drunk, he/she would do things that he/she would otherwise not do when sober. Hence, they felt that bouncers should be patient and communicate well with patrons when they misbehaved because it was not them, it was the alcohol that they sold to people in the nightclub that caused misbehaviour.

The male participants held very similar views, as they believed that bouncers should change the manner in which they dealt with issues concerning drunk patrons. Furthermore, they believed that bouncers needed training and skills development. For instance, Lungelo stated:

"What I think will reduce violence is training and educating bouncers on consumer management. They must learn how to respond to problems without involving anger."

Most other male participants indicated that bouncers needed to be reported to the South African Police Service and justice must be served because physical assault is a criminal offense that is punishable by law. They argued that the law should take its course and serve justice for those who were victimized by bouncers. Moreover, the participants also mentioned that

drunk people should be accommodated with the understanding that they became intoxicated from the alcohol that was sold by the same nightclub that employed the bouncers. Therefore, it made sense that bouncers should protect intoxicated patrons rather than subject them to victimization through anger, aggression and violence.

5.4   Summary

This chapter presented, discussed and analysed the data using thematic analysis. Important topics that occurred in the interviews were treated as themes. Hence, the relationship of patrons and bouncers, the competence of bouncers, and bouncers' compliance with PSIRA requirements were investigated. The perspectives that were shared by bouncers, male patrons and female patrons differed. Both male and female patrons indicated that bouncers were violent; however, violence against females was not as prevalent as it was in the case of males. The female participants believed that the manner in which bouncers exercised their duties, which was violent in nature, was appropriate, which is a point that was contradicted by the male patrons.

Chapter six will present a summary of the findings, a final conclusion, and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Introduction

The final chapter presents a summary of the study findings and relates them to the objectives and the findings by other scholars on the same topic. Furthermore, it provides recommendations that are necessary to fill the gaps that were identified in the course of the study. The aims of the study were to establish the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in five identified nightclubs in Durban, and to investigate the competence of bouncers with reference to the requirements as set out by PSIRA (Act No. 56 of 2001) for private security officers and companies. Various legal requirements govern the functions of legitimate public and private security services in South Africa. The study was motivated by the researcher's experiences of and exposure to violent and aggressive bouncers and, in light of his curiosity of the drivers of this phenomenon, he wanted to gain scholarly understanding of the work of bouncers and the nature of the relationship that bouncers and patrons shared.

The study was propelled by four objectives: (1) to explore the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs; (2) to explore the experiences of patrons with bouncers and those of bouncers with patrons; (3) to explore and differentiate between the perceptions and attitudes of male and female patrons towards bouncers; and (4) to investigate the training background as well as the legitimacy and qualifications of bouncers as required by PSIRA.

6.2   Summary of the Findings

6.2.1   The nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs

This study found that perceptions regarding the nature of the relationship varied amongst the participants. The manner in which bouncers interacted with patrons depended on the gender of patrons. The relationship between bouncers and female patrons was generally not violent, as bouncers behaved more protectively towards female than male patrons. The female participants argued that females offered fewer opportunities of being victims of violence and aggression from bouncers compared to males. The females indicated that bouncers were protective towards them against males who harassed them. Therefore, this meant that males were more prone to be subjected to violence and aggression by bouncers. The majority of the males recalled instances in which bouncers victimized them in an aggressive and violent manner, whereas a minority of females recalled being victimized by bouncers. In the latter instance, the female acknowledged that she had behaved inappropriately and that the bouncer had only done his job.

Most of the bouncers stated that they managed to maintain a calm, friendly relationship with patrons. However, some bouncers indicated that they reverted to violence and aggression because of the misbehaviour of patrons or a patron. All the bouncers indicated that they maintained a positive attitude towards patrons who they argued should be respected because they were a source of revenue for the nightclub. However, some bouncers indicated that their priority was the protection of the nightclub facilities, but they acknowledged that patrons should also be protected as they were customers and customers were important everywhere.

6.2.2   The experiences of patrons and bouncers with violence, aggression and masculinity

The patrons reported that bouncers were popular for being big and masculine and for exhibiting characteristics of violence and aggression. Both males and females thought that bouncers were aggressive and violent. However, the acceptance of such behaviour varied between the two genders. The males thought that bouncers were violent and aggressive and that it was unacceptable, and they argued that bouncers should find other means of solving problems and issues in nightclubs. However, the females felt that the violent and aggressive behaviour of bouncers was acceptable because their occupation required them to behave in

this manner. They further expressed the view that bouncers should not be friendly, because if they became friendly patrons would not feel intimidated, implying that discipline in nightclubs would become uncontrollable.

Male patrons also believed that bouncers were violent and aggressive and they further contradicted the females' perception that bouncers should behave in this manner. Male patrons believed that violence was not the only solution to solving problems. They believed that bouncers were being unprofessional and that they violated human rights. The perceptions of both the female and male patrons contradicted the statements by bouncers that they were kind and friendly towards patrons and only exerted aggression and force when patrons misbehaved. In the context of this theme, the study indicated that bouncers were perceived to be more violent and aggressive than their perception that they were friendly and kind suggested.

6.2.3 The perceptions and attitudes of males and female patrons towards bouncers

This study found that the experiences of patrons with bouncers was, in most instances, not pleasant. This perception was especially expressed by male patrons. When asked about their experiences, the purpose was to find out if those experiences were either good or bad. Both male and female patrons highlighted an element of professional behaviour by bouncers. This perception was especially prevalent among the female patrons, but even they felt that bouncers behaved more aggressively than kindly in most instances. This finding suggests that patrons had predominantly violent and aggressive encounters with bouncers than kind and friendly ones.

When the female participants were asked to characterize their experiences with bouncers, they all highlighted violent and aggressive incidents; however, they believed that it was the proper manner for bouncers to conduct themselves when on duty and when dealing with patrons. One female patron maintained that a bouncer had aggressively handled her when she had slept on a couch inside a nightclub. Another female patron stated that her boyfriend had been a bouncer for a year and that she would sometimes visit him at the nightclub while he was on duty. When other guys tried to 'hit on her', her bouncer boyfriend would handle the situation aggressively and violently.

The only good experiences highlighted by the female patrons was when male patrons victimized them by touching or trying to touch them inappropriately, and that bouncers would then protect them. It was because of this protective role that bouncers played that female participants believed that bouncers were performing their duties in the correct manner. The females did not consider other incidents such as the victimization of males in their responses; for them, the most important thing was their protection. However, the males indicated that their experiences with bouncers were mostly negative and, in most instances, it involved the use of violence and aggression by bouncers. Such violence and aggression occurred because of misunderstandings in different situations. One male participant recalled an incident in which he witnessed a friend being assaulted by a bouncer after he had tried to report a prostitute who had stolen his money.

6.2.4 Legal requirements for the private security industry

PSIRA emphasizes that any private security officer, of any sort or type, who renders private security services must be registered with PSIRA to become a qualified private security officer. PSIRA provides registered officers with official PSIRA cards. Each private security officer on duty must therefore be able to produce a PSIRA card, which gives him/her legitimacy to render a service as a private security officer. Moreover, to obtain a PSIRA card, a person must have undergone appropriate training. According to Lubbe (2010), the key issue in the industry is the training standards of security officers. As training and education are governed by PSIRA in South Africa as stated by PSIRA (Act No. 56 of 2001), PSIRA is required to monitor and oversee the roles and conduct of private security firms or personnel.

Private security staff who operated as bouncers reported that they had not undergone any related training or obtained a PSIRA card. However, the majority of the bouncers attended gymnasiums where they engaged in fitness and muscular training. Registered private security companies did not employ any of the bouncers who participated in this study, which means that the nightclubs had privately appointed these bouncers to protect their property and patrons. This highlights either a lack knowledge or a deliberate rejection of the legal and correct procedures of employing bouncers on the part of nightclubs' management staff. When the bouncers were asked about their knowledge of the right processes that private security companies should follow to ensure that bouncers were fit to be employed to work in

nightclubs, most responses focused on physical fitness and a strong physique. The study found that appropriate training and a relevant qualification were perceived to be of less importance than fitness and strength in the bouncing industry.

6.3   Recommendations

- The nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons in nightclubs was not surprisingly found to be violent and aggressive. However, blame for this phenomenon is not one- but double-sided. Both parties influence the predominant negative relationship that exists in nightclubs between bouncers and patrons. Patrons are usually at fault due to high levels of intoxication, which may prompt bouncers to react in a manner that is violent or aggressive. Therefore, nightclubs should limit the quantity of drinks they sell to drunk patrons to prevent inappropriate behaviour in nightclubs. Alternatively, patrons who are perceived to be drunk should be asked to leave the nightclub and be advised to go and rest. Most nightclubs focus on business by selling alcohol, and the protection of patrons is the least of their priorities. This focus should be changed and nightclubs' management teams should realize that the safety of patrons/clients is just as important as business and profit margins. Between these two priorities, neither should be more important than the other.

- In addition, to maintain a more positive, less violent and aggressive relationship between bouncers and patrons, nightclubs should make sure that they employ competent bouncers who are in possession of PSIRA qualified training and qualifications. As Lee Lubber (2010, cited by Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2009) states, security officers must have the characteristics of good judgment and common sense. A bouncer that possesses these characteristics will maintain a good relationship with patrons. Trained bouncers will understand intoxicated patrons' behaviour and they will thus be able to solve the problems caused by such behaviour without reverting to violence and aggression.

- Patrons will always have a negative image of bouncers if bouncers do not change their violent and aggressive manner of solving problems caused by intoxicated patrons. As much as bouncers are sometimes required to be violent and aggressive, such a response should be minimal and should occur only in serious situations when bouncers are left with no choice but to respond aggressively. Patrons are customers and they should be

protected and feel safe when they are in nightclubs, regardless of their gender. What this study has shown is that bouncers protect women while they victimize men. As part of their training, bouncers should be taught how to manage crowded areas and how to deal with a number of intoxicated patrons without being biased. They should be taught when and how to use violence and be aggressive. It is the duty of both bouncers and patrons to have a positive experience when they visit a nightclub. The perceptions of patrons that bouncers are violent and aggressive will indeed exacerbate the situation, resulting in increasingly violent and aggressive experiences. The study indicated that males had negative perceptions of bouncers because they had had predominantly negative experiences with bouncers. On the other hand, females had more positive perceptions about bouncers because their experiences with bouncers were more positive and friendlier than those of the males. Bouncers should not be biased when it comes to problem solving at nightclubs. They should treat both males and females the same way: i.e., with respect and dignity.

- Concerning the legitimacy of private security companies that employ bouncers to safe-guard and protect the nightclub and patrons, PSIRA must strictly monitor the legitimacy of the proceedings that private security staff adopt in appointing bouncers to work at nightclubs.

- Nightclubs fail to focus on the protection of patrons because their aim is to make profit and to protect their property; they therefore lack in providing private security services that are sensitive to the needs of both the nightclub and the patrons. Nightclubs that do not employ registered security personnel who are consequently not legitimate must face the consequences for deviating from the law.

- The industry of bouncers is a profession that should be founded on training and proper qualifications as indicated by Section 10 of PSIRA. A bouncer that fails to produce a PSIRA card when on duty should not be allowed to perform any legal security duty for any company. A legitimate bouncer is a bouncer with identification that he/she is registered with PSIRA to perform that particular duty as a private security officer. PSIRA should make sure that it embarks on campaigns to deal with unregistered bouncers in nightclubs and those that are hired by unregistered private security companies.

6.4   CONCLUSION

The issue of violence and aggression in nightclubs has been overlooked by South African academia. No research study could be traced that focused on the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons. Bouncers are known to be violent and aggressive people who rely on their masculine body structure to intimidate and deal with intoxicated patrons in nightclubs. Customers are people who make a business grow and thrive; without them, no business would be successful. Nightclubs owe their customers respect for choosing to spend money and support their business; this respect can be returned in the first instance by employing legitimate private security service providers that employ professional private security officers who are properly trained to perform their duty.

Patrons also owe bouncers much respect for protecting them and keeping them safe in the nightclub. The bouncer-patron relationship should be characterized by respect that ensures peace. However, realistically, peace and respect are hard to achieve if the nature of the relationship between bouncers and patrons remains abrasive, particularly in an environment where there are so many opportunities for the gathering of highly intoxicated individuals.

The task of bouncers is not an easy one, which is why proper and efficient training and qualifications are required. Bouncers need to understand how to calm intoxicated individuals who have the tendency of being violent and aggressive, or those that simply misbehave and break the rules of a nightclub. Bouncers should try to adopt measures that do not require violence and aggression; they should understand that violence should be the last resort in solving conflict in nightclubs.

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