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THE MYSTERIOUS MC-CLUBS

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE,
SYMBOLS, BROTHERHOOD, AND CRIMINAL
INVOLVEMENT AMONG LEGAL AND ILLEGAL
MC-CLUBS

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Abstract: Mc-clubs are marked as mysterious with dangerous motorcycles and deviant. Research has noticed both the illegal and legal clubs, but few have performed a comparison. The paper describes the similarities, differences, and the characteristics among legal and illegal mc-clubs. The comparison is done by looking at the structure, symbols, brotherhood, and criminal involvement. The depiction of the clubs is done by the help of Edwin M. Lemert's terms primary and secondary deviance and Lewis Yablonsky's definition of the social, delinquent, and violent gang. A content analysis based on 28 previous and current articles has been used to find the specific themes the clubs have in common and what characterizes and separates them. The clubs were shown to have similar structure, symbols and brotherhood, the difference lying in the intensity of the three components. The major difference is the criminal involvement. The illegal clubs reject the conventional society where the deviance is a form of identity, sharing it with like-minded in a violent setting. The legal clubs, however, conform and simultaneously deviate and have their own community with values and beliefs. Implications and future research is discussed.

Key words: Gangs, mc-clubs, motorcycle culture, motorcycles, primary deviance, secondary deviance

Preface

I thought mc-clubs was a closed chapter, but there is something that keeps me coming back to the subject. Maybe it is time to get a bike for myself. Now this year has come to an end, and new adventures are waiting. Who knows what waits around the corner?

Special thanks to my supervisor Robert Svensson, for all your help. Also a special thank to Fredrik, who always stands by my side.

Lund, May 2015

Anna Stjärnqvist

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1 INTRODUCTION

Motorcycles and motorcycle clubs have always had a thrilling aura, from its origin until present day. They have their loud machines, wear leather or jeans jackets with their club symbol and keep for themselves (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009); everything that make people curious. It does not matter if it is a local mc-club or a big illegal club who is driving, people turn around and look anyway. Because of the mysterious way of viewing them, but also the similarities they have, it is difficult to separate the clubs from each other just by looking at them.

The majority of motorcyclists and motorcycle clubs consist of law-abiding citizens who love both motorcycles and riding them. These people are often members of motorcycle associations, all over the world. However, there are also some clubs who do not devote to these associations, instead they reject the conventional values and dedicate themselves to deviant behavior and criminal activities (Shields, 2012). In the US these people call themselves “One Percenters”, a name they adopted after that the American Motorcycle Association stated that 99 % of bikers follows the law, while the remaining one percent does not (Shields, 2012:4). The illegal motorcycle clubs are known for their wars against each other and their violent behavior (Barker, 2005). The police have also stated that some of the bigger clubs are involved in organized crime such as drug smuggling, trafficking, and theft. In fact, the whole motorcycle world is seen as a violent and masculine place (Thompson, H. 2008), but behind this hard surface there is a softer side where the club represents a belonging with community, friendship and love for the bike (Grundvall, 2005).

Even if there are differences between the illegal and legal clubs, it can be said that they share much in common and have few disparities (Thompson, W. 2008:91). Their clubs have a structure with for example a leader and members (Shields, 2012), brotherhood (Grundvall, 2005; Quinn & Koch, 2003), and similar clothes and bikes (Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007; Ward, 2010). They can attend the same motorcycle events and have a good time, even if some clubs keep for themselves. There are also differences between the clubs regarding exclusion of particular people or sexes (Hopper & Moore, 1990; Thompson, W. 2008; Quinn & Koch, 2010), criminal involving (Shields, 2012; Quinn & Forsyth, 1990), and different interpretations of what commitment is (Thompson, W. 2008).

There is a lack of research on mc-clubs, and many find it difficult to distinguish between clubs, making them stereotyped. The dangerousness and difficulties of studying illegal clubs together with limited research about the legal clubs, makes it important to use the current and previous research to gain knowledge of them. The previous research can also give an answer on what has to be studied further.

In this light, this study aims at describing the similarities and differences between illegal and legal clubs with the help of previous and current research. This is done in order to show a nuanced picture of the motorcycle world. There are both law-abiding and illegal clubs, it is however difficult to separate them just by looking at them. A description of the clubs can be important to show that what was first a common means of transportation is now recognized as a dangerous vehicle and the one who rides it a criminal or deviant. Research that performs a comparison of

legal and illegal clubs is very rare, but with this paper an attempt will be made to try and fill this gap.

2 AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A content analysis based on other researcher's studies is performed in order to try and reach the paper's aim. The aim of the paper is to describe and make a comparison between legal and illegal mc-clubs to get a nuanced picture of the motorcycle culture and lifestyle. The paper will also describe the clubs' structure and symbolism in order to get an understanding of how a mc-club is formed and what it symbolizes. The paper will furthermore describe and reflect upon the brotherhood in the clubs to understand the temptations of becoming a member. Also the difficulties to study mc-clubs will be regarded. An additional aspect is to examine what kind of criminal acts the illegal clubs are involved in. Based on this the research questions are as follows:

- What separates an illegal mc-club compared to a legal?
- What does an illegal mc-club have in common with legal mc-clubs?
- What characterizes illegal mc-clubs and legal mc-clubs?

3 DISPOSITION

Firstly a background of the mc-clubs is described, intending to give the reader a brief description of the setting and the history of mc-clubs. The background is followed by theory and earlier studies which describes the research area and the chosen theories for this particular paper. Thereafter the method is described, outlining the working process step by step for the reader. The method is followed by result and analysis where the research questions and aims are answered. Lastly a discussion regarding the result, possible improvements of the paper, implications and future studies are highlighted followed by a conclusion.

4 BACKGROUND

Motorcycles clubs have always been difficult to study, especially the illegal ones, due to their dissociation from the society and criminal activity. The motorcycle world as a whole can be seen as a subculture, even if it is more accepted today and common that ordinary people ride motorcycles (Grundvall, 2005; Shields, 2012). It is no secret that the studies on mc-clubs are few, since the area is quite

dangerous to study, and researchers have put a lot at stake when conducting this kind of research. When it comes to the illegal clubs, focus has been on small and conservative groups (Quinn & Koch, 2010), and most of the studies are conducted in the US. The most famous ones are Daniel Wolf (1991) and Hunter Thompson (2008) who joined an illegal club in the 60's and 70's for several years. These two authors are the most cited ones by motorcycle researchers and have contributed greatly to the explanation and description of illegal motorcycle gang. These studies can sadly be said to be out of date (Quinn & Koch, 2010:283). Norms and values change, together with the treatment of women. The facts that the clubs are violent and reckless have changed, to become more a clash between clubs in their own milieu (Quinn & Koch, 2010). William Thompson (2008), means that a "new" biker culture is on the upcoming together with the techno media, chat rooms, and buying and selling online in addition to the illegal one. It could be dentists, lawyers and other high educated people, that can appear to be rebels and challenge the norms, but in fact they live in the conventional society beside this (Thompson, W. 2008). Motorcycles have been connected to lower classes and less educated people who ride killing machines, but now new bikers from the middle class are forthcoming; discussing how to avoid accidents or just seeking the freedom and relaxation (Thompson, W. 2008).

There has been studies about the motorcycle's birth (Lagergren, 1999), the motorcycle culture (Jderu, 2013, Grundvall, 2005; Thompson, 2000), mc-clubs symbolism (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009), legal and illegal clubs and their criminal involvement (Shields, 2009; Svedin, 1999). Anthropology (Wolf, 1991; Hopper & Moore, 1990; Grundvall, 2005), with ethnographic methods and sociology (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009) are the most common fields for conducting studies about subcultures such as mc-clubs and deviant behavior, but police officers, law enforcement and journalists (Sher & Marsden, 2003) have explored mc-clubs as well. Most of the written studies have an interest in the illegal clubs, but there is also research which has noted that the clubs belong to the conventional society as well (Thompson, W. 2008; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Lagergren, 1999, Charpentier, 1996). Topics regarding the motorcycle culture's history, the wave of the new bikers, female riders, and women's role and participation in the clubs are common (Thompson, W. 2008; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Lagergren, 1999; Charpentier, 1996; Thompson, 2000). Focus also lies in the community, the values within these clubs, and the shared interest and love for bikes.

Many of the researchers that have conducted studies about illegal clubs share the same definition of what an illegal mc-club or gang is. In the studies they can call the illegal clubs as *Outlaw* motorcycle clubs or gangs; *Outlaw* as standing outside the conventional society and the law. The National Gang Intelligence Center (2011) defines mc-clubs, but separate *Outlaw* motorcycle clubs and *One Percenter* clubs. They define *Outlaw* motorcycle clubs as organizations who use their motorcycle clubs as passage for criminal enterprises, including supporter and puppet clubs (National Gang Intelligence Center 2011:7). *One Percenter* club is defined as any group of motorcyclist that have willingly made a commitment to band together and stand beside the organization's rules enforced by violence and who engage in activities that their club into frequent and severe conflict with society and the law (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2011:7). The group represents a constant organization of a group of persons which have a common interest and/or activity characterized by the involvement of criminal or delinquent behavior (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2011:7). This definition can be

applied to most illegal mc-clubs, but is not applicable to the mc-clubs that are law-abiding.

The biggest and the most famous illegal clubs are Hells Angels, Bandidos, Outlaws and Pagans, or the “Big four clubs” (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009), all formed and born in the United States. Some researchers also mention Sons of Silence as a big mc-club (Charpentier, 1996; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009; Shields, 2012). The four clubs are well known for their criminal activity and the wars against each other. The most rivaling ones are Hells Angels and Bandidos, where Hells Angels however has Outlaws as rivals as well. They all have something that represents their clubs, usually in the form of symbols, specific members, and different violent acts (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009).

Hells Angels is the oldest mc-club and when it was created the members consisted mainly of war pilots who found the civilian life uneventful (Charpentier, 1996; Barker, 2005). They are recognized by their winged skull, lethal violence and arrogance (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009:255). Bandidos is the youngest club, and their bandit with a sombrero and pistols is famous. It is said that Bandidos has Mexican connections and is becoming increasingly global (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009:255; Charpentier, 1996:44, Barker, 2005). Outlaws are known for their black and white skull, pistons patch and as the vengeful group. They are mainly situated in the US, but also in other countries (Barker, 2005). An example of a well known case in Sweden is from 2012 when an Outlaw member was murdered, probably by a rival club (Hamberg, 2012). The Pagans have a symbol of a Norse God with flaming staff and are known for their impulsiveness, coldness and lethal violence (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009:256). This club is also situated in the US, but it is not known if it has members in Europe (Charpentier, 1996:44; Barker, 2005).

The illegal clubs do not stop here; the big clubs have supporter and puppet clubs that work like a network within the criminal underworld (Barker, 2005). Besides these outlaw clubs stands the other 99 %, the law-abiding clubs. These clubs often join an association; in the US it is called AMA (American Motorcycle Association)¹, and in Sweden SMC (Sveriges Motor Cyklist)². These associations often work for motorcyclist rights and obligations, and give the members benefits and arrange meetings (Thompson, W. 2008). Some guidelines have to be followed for becoming a member. They also work for community and cooperation between the clubs, as well as distancing from the illegal clubs’ activities such as distributing drugs and violent acts (Thompson, W. 2008).

The motorcycle’s history can be found all back around 1890 when a small amount of motorcycles was produced (Lagergren, 1999:21; Marr, 2012:165). Following this, people utilized the motorcycle as a transportation vehicle or raced with it, and 1920 there was nearly an equal number of motorcycles as cars in both Sweden and Great Britain (Lagergren, 1999:28; Marr, 2012:166). During the 1930’s motorcyclist owners were usually lower class men (Lagergren, 1999). In 1933 Germany had the highest motorcycle density in the world and nearly half of the world’s motorcyclists were licensed in Germany (Bauer, 2013:101).

¹ <http://www.americanmotorcyclist.com/>

² <http://www.svmc.se/>

The motorcycle clubs have a history from the 1940's, and they are said to have been developed in the US following World War II, when war veterans found it difficult to adapt to a normal life (Svedin, 1999). The more modern view of mc-clubs and motorcyclists came around 1950-1960 when the movies *The Wild One* and *Easy Riders* released in the cinemas (Grundvall, 2005; Thompson, 2000). The image consisted of tough masculine guys in leather jackets, riding motorcycles (Thompson, 2000). In the 1970's the mc-clubs' popularity was rising both in Europe and North America, and in the 1980's the feuds on the market were growing (Grundvall, 2005; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009; Quinn & Koch, 2010). The 1990's was characterized by the real "wars" between Hells Angels and Bandidos in Canada, Holland, Australia, USA, and Scandinavia (Grundvall, 2005; Quinn and Forsyth, 2009; Quinn & Koch, 2010; Wood, 2003). The image from the 1950's of tough guys is still unchanged (Austin et al., 2010), and the wars in the 1990's is something that the society characterizes with motorcyclists and clubs even today.

5 EARLIER STUDIES AND THEORY

5.1 Earlier studies

Gangs have been a phenomenon that researcher have studied for many years and focus has been on everything from their group dynamic, their criminal involvement, behavior in gangs, why and what kind of people join gangs, to interventions, and how to approach and prevent them. These questions have been important for as well law enforcement and the police.

There is also a range of studies focusing on different gangs, for example street gangs, youth gangs, girl gangs, and mc-gangs. Explanations such as social disorganizations like deprived neighborhoods (Sutherland, 1937; Park et al., 1925), family constructions, attachment (Hirschi, 1969), social learning (Sutherland, 1937) strain or labeling (Becker, 1963), and frustration and stigmatization (Cohen, 1955) has come up under the years; however there are still issues and questions unsolved. Even if there have been many studies about gangs in general, the studies regarding mc-clubs or gangs are still limited.

Examples of earlier studies on the topic are described below. The chosen studies only include samples of earlier studies which have been sources of inspiration for the paper.

The motorcycle culture, history and brotherhood

The most common way to approach mc-clubs is by interviews and observation, but because of the dangerousness and the effort to study and be trusted by the mc-clubs, some researchers have done literature reviews. These are based on previous and current research in order to describe and synthesize the clubs (Shields, 2012; Barker, 2005; Bosmia et al., 2014). This paper has a similar approach, where the mentioned articles are used as inspiration.

Daniella Shields (2012) is a great example of a literature review where the paper depletes previous and current research in a systematic way in order to synthesize the clubs and get an overall picture of the structure, criminality and subculture of

biker gangs. Shields (2012) describe briefly how the gangs differentiate from the traditional clubs and make a profile of the largest clubs. In the end of her articles she has different policy implications and press on the problems with conducting research on these gangs.

Tom Barker (2005) does his study in a similar way, but calls it an extensive literature review, which includes newspapers, websites and some interviews with the purpose to make a description of one percenter clubs. Barker (2005) gives a deep description of the illegal motorcycle clubs. Mainly regarding the largest clubs, their criminal acts and where they are situated.

Barker and Human (2009) classifies the criminal activity of the big four mc-clubs with the help of previous written newspaper articles mainly from Australia, USA and Canada, and what kind of offenses the illegal mc-clubs had committed. The authors also expressed that there is limited research within the area and that it needs more international research surrounding outlaw motorcycle gangs and their criminal involvement (Barker & Human, 2009:178-179).

Karen Katz (2011) does a content analysis and analyzes articles and the media to get an understanding how the moral panic in Canada is constructed when it comes to motorcycle gangs. She investigates the role of the media, politicians, and the public to see how the society reacts towards the motorcycle gangs. She also argues that the underlying problems must be solved and having emotional reactions against the gangs does not help to control them (Katz, 2011:247-248).

William E. Thompson (2008) describes the “new biker” subculture with law-abiding bikers’ and their transposition of the “deviant” biker culture and symbols which the outlaw clubs uses. Thompson (2008) means that the new biker lives in a pseudo-deviant world where the biker is both a normal citizens and deviant. He also states the fact that even though there is a difference between the outlaw and the new biker, many similarities exist (Thompson, W. 2008). Thompson (2008) is frequently used in the paper for highlighting the law-abiding clubs.

Worth to be mentioned is the anthropologist Daniel R. Wolf (1990) who participated in an illegal mc-club. He depicted the brotherhood and the structured identity of the club. The book contains the steps for becoming a member, from being a friend to the club to a full patched member and belonging to the brotherhood. Wolf (1990) also depicted the women in the clubs and the men’s views on females. This book has been an inspiration for many researchers (Barker,2005;Grundvall,2005;Barker&Human,2009;Shouten,1995; Quinn & Forsyth,2011;Dulaney,2005) and also for this research.

Another author worth the be mentioned is the Swedish author Lars Lagergren (1999) which depicts the Swedish motorcycle culture and the motorcycles birth from the 1800’s to present time. His main focus is on the law-abiding motorcyclists, such as touring bikers, but he also treats the more illegal clubs.

5.2 Theory

In the analysis the structure, symbols, brotherhood and criminal involvement will be highlighted as well as the similarities and differences between the clubs. For analyzing these aspects Lemert’s theory of primary and secondary deviance is going to help explain the level of deviance of the clubs and their members. Yablonsky’s definition and characterization of social, delinquent, and violent

gangs is also to be used in order to help with the comparison of the clubs to show the similarities, differences and what the clubs contain.

5.2.1 Lemert – Primary and Secondary Deviance

Edwin M. Lemert used and developed the terms primary and secondary deviance to explain and visualize distinct forms of deviance and how reactions to violation of social norms could lead to a person's continued deviance (Rosenberg, 2010). This could lead to a self- and group identification outside the mainstream society framework (Rosenberg, 2010). All violations of conventional social norms do not necessarily result in negative consequences. Criminal acts can be undetected, and acts that become detected may only result in a corrective penalty (Rosenberg, 2010). The deviance can include anything from speaking in class to crime. The reaction could be everything from milder punishment and stereotyping to imprisonment.

Many episodes of norm violation often provoke little reaction and have small effect on the person's self-concept, such as truancy (Lemert, 1967). Lemert calls these behaviors primary deviance. Primary deviance is quickly forgotten and the offender proceeds for the most part with law-abiding behavior (Rosenberg, 2010; Lemert, 1967). Primary deviance receives no or mild reaction, but if the deviant behavior is repeated or persistent, the reaction becomes stronger and can develop into secondary deviance (Lemert, 1967).

Secondary deviance is when the individual engages in repeated norm violations and begins to take a deviant identity. This often takes the form of rejection of the larger society and an association with other deviants for whom the deviant behavior is not seen as problematic (Lemert, 1967; Rosenberg, 2010). These people often become part of a subculture which accepts and encourages the deviant behavior, and stands outside the conventional society which has created the norms (Rosenberg, 2010). Deviant behavior or social roles could become means of defense, attack or adaptation to the problems created by the society (Lemert, 1967).

The terms primary and secondary capture the distinction of how primary deviance only has marginal implications for the status and psychic structure, and how secondary deviance becomes central facts of existence (Carrabine et al., 2009:94). The primary deviance only marginally affects the person's status and psychic whereas secondary deviance with stigma and punishment becomes central for those experiencing it, altering psychic structures, and producing specialised organization of social roles and self regarding attitudes (Carrabine et al., 2009:94; Lemert, 1967:63).

Lemert's terms can be useful when showing the difference between the illegal and legal clubs' level of deviance. There is for example a discussion of how the illegal clubs see themselves with their strong brotherhood and standing outside of the conventional society's norms. The purpose is to show the contrast between primary and secondary deviance, where the illegal clubs lean more against secondary deviance and the legal clubs against primary deviance.

5.2.2 Yablonsky – Social, delinquent and violent gangs

Yablonsky has done many studies of youth street gangs and drug addicts during the 1960's and he was also one of the first that included the structure of the gangs. Even if this paper excludes youths it can be useful for describing the mc-clubs. In

his book *The Violent Gang* (1962) he tried to define which characteristics that could be attributed gangs. Yablonsky (1962:149-152) mentions three different types of gangs: *social gangs, delinquent gangs, and violent gangs*. These prototypes very rarely appear in pure form; however they are ideal types to describe the structure and behavior of gangs (Yablonsky, 1962:149). Yablonsky (1962:149) also explains that you can belong to one or more types, even if the gangs have central characteristics that distinguish them.

Yablonsky (1962:149) describes the social gang as a relatively permanent organization which centers around a specific stable location such as a hangout or clubhouse. All members know each other and there is a sense of friendship and feeling of belonging (Yablonsky, 1962:150). The club can wear a jacket with an insignia which identifies the members to the external community (Yablonsky, 1962:150). Activities are organized and socially dominated, and require responsible social interaction within the group (Yablonsky, 1962). Membership is based on feelings of mutual attraction and the cohesion is the feeling that through the group the member can live a fuller life (Yablonsky, 1962:150). The members in the social gang are willing to submerge their own interests to pursue group activities (Yablonsky, 1962). Leadership is based on popularity, constructive qualities and generally operates informally (Yablonsky, 1962). The social gangs do not often participate in delinquent behavior, except under unusual conditions. They may become involved in gang clashes but only under great pressure. The social gang has permanence, is closely associated with and acts in terms of the values of the larger society. Thus, is least disassociated from the overall society (Yablonsky, 1962:150).

The delinquent gang is organized to carry out illegal acts, and the social interaction is a secondary factor (Yablonsky, 1962:151). The delinquent gang is generally small and the membership is not easily achieved and has to be approved by all members (Yablonsky, 1962:151). It has a tight, durative and lasting structure and the members rely upon each other (Yablonsky, 1962). Their delinquency is socialized into accepting delinquent patterns for behavior. The goals of the gang are profit-oriented, where violence can be employed for material and financial reward (Yablonsky, 1962). They are a cohesive group, emotionally stable that are trained into illegal patterns of behavior (Yablonsky, 1962).

Finally, the violent gang is organized for emotional gratification with violence as the central theme (Yablonsky, 1962:152). The organization and membership is constantly shifting in accordance with the emotional needs of its members (Yablonsky, 1962). There are strong power drives in the violent gang, demonstrated by effort to control territory which creates inter-gang conflicts (Yablonsky, 1962:153). Because of its unclear structure, relationships and conflicts with other groups go on constantly (Yablonsky, 1962:153). Violent gangs seem to form in order to adjust emotional problems, self-protection, defense, and for channeling aggression in response to prejudice (Yablonsky, 1962). The criteria for joining are violent behavior and the process for joining is easy (Yablonsky, 1962:154). The roles of the members are not clear and the gang has limited membership integration and cohesion outside the core members (Yablonsky, 1962). The violent gangs have brother gangs which are used as weapons to impress enemies and secure themselves (Yablonsky, 1962:156-157). The important facade of the gang war is the negotiation and manipulation of alliances and affiliations as demonstrations of strength (Yablonsky, 1962:157). The motives of wars are not very clear; it can be a question of territory, or a stated

comment at the wrong place which can result in homicide and gang war hysteria (Yablonsky, 1962:157-158). This hysteria can be among the gangs, police and the whole society (Yablonsky, 1962:157-158).

Yablonsky (1962) discusses that different groups have different structures; some have fairly clear structures whereas others have very clear defined structures, and some have fairly tight membership to maintain secrecy. Yablonsky thought that the reputation of the gang was its core, as well as protecting it. To be perceived as a coherent group also has a significant impact on the groups own cohesion. He means that the difference between the social gangs is the criminal act or delinquency, rather than the degrees in social conformity (Yablonsky,1962).

Yablonskys terms and definition of gang can be helpful for highlighting and portraying the clubs characteristics, but also their similarities and differences. Lemert's theory and Yablonsky's approach of gangs would at one hand seem to be far apart, while on the other both of them helps broaden the description and make a comparison of the clubs, which is the papers purpose. These theories are chosen because they complement each other and help highlight the differences and similarities of mc-clubs, but also what characterizes them.

6 METHOD

To reach the papers aim a content analysis of the used articles is conducted. The aim is to make a description and comparison of motorcycle clubs, which current and previous articles can help achieve. This is similar to a comparative design where you identify and describe issues of what distinguishes clubs from each other (Hennink et al., 2012:243).

The content analysis is going to help the paper reach a deeper understanding. This is achieved by looking for different themes in the material that can help answer the questions about the structure and symbolism in the legal and illegal clubs respectively.

The purpose with this method is to look for themes that the illegal and legal clubs have in common and what separates them. The paper is not going to be purely descriptive in this way, but also try to generate new insights on the subject. An important part when doing research is transparency and that is why a thorough review of the working process is described below.

6.1 Material and Literature search

This paper is based on previous and current studies of mc-clubs and the methodological base is therefore a literature review. During the whole process, I had a critical approach to the material and its content (Machi & McEvoy, 2012). The striving was also to have a critical approach to the chosen key words so the research questions could be answered.

Firstly a literature search was performed followed by a selection where articles were included and excluded (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:39). As a starting point, internet was used to find appropriate articles to answer the research questions.

Many databases were skimmed to find appropriate material for the paper. In the end four databases were chosen that contained articles from different fields, as sociology, law, anthropology and criminology.

The four databases were:

- **SUMMON**
- **EBSCO**
- **DOAJ**
- **SOCIOLOGICAL ABSTRACTS**

These specific four databases were chosen since the search result repeated itself and the same articles were found in many databases and subject terms (see Table 1). Also these databases were big and contained the most valuable articles. When searching in the databases four different subject terms were chosen: *Motorcycle history*, *motorcycle culture*, *motorcycle clubs* and *motorcycle gangs*. These four subject terms were chosen to include a historical background of motorcycles and clubs, a cultural aspect such as their lifestyle, and a distribution of both legal and illegal clubs. The choice of the phrase gangs as a subject term was because it has a negative tone and can most of the time only be applied to illegal clubs. Therefore both motorcycle clubs and gangs have been included as key words. To illustrate the search result and the working procedure, Table 1 shows number of hits, read abstract, reviewed articles and used articles for every chosen database after the second selection. As a start, a first selection was performed. This is described below.

6.1.1 Selection 1

When searching for motorcycle history, culture, clubs, and gangs in the databases the search resulted in over a thousand hits and some criteria had to be made (Friberg, 2006:34). The criteria for including articles in the first search and selection was that the articles were peer-reviewed and been published in scientific journals. This was chosen in order to narrow down the search results and heighten the reliability and validity. Due to the amount of hits, an advance search was performed where key words or subject terms were used. This method was utilized for SUMMON, EBSCO, and DOAJ databases. For the database SOCIOLOGICAL ABSTRACTS, no advanced search was performed, only an overall search. This was due to that no hits were received when the advanced search option was selected. Altogether the sum of the hits for the first search totaled approximately 275 articles in the four databases together.

6.1.2 Selection 2

To further narrow down the number articles for the second selection, the written language had to be in English or Swedish. Popular scientific articles and book reviews were sorted out. This made the search only contain journal articles. Articles that were not available or had to be ordered were excluded as well, due to the limit of time and resources. After the second selection 238 articles remained. The articles in the search results were scanned and skimmed for every subject term through reading the abstracts, but also in some cases the content (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:40-41). Some abstracts were not read since the topics were not relevant to the paper.

Articles with similar topic and patterns were included, and articles that did not belong to the research topic and paper were discarded (Machi & McEvoy,

2012:41). For example, articles surrounding biker safety, accidents and articles that had its focus on technology were excluded because they were not relevant to answer the research questions. To be relevant and included in the study the articles would need to treat:

- Motorcycle culture as symbols, the brotherhood, and the motorcycles meaning concerning illegal or legal clubs.
- Motorcycle structure as a description of members, clubs and the hierarchy.
- Motorcycle clubs illegal acts and illegal clubs as Hells Angels, Bandidos and similar.
- Motorcycles history such as the forming of the motorcycle clubs and the motorcycles birth.

After reading the abstracts, 34 unique articles were reviewed, since the same articles showed up in many databases (see Table 1). 28 articles met the stated requirements above (see Appendix 1 and Table 3). This are also the articles used in the paper to help with the description and the analysis of illegal and legal mc-clubs. The final task was to map the chosen articles and organize them and see which articles that could contribute to which part in the paper (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:42). This is also a part of the content analysis.

Table 1. Number of hits, read abstracts, reviewed articles and used articles after the second selection

Databases / Subject terms	Hits	Read Abstracts	Reviewed Articles	Used Articles
SUMMON				
Motorcycle History	46	33	12	6
Motorcycle Clubs	15	14	11	7
Motorcycle Gangs	29	15	15	10
Motorcycle Culture	32	12	5	5
EBSCO				
Motorcycle History	10	6	3	3
Motorcycle Clubs	14	7	6	6
Motorcycle Gangs	11	8	6	5
Motorcycle Culture	8	8	0	2
DOAJ				
Motorcycle History	7	7	3	2
Motorcycle Clubs	2	2	2	1
Motorcycle Gangs	0	0	0	0
Motorcycle Culture	1	0	0	0
SOCIOLOGICAL ABSTRACTS				
Motorcycle History	10	8	2	1
Motorcycle Clubs	16	14	14	12
Motorcycle Gangs	17	11	10	8
Motorcycle Culture	20	14	2	2
Total	238	159	91(34)*	28**

Note:* Number in parentheses represents total number of unique reviewed articles.

*Note**:* Total number of used articles represents unique articles.

6.2 Processing of material

Content analysis was applied for systematically processing the material. A content analysis is a search of underlying themes in the material that is analyzed (Bryman, 2008:505), which constitute the analysis and results. During the process there was a striving to have a critical approach to the chosen material and the findings in the articles. By looking for similar descriptions of the legal and illegal clubs in the articles, the reliability of the articles lifted and these articles was also selected. For increasing the reliability of this paper, an important part was to compare the chosen articles and see if they contained and described the clubs in a similar way, receiving a correct picture of the clubs. By doing this the different themes of the articles could be discovered and used in this paper. The majority of the chosen articles are qualitative, where the researchers have performed interviews with and observed bikers, mc-clubs and police officers.

The research questions ask what separates illegal and legal clubs, what they have in common and which characteristics they have. To answer these questions, content analysis was conducted to find underlying themes within the material that represented the legal and illegal clubs. Content analysis of current research was chosen because of the difficulties of studying mc-clubs and since a content analysis can give information about a social group that is hard to get direct contact with (Bryman, 2008:296).

The processing of the material in a content analysis is performed through thorough reviewing of the chosen material several times, searching for similarities or differences in the material; in this paper, examples of what could represent an illegal or a legal club. Many researchers wrote for example about the love for the bike, which can be something the clubs have in common (see Appendix 1 and Table 3). Others wrote that the legal clubs often join an association, something which the illegal clubs do not, and that can be an example of a difference.

The focus when reading articles was to understand the creation, the structure within, the symbols, and the development of a mc-club. This can be connected to qualitative method. The important part was to have an open mind and not let own opinions have an impact on the result when writing. Equally important is the awareness of the researchers' potential opinions when writing the studied material. In a content analysis the material is coded and categorized into themes after thorough reviewing. After the repeated reading and categorization of the material there were four main subjects that stood out and led to subthemes that represented each subject. The four main subjects were:

- Structure.
- Symbols.
- Brotherhood.
- Criminal involvement.

Firstly, data was collected and secondly, Lemert's theory of primary and secondary deviance and Yablonsky's definition of social, delinquent and violent gangs were developed from the material. The focus was shifted between the material and the theories during the whole working progress.

6.3 Critical and ethical considerations

The literature search included limitations, which can have affected the paper in some way. More key words and databases could have been used, and could have

resulted in more relevant articles, and could have affected this paper's result. There were also articles where only the abstract was read and these articles were excluded without any further reading. For some article only the title was read. This can have affected the paper since many articles were excluded without being reviewed. Articles that were not available or had to be ordered were excluded, due to the limited time and financial resources. However there has to be a reduction and a selection to carry out and structure a paper when there are limitations in time.

A literature review has to have a critical approach when choosing key words and material. There is no guarantee that the chosen key words would be selected by other researchers. The same is with the articles, and that the researchers interpret the material differently.

The paper is a secondary analysis of other researchers' results. There is a negative side with secondary sources, but also positive sides. The problem with secondary analysis of data is that you as a researcher is not present in the field and does not understand the social context as the initial author (Bryman, 2008:535). Another problem is that you are not aware of the quality of data, even if the most scientific studies have done a reliability and validity check (Bryman, 2008: 305). The positive thing is that you can do a new analysis of current research that can lead to new interpretations. Using existing research, material from different countries can be included, giving the paper more of an international perspective (Bryman, 2008:303); even if the articles are mainly from North America.

As always with qualitative research there is interpretation present from the researcher. Other negative aspect of qualitative method is that is not generalizable and hard to replicate (Bryman, 2008:368-369). On the positive side, qualitative methods can generate new results and hopefully the paper can give new insights. A deeper understanding of a phenomenon is also the method's quality (Hennink et al., 2012).

6.3.1 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations have been taken into account when writing this paper. Both sides of the motorcycle world have been taken into consideration when comparing legal and illegal clubs, not only highlighting one of the sides. (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:8). The comparison will try to be objective when it comes to all clubs and not praise one or another, even if the criminal involvement is mentioned. The respect of persons and their choice of lifestyle is another aspect the paper takes into account (Hennink et al., 2012:63). The paper also strives towards not making a judgment about the motorcycle world or culture and the lifestyle as a biker, but instead gives a descriptive picture of its content. Other aspects are the problems concerning the division of illegal and legal mc-clubs. There is an awareness of the difficulty of classifying legal and illegal mc-clubs into only two groups. The legal clubs and illegal clubs have branches in between this classification that are not described in the paper. Making a comparison of legal and illegal mc-clubs is a strict classification, but for facilitating the comparison and give an overview of the main differences, this classification has been made.

7 RESULT AND ANALYSIS

7.1 The structure of different clubs

It is hard to say that one mc-club has a particular structure that can be applied to all mc-clubs. There is not only a structure within a specific club, but also between different clubs, especially among the illegal clubs. The legal mc-clubs are often a part of an association at which their club is registered. This association is sitting at the top of the structure amongst the legal clubs and serves as a leading function over the clubs (Maxwell, 1998). Some individuals are not heavily engaged in the groups while other members are more engaged. There are clubs that are more exclusive than others where for example members have to ride a specific bike (Maxwell, 1998). Also clubs which are gender oriented, such as female clubs, or offer ethnical belonging exist (Maxwell, 1998).

Some clubs are more organized in the terms of leadership with a leader, secretary, and members (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009), while other meet online (Thompson, W. 2008). The requirement is often a motorcycle and an interest of motorcycles. The clubs bring people together who love motorcycles and riding them for companionship. The legal clubs also offer formal organizations and they follow admonitions from the associations (Thompson, W. 2008:98-99). Some members of these clubs can embrace the same values as one percenters, but do not act it out.

Mc-clubs that differs from the law-abiding clubs are the ones that support one percenters or the bigger mc-clubs, namely supporter clubs. They want to separate themselves from other mc-clubs and associations. These support groups are involved in criminal activity to some degree and can have ties to the bigger clubs. They can display the colors, but not the insignia of the bigger club they protect, to bolster their own reputation (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009).

There are clubs that go even further in their support of the biggest clubs and are called "puppet clubs" (Barker, 2005:111). The puppet clubs are controlled by the bigger clubs and perform the most dangerous tasks (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). These puppet clubs do the more "dirty" work as recruiting sources, and protecting the bigger clubs in clashes with rival clubs (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011; Barker, 2005).

The final category and highest up in the hierarchy are the one percenters themselves. These are the biggest clubs such as Hells Angels and Bandidos (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). They control the puppet clubs and have supporter groups that perform their bidding. They also decide which clubs or members of the support and puppet clubs that can become future members (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009).

The bigger illegal clubs are also divided into several departments called chapters (Barker, 2005; Gomez Del Prado, 2011:69). These chapters are local groups in a city where the members attend meetings and gatherings, often in a club house. These chapters represent the main gang on a given territory and are run by regular members (Gomez Del Prado, 2011). The chapters can be spread nationally, but some chapters are situated all around the world. Hells Angels has for example chapters on six continents (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009:254). The legal clubs have similar meetings and gatherings and the clubs are often situated in a town.

7.1.1 Leadership

Each of the chapters or clubs have some sort of leadership. In the legal clubs there can be a chairman and a secretary (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009) that handle the main things concerning the club, including money, food, club house, and events such as rallies. The associations many clubs are a part of can be seen as a leadership with specific rules and guidelines. The illegal clubs are organized in a similar way with a president, vice president, a secretary, treasurer, road captain and sergeant-at-arms (Quinn & Koch, 2010).

The president is like the chairman in legal clubs; he presides on meetings, represents the club and leads the club (Gomez Del Prado, 2011). The vice president has the same duties and can stand in when the president is unavailable (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). The secretary's job, in both the legal and illegal clubs is to record the club meetings and handling the correspondence. The treasurer handles the club's money. The sergeant-at-arms duty is to defend the club and maintain discipline within it (Quinn & Koch, 2010:291). The road captain, who is the final officer, leads the club on the roads (Quinn & Koch, 2010:291).

7.1.2 Selection of members

The selection of members differs between legal and illegal clubs. Normally in legal clubs there are no rituals or major requirement for becoming a member, except from owing a motorcycle, having an interest in motorcycles, and following the major associations' (such as AMA) standards (Thompson, W. 2008). If the aspiring member is not willing to follow an association's rules or guidelines it will be hard to fit in.

In the illegal clubs it takes more time from being would-be member to a full member, and the process is more complicated. At a first stage you become what is called "hangaround" or "hangers-on" (Gomez Del Prado, 2011; Huisman & Jansen, 2012). The hangaround or hangers-on has no specific role in the club but is allowed to hang with the group and can hopefully become a prospect in the future (Gomez Del Prado, 2011).

Prospects or strikers are below the original members in the chain and can remain a would-be member for up to a year or longer (Gomez Del Prado, 2011). Becoming a prospect means a transformation from a mainstream citizen to an outlaw. During the time period as a prospect you are on probation and the regular members evaluate if the person meets the membership standards (Quinn & Koch, 2010). Your loyalty and compatibility with the club is tested with for example the willingness to commit crimes for the club, showing that the core values are adopted, and knowing what is expected of one (Quinn & Koch, 2010; Barker, 2011). The period as a prospect or striker can be difficult and the prospect is required to perform whatever the members ask him to, including the most dangerous tasks (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). When the members feel that the prospect is trustworthy and fits in with the clubs own persona, he earns the clubs colors (signs and logos), and becomes a full-patch member (Gomez Del Prado, 2011, Quinn & Koch, 2010). Some mc-clubs require that you have committed crimes, but the most important part is that you share the clubs ideology and values and abide it (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Quinn & Koch, 2010).

The primary and secondary terms can be applied to the structure of mc-clubs. The legal clubs can be seen as primary deviant. They are a part of an association and the criterion for joining is the love for the motorcycle. They proceed with law-

abiding behavior and the reaction from the society of their clubs is mild. The club's structure is normalized through management (Lemert, 1967:63), as being a part of an association.

The illegal clubs on the other hand have norms and a structure that is built on social roles and organized relationships (Lemert, 1967, 63, 73). Becoming a member of a club means that the deviance becomes a fact of existence, and you have to prove your dedication by committing crime and adopting the values of the club. The reaction from others is thereby more severe because of the repeated norm violations which result in secondary deviance (Lemert, 1967).

The legal club can be said to be a part of a social gang with a relatively permanent organization which centers around a specific location such as a clubhouse (Yablonsky, 1962). Activities are socially dominated, organized, and require responsible social interaction within the group. Membership is based on feelings of mutual attraction and cohesion, as the love for the bike (Thompson, W. 2008). The legal clubs have some permanence even if the members do not have to be heavily engaged in the club. They are also closely associated with and act in terms of the values of the larger society, even if they seem to experience primary deviance. They are least disassociated from the overall society (Yablonsky, 1962:150), since they conform to the overall norms and values, comparing to the illegal clubs.

Yablonsky (1962) pointed out that the social, delinquent and violent gangs are ideal types and rarely appear in pure form. The illegal clubs can be applied to both a social and a delinquent gang when it comes to the structure. They have a specific location, such as a club house, and relatively permanent organizations. They do however have a tight, durative and lasting structure which applies to a delinquent gang. The delinquent gang is generally small and the membership is not easily achieved (Yablonsky, 1962:151). They have to show their loyalty and commitment to the club and go through different stages before they can become a full member of the club. The socialization into delinquent is core for becoming a member in illegal mc-clubs and something that stands out for Yablonsky's delinquent gangs.

7.1.3 The women's role

Many assume that only men are riding motorcycles when there in fact are more women than ever riding motorcycles as well (Thompson, 2011; Thompson, W. 2008). When discussing women in motorcycle research the focus has been on illegal clubs and the men's treatment of women. In the illegal clubs there are women called "mamas" or "old ladies" (Hopper & Moore, 1990). A mama belongs to the whole gang and should be available for sex with any member in the club (Hopper & Moore, 1990). An old lady belongs to only one member in the club (Hopper & Moore, 1990; Thompson, 2011). These women don not ride motorcycles by their own, more than occasionally on the back of a man's bike, or not at all (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995).

In the legal clubs there can be women joining the clubs as wives, but also as members and bikers. Women own and can ride their own bike (Thompson, 2011). Women are today the fastest growing segment among motorcycle riders, even if the motorcycle world still is dominated by men (Thompson, 2011). The legal clubs can hold a mixture of women and men, even if it is most common that men ride motorcycles. The status and treatment of women has improved (Hopper &

Moore, 1990). These is however still a sexist view on women on rallies and events with women in bikinis or sexy posing next to a bike (Thompson, 2011), among illegal as well as legal clubs.

7.2 Symbols

All mc-clubs have special kinds of symbols that symbolize the club, but also the culture as a whole. The following section describes the motorcycle, clothes, colors and insignias; the symbols that characterize the clubs.

7.2.1 The motorcycle

The requirement for even joining a mc-club is a motorcycle, and this applies to almost all mc-clubs. It can for instance be a Honda, BMW, Kawasaki or the most famous one; Harley Davidson (Stanfield, 1992). Harley Davidson is an American motorcycle and is the most used motorcycle among both outlaw and conventional motorcyclists (Standfield, 1992). As any motorcycle, Harley Davidson symbolizes a rebellion, otherness and freedom (Stanfield, 1992; Benesch, 2010; Phillips, 2005). The motorcycle can be the biggest symbol for mc-clubs, illegal as legal. The motorcycle symbolizes masculinity, hardcore attitude, and dangerousness; everything associated with mc-clubs.

Mechanical skills is something that bikers values high among both the legal and illegal clubs and shows that you are a real biker and can handle a motorcycle (Quinn & Koch, 2010; Thompson, W. 2008; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). Discussing motorcycles, taking care of, and riding them are central. The motorbike helps the individual express his identity and riding it is a way of living. People ride it because it is fun, gives a feeling of freedom, and allows the rider to express him or herself in their own way (Maxwell, 1998; Thompson, W. 2008; Biberman, 2008).

A view that every biker has is that a car is a cage, while on a motorcycle you are one with the nature (Maxwell, 1998; Thompson, W. 2008). The motorcycle is a form of transportation, and has been so since its birth, but it is also viewed as a dangerous vehicle (Thompson, W. 2008; Maxwell, 1998). Straddling a big heavy motorcycle with nothing that separates the ground and the biker in a fast speed require physical and mental toughness (Thompson, W. 2008; McDonald-Walker, 1998). In a car you are protected, but there is nothing that protects you when riding a bike, which makes any biker tough and mysterious for taking such a risk.

7.2.2 The clothes, colors and insignias

The clothes are something that characterizes the mc-club as well. Denim is a material and garment that symbolizes the motorcyclist as well as leather (Manning, 2009; Dulaney, 2005; Phillips, 2005). Wearing this kind of fabrics and materials are representative for both legal and illegal clubs. Every biker wears jeans vests and jackets, leather pants, gloves and boots (Thompson, 2011; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). A difference can be the illegal clubs more “dirty” look with unclean jeans and jackets while the more law-abiding clubs’ members are more decent and functionally dressed (Thompson, W. 2008; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). The combination makes the motorcyclist look large, imposing, and tough (Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007; Manning, 2009). If you add tattoos, a large beard, and an earring the look of a “real” biker is complete (Thompson, W. 2008; Manning, 2009; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009).

Every biker knows the risks of riding a motorcycle, and the clothes are not only used for representing a tough look, but also for protection. Denim and leather in particular is hard-wearing and can protect the rider from potential injuries in the event of a crash (Thompson, W. 2008; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). Choosing denim and leather completes the biker look, while the safety is also in mind. Leather and denim is also functional for protecting against insects and debris that can be kicked up by other vehicles (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009), as well as the forces of nature as rain and wind. Gravel together with an instant stop is an example on a dangerous event where the clothes can play a significant role for having a severe injury or not (Thompson, W.2008:102). A helmet could also be worn as a safety precaution, even if some riders, especially among the illegal clubs, choose not to have it (Thompson, W. 2008; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995).

Club colors and wearing the insignia that represents the club is the major step for membership in a mc-club. Club colors refer to name, location and insignia of the club, but there are also special kinds of colors on the symbol (Dulaney, 2005; Quinn & Forsyth, 2009; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). These symbols are often placed on the back of a vest or jacket. The insignia or logo can be placed on the bike, but the bike can be adorned with other things as well (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). The colors of the particular mc-clubs are important among the illegal clubs, and should only be borne by real members of their club. The clubs often have two hues as their insignia. As an example Hells Angels have red and white as their color and Bandidos red and gold (Quinn & Forsyth,2009:240).

The legal clubs also have their own insignias or logos, but there are also clubs that only adorn their vests and jackets with several pins and patches, and with slogans such as “Ride to live-Live to ride”, or logos from different rallies and events (Thompson, W. 2008). The more illegal clubs have patches on their vests that represent their outlaw-mentality, for example the 1% symbol (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009).

There are many similarities among the legal and illegal clubs when it comes to the clothes and symbols. Examples of this are the leather and denim jackets, patches, and insignias. Therefore it can be difficult separating them if the insignia is not present and the line between the illegal and the legal clubs can be a blurred (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). If only the appearance is considered, the clubs could be perceived as very similar.

The motorcycles, and the specific clothes and insignias the mc-clubs are wearing are a kind of trademark that makes them stand out. Their loudly and dangerous motorcycles represent a repeated norm violation. The clothes and insignias make them more cohesive, but separates them from the society outside the motorcycle world. In this way, the legal clubs leans against secondary deviance as well. They form an association with other likeminded where the different motorcycles and clothes not are seen as problematic. As with the social gang, the clubs can wear a jacket with an insignia which identifies the members to the external community (Yablonsky, 1962:150). This makes them more prone to secondary deviance.

7.3 Brotherhood

Mc-clubs' and motorcycle culture is characterized of the brotherhood or the community. The brotherhood in mc-clubs goes beyond the fact that they are participating in an activity and enjoying motorcycles (Thompson, W. 2008). Even if the brotherhood can mean different things for outlaw - and law-abiding mc-

clubs it contains similar parts such as loyalty and solidarity, community, and alienation or deviation.

7.3.1 Loyalty and solidarity

After becoming a full-patched member of an illegal club and wearing the club's color and symbol in public, the expectations of full loyalty for the club are high (Quinn, 2010:384). Being loyal to the club also means being loyal to every member. Loyalty in a mc-clubs means helpfulness and friendship towards every member. Loyalty for the larger and more criminal mc-clubs means intense commitment to the club around the clock, all year (Quinn, 2010). The club represents a home and a family. It means dependability and trustworthiness in everything a member does for the club.

To follow the different codes and values is also a part of the loyalty. One code is to always protect your brothers. If a member is having trouble, the member can always depend on and know that the club stands behind him no matter what happens, but it also means that a member should never snitch (Huisman & Jansen, 2012:99). In this way, the loyalty becomes similar to a one for all, all for one-thinking. Intense loyalty may include violence and committing crime for the club (Barker, 2011). This loyalty gets intensified through solidarity (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). Solidarity can mean a rejection of the mainstream society's values and supporting collectivism such as working in a group together against other clubs or the police (Huisman & Jansen, 2012).

Loyalty and solidarity represent a different meaning for the law-abiding clubs. Being loyal to a club can mean following the rules that the club has, or just being friendly and helpful against other motorcyclist, embracing the motorcycle culture and for example following an associations guidelines (Maxwell, 1998). Loyalty can also include different motorcycle brands, for example towards Harley Davidson (Maxwell, 1998:278). Many clubs have loose membership standards which mean that people come and go as they please, and the loyalty for a club becomes quite loose (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). Motorcycle organizations sponsor websites where riders can communicate about events and buy and sell motorcycles in a legitimate way that creates solidarity (Thompson, W. 2008). These people have shared beliefs (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995) and the deprecation against illegal acts can easily be expressed online, creating solidarity for the law-abiding view of the culture and for the most important part; motorcycling.

7.3.2 Community

The brotherhood also contains a fellowship among the motorcyclists in the mc-clubs (McDonald-Walker, 1998). First of all the community is based on friendship which is built upon the interest for the bike. You cannot reject the fact that the core of the community is the love for motorcycles and the importance the members ascribe their bikes. In the club you can share and discuss your experiences with bikes, potential problems, and perhaps a future purchase of a bike (Thompson, W. 2008:99). The community within the club often also shares the same values and beliefs of the way of living and act (McDonald-Walker, 1998).

The values and beliefs of the outlaw mc-clubs reject the mainstream society's values, advocating freedom and masculinity (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). The community is also based on the social identity as an outlaw and non-

conformity (Quinn, 2010). The community offers a belonging with acceptance and where the individual can have a role (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011). The threat from other mc-clubs as well as the police builds up the club and creates an internal solidarity and community amongst the members (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011; Huisman & Jansen, 2012). The feeling of being at war strengthens the community as a whole (Dulaney, 2005).

The community can also be based on less dramatic things than being at war. It can be minor things like greeting a fellow motorcyclist on the road, or helping someone with a broken motorcycle (Thompson, W. 2008). There is an unwritten code saying that you never leave a biker stranded (Thompson, W. 2008). This means that if a biker sees another biker on the side of the road they will often offer help (Thompson, W. 2008; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995), and this is something that the motorcycle culture as a whole stands for.

A club has, as mentioned previously, shared values and beliefs. The legal ones adhere and stand behind regulations and safety questions as riding sober, wearing protective gear and attending courses on safety. The legal clubs' community is also based on a rejection of criminal activity and the values the criminal clubs stand for, by being members of an association (Dulaney, 2005). The fact that the legal clubs can join events together with other clubs means that their community is not limited to the own clubs; they can have community with other clubs as well (Thompson, W. 2008; Dulaney, 2005). If a biker experiences problems with the motorbike, help can be received from a stranger as well.

7.3.3 Alienation/Deviation

Since the birth of the motorcycle it has been pictured as a dangerous vehicle and the one riding it as a law-breaker (Holmes, 2007). The ones riding motorcycles do not deny that it is dangerous to ride (Thompson, W. 2008), but they do deny that they are law-breakers. They are well aware of the risks of being injured and driving too fast. Nevertheless they choose to ride.

The legal clubs and members have conformed to all values and norms of the society, they have work and children. Sometimes however they want to put on their leather garments, straddle their expensive motorcycles and hang out in biker bars and attend shows. Some people see them as deviant with their risk-taking behavior (McDonald-Walker, 1998) and their escape from the routines of the conventional life, and some people avoid them (Thompson, W. 2008; Maxwell, 1998). A law-abiding motorcyclist can appear to be a rebel and challenge the norms (McDonald-Walker, 1998), but simultaneously conform (Thompson, W. 2008; Maxwell, 1998; Benesch, 2010). They have their "normal" life with work and children as their front façade, but also a biker lifestyle as a backside that is not completely visible to the public. These people are gathering together and enjoying the fun, freedom, and excitement the motorcycle has to offer, while at the same time have a normal conventional life beside (McDonald-Walker, 1998). Even though the law-abiding clubs experience alienation or deviation, this is experienced differently for outlaws.

The first motorcycle gang is said to be created after the Second World War when war veterans found it difficult to adapt to a normal life (Quinn, 2010). The more modern clubs seem to have similar thoughts. They feel that they are at instant war against the police and other clubs which make them withdraw from conventional society (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011). They also have codes and values that say that

they have to commit themselves fully to the club (Huisman & Jansen, 2012:99), which can make it hard to have a conventional life as well. This intense intragroup interaction with other like-minded isolates them from the conventional society (Quinn, 2010). This isolation makes it very hard to study mc-clubs, since the clubs rarely let people in. The reasons for being alienated or seen as deviant are their criminal activity which society sees as wrong, but also the overall opinion of motorcycling. The clubs have incorporated this view by wearing the 1% patch, which represents standing outside of the society.

This way of thinking is a typical example on secondary deviance where repeated norm violations makes the members of the illegal clubs begin to embrace a deviant identity, often in the form of rejection of the larger society (Lemert, 1967). They form a club with other deviants and these people become part of a subculture that stands outside the conventional society, creates norms, and accepts and encourage the deviant behavior.

The legal clubs are not pure primary or secondary deviant, but stands in the middle. They challenge and break the norms while simultaneously conforming. They identify themselves as a part of the conventional society, but simultaneously with the brotherhood that can be seen as deviant (McDonald-Walker, 1998). This identification makes them lean towards secondary deviance. A comparison of legal and illegal clubs can instead be seen by a level of deviance where the illegal clubs has a higher level of secondary deviance than the legal clubs. The legal clubs conform and deviate, but the deviance is only seen as a part of existence, and not a central fact. They can deviate and thereafter return to conformity. Both the legal and illegal clubs have a brotherhood where all the members know each other, have strong community, and a “we” feeling which characterizes the social gang (Yablonsky, 1962:150). They feel connected to each other with same values and beliefs, help each other with their motorcycles or other problems and thereby have cohesion.

The illegal clubs go further with intense loyalty and solidarity where the members do everything for the club, even murder or commit other crimes. They submerge their own interest to pursue the activities of the group (Yablonsky, 1962). The group is united and stands behind a member regardless of what has happened. This intense feeling of relying on each other no matter what happens, and commit criminal acts is also a sign of a delinquent gang, even if the brotherhood among all the mc-clubs lean more against the definition of a social gang.

7.4 Criminal involvement

The main separation of a legal and illegal club is the criminal involvement. The criminal involvement is one of the strongest characteristics of an illegal club; even if there can be individuals in the legal clubs that have committed minor crimes (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009).

The moral panic towards the illegal club has become an international phenomenon in for example the United States, Canada, and Australia (Katz, 2011:232; Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007, Ayling, 2011) where the society, the media, law enforcement and the politicians’ reactions are significant. The illegal clubs are seen as enemies of the society, and severe punishments, new laws and longer sentences are created to control these clubs (Katz, 2011; Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007, Ayling, 2011). The police perform raids and arrests to get information about

the illegal clubs, but also for intimidating the clubs from doing more illegal acts (Gomez Del Prado, 2010; Quinn & Koch, 2010).

In the media, the mc-clubs are portrayed as violent and rowdy and are seen as a threat to the social order (Austin et al., 2010). Periodic incidents occur, and in some towns the threat and fear is legitimate. The clubs violent wars against each other indicate on an aggressive course of action which results in severe assaults, and sometimes even murder in order to promote and protect the clubs (Gomez Del Prado, 2010). Researchers mean that the strong loyalty, solidarity, and the members sacrifice can be used for explaining their involvement in organized crimes (Quinn & Koch, 2010:287; Barker, 2011; Huisman & Jansen, 2012:95,104).

The illegal mc-clubs commit different kinds of acts and the level of criminality and acts shifts from club to club. Quinn and Koch (2010:296) developed four categories that characterize biker criminality.

1. Spontaneous expressive acts.
2. Planned expressive acts.
3. Short-term instrumental acts.
4. Ongoing instrumental enterprises.

The spontaneous acts involve few members in violent crimes against rivals or other actor, for example bar fights (Quinn & Koch, 2010:296). These kinds of acts are a problem for the police because they occur in public settings and can involve non-members (Barker & Human, 2009).

The planned acts are directed at rivals and are planned by a chapter, regional or national officers and reflect the priorities of the club (Quinn & Koch, 2010:269). The planned acts are also a problem for the police since the distrust and hatred among the clubs often creates violence when the clubs are fighting for territory or defending their own (Barker & Human, 2009:175).

The short term acts can involve one or just a few members participating in for example theft (Barker & Human, 2009:175). These are often opportunities that are designed for a particular need of one of the involved members, for example motorcycle theft and prostitution (Quinn & Koch, 2010:269).

Lastly are ongoing instrumental enterprises involving one or more clubs and are designed to supply a large amount of money and planned well in advance, for example production or distribution of drugs and trafficking (Quinn & Koch, 2010:296; Barker & Human, 2009:175). These acts go beyond the local boundaries and are a problem for the state, federal, and international law enforcement agencies (Barker & Human, 2009:175).

Illegal mc-clubs are said to commit to different kinds of offences. Many researchers agree that violent acts as fights, assaults, and even murder is included in the lifestyle of mc-clubs (Quinn & Forsyth,2009; Gomez del Prado,2010;Veno & Van De Eynde,2007;Dagistanli et al.,2010;Barker,2011;Huisman & Jansen,2012). These fights are often between rivals and are a question of territory, but also reputation which illegal mc-clubs values high and can work as intimidation (Quinn & Forstyh, 2009; Gomez Del Prado, 2010, Ayling, 2011).

There is a long list of criminal activities performed by illegal mc-clubs. These activities may include fraud, extortion, theft, prostitution, racketeering, possession and trafficking of weapons and stolen goods, manufacturing and exportation of drugs, murder and assaults (Katz, 2011; Barker, 2011; Gomez del prado, 2010; Huisman & Jansen, 2012). With this broad list of different criminal offenses, the clubs' isolation and strong brotherhood makes the clubs unpredictable and hard to track. These offences can be applied to the heavily criminal mc-clubs while some mc-clubs only commit minor crimes. It is important to point out that not all mc-clubs connected to the bigger clubs are involved in criminal activities; they only incorporate motorcycling as a way of life (Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007). Being a member of an outlaw motorcycle club provides protection and a web of contacts; reasons enough for joining the gang (Ayling, 2011).

There are different views on illegal motorcycle clubs linked to criminality around the world. In the US and Holland they are viewed as criminal organizations that distribute and manufacture amphetamine and that are involved with drugs, racketeering, stolen goods and similar (Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007). Other countries agree that individual members can have criminal records and be involved in criminal activities, but they are not organized criminal organizations (Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007; Katz, 2011).

The different views can be explained by the spread of illegal mc-clubs in a country, but also that the majority of evidence comes from sources closely aligned with government and its instrumentalities (Veno & Van De Eynde, 2007). For example Canada, United States, and Australia have many chapters all across the country with different rival clubs. Clubs such as Hells Angels, Bandidos and Outlaws are experienced as a major problem (Barker, 2011; Barker, 2005, Ayling, 2011). The criminal involving with different acts is an adoption to secondary deviance where it has developed into means of defense and attack (Lemert, 1967). They regard themselves as warriors that are to defend the club from police interventions, and where the portrayal as deviant and dangerous makes them incorporate this view.

Even if the illegal clubs are both a mixture of social and delinquent gang, when it comes to the criminal involvement, it can be seen as a violent gang as well with self-protection, defense and a response for prejudice (Yablonsky, 1962). The reputation is very important, with many chapters all around the world (Barker, 2005). The network is used to impress enemies, demonstrate strength, and secure the clubs themselves (Yablonsky, 1962:156-157). The motives to the acts are not always very clear. It can be a territorial question between the clubs, or that a law-abiding or other biker has said the wrong thing at the wrong place. This can all result in fights, homicide, and gang war hysteria among the gangs, police and the whole society (Yablonsky, 1962:157-158).

7.5 Summary of findings

The results of the paper are many and for an overview of the results, Table 2 displays a summary of the main findings. The differences, similarities and the characteristics of the legal and illegal clubs are shown based on the results mentioned above. As seen in Table 2, the clubs have differences, similarities, and specific attributes. The main differences are the criminal involving, whereas the main similarities are the symbols as the clothes, insignias, and obviously; the love for the bike.

Table 2. Summary of differences, commonalities and characteristic among legal and illegal mc-clubs

Type	Separates	In Common	Characteristics
Legal club	Association	Love for	Motorcycle
	Loose leadership	motorcycles	lovers
	Informal structure	Club colors	Law-abiding
	No strong membership criteria	Insignia	Commitment to conformity
	Conformity	Clothes	Abide
	No criminality	Brotherhood	associations
	Loose loyalty	Loyalty	guidelines
	Solidarity (deprecation)	Solidarity	
	Community		
	Values mechanical skills		
	Deviation/Alienation		
Illegal club	Criminality	Love for	Motorcycle
	Organized structure	motorcycles	lovers
	Leadership with specific roles	Club colors	Standing outside the society
	Probation period for membership	Insignia	
	Intense loyalty	Clothes	Commitment to deviant lifestyle
	Intense solidarity	Brotherhood	Abide the clubs rules and guidelines
	Community (war mentality)	Loyalty	
	Rejection against society	Solidarity	Engage in activities with serious conflict and violence
	Community		
	Values mechanical skills		
	Deviation/Alienation		

8 DISCUSSION

The purpose of doing a comparison of legal and illegal clubs was to describe a culture that has been a victim of stereotyping since its birth. The structure, the symbols, the brotherhood and criminal involvement became the themes that separated them, but also the themes they had in common and characterized them.

The amount of studies regarding mc-clubs is limited and few studies have compared the different mc-clubs with each other. An explanation is their culture of silence, solidarity, and collective action. A culture which already is acclaimed for being violent and deviant may not want to draw more attention, legal as illegal. The ones who have actually conducted research about mc-clubs have done

this very graphically. The symbols, the meaning of motorcycles, the feeling when riding, the loyalty, the solidarity, the community, and the structure can be seen as small components, but together they make up the keystones of mc-clubs. Even if every chosen article focused on a specific area of the mc-clubs, they all mentioned these components in some way. The interesting part with the articles is that all brought up the views of the motorcycles and bikers. This is an important aspect for understanding the clubs and their culture as a whole.

Both the legal and the illegal clubs are in some degree seen as deviant, and accept it. The legal clubs can deviate, with specific clothes, riding dangerous motorcycles, and attending specific events. Simultaneously they conform, even if they incorporate some deviance in their life. Even if they lean against secondary deviance, they can return to conformity. They have their “normal” life and whenever they choose to; they can ride and attend events with others. In a way they choose the best of both worlds. This can be a good example when describing the structure, symbols, and brotherhood in legal clubs.

Mc-clubs can be seen as any other group of people in the society that have a special interest in common which they want to share and discuss. The symbols, such as the clothes, motorcycle and insignias represent a belonging. These are also trademarks for the whole motorcycle culture and what makes it special. The symbols also mean that the riders are a part of a brotherhood. A brotherhood which contains loyalty, solidarity, a community, alienation, and deviation strengthens the belonging to a specific club as well as the culture. All these components turn the motorcycling world into a collective which is unusual, with similar structure, meaning of brotherhood, and symbols among all clubs.

When thinking about mc-clubs pictures of a violent, criminal gang with tattoos, leather jackets, denim, heavy beards and Harley Davidson motorcycles appear. Attributes that can be applied to the illegal clubs, nevertheless they contain more. A more extreme adaption of the views, incorporation of a deviant identity and a rejection against the larger society constructs the structure and brotherhood of the illegal clubs compared to the legal ones. The secondary deviance is appealing for the illegal clubs.

An organized structure with a hierarchy, a clear leadership and a probation period with different tasks make the illegal clubs a delinquent gang. Simultaneously the symbols and the “we feeling” make them a social gang and similar to the law-abiding clubs. The gang means everything and the brothers stand behind you following the intense loyalty and solidarity which is present in the delinquent gang. It gets even harder to put the illegal clubs in a specific box when the last component, criminal involvement is accounted for. Even if the debate about the question whether the illegal mc-clubs are involved in organized crime or not, their violent acts and intimidation is common and agreed on. Territories have to be protected and defended to demonstrate their strength, which can affect many and create hysteria. These aspects characterize a violent gang as well. As a sum the illegal clubs become a mixture of social, delinquent and a criminal gang. This makes it hard to sort the clubs into a specific box, making them special. The legal clubs lean against Yablonsky’s definition of the social gang, even though it is hard to completely define the legal clubs.

The results from this paper show that there are differences that separate the clubs and similarities they have in common. These differences and similarities also

show what characterizes them. It's although problematic to draw a conclusion on the result representing every motorcyclist and mc-club.

The result shows ideal types, but as the discussion has been throughout the paper, everything cannot be applied on legal respectively illegal clubs. There can be members that have committed crimes in the legal clubs, and there can be members that have not committed any crimes in the illegal clubs, even if the majority in the club belongs to one side of the law or not. Every club has their own distinct persona and in some clubs there can be a mixture.

Another important aspect worth mentioning is the views on motorcycles and motorcyclist from an international perspective. In many western countries such as USA, Canada, Sweden and other countries in Europe, the views on motorcycles is that they produce accidents and are dangerous to ride. In non-western countries the views are different (Thompson, 2000:113). In for example Taiwan, Thailand, and India the motorcycle is still an essential transportation vehicle for millions of people. They have a motorcycling culture similar to the western world with fashion and fads, but the primary use is transportation (Thompson, 2000:113), even if motorcycle clubs are present in these countries as well. The result from this paper could by these means be difficult to apply to non-western countries which have a different view on motorcycles. It could be discussed whether less media attention and less action from the politicians or polices could make the views different. However, the research lacks these aspects and is left for further discussion. An awareness of this is however important and future studies could focus on this aspect.

8.1 Methodological limitations

As mention above, the result from this paper is difficult to apply on the non-western countries, which is a limitation. With a more worldwide perspective the result may have been different. The current studies focus on the western countries, especially USA, Canada, and Australia where the problems with mc-clubs are bigger. Few studies do incorporate the non-western countries. Throughout the paper the lack of research within this field has been pointed out together with the difficulty of getting access to a mc-club. This is an important part when it comes to the choice of method. The paper is based on previous and current research, due to the difficulty and dangerousness of getting access, and thereby a content analysis of this research is conducted. With the chosen method of research come limitations as well.

First of all there is the importance of the scientist's role, with objectivity and value-free approach of the studied field. The paper has tried in a structured way to highlight both the legal and illegal clubs. The choice of separating the different clubs, labeling them as legal and illegal, is for creating an easier understanding of what they have in common, differences, and characteristics. The choice of not calling them outlaws or one percenter more frequently is to facilitate for the reader. The objectivity and value-free approach is also in mind when the paper uses the word "clubs" for both legal and illegal clubs, instead of "gangs", due to the negative tone. Additional limitations with the content analysis are the researcher's own interpretations. The paper has tried to in a structured way explain the steps of the literature review and content analysis. How the different themes were developed and what they contained. This was done to heighten the reliability and validity of the paper.

The choice of theories is also important when discussing the scientist role. Lemert's theory of primary and secondary deviance and Yablonsky's definition on social, delinquent and violent gangs are used for comparing the clubs' level of deviance and what kind of club the different clubs are and what they contain. It is however possible that another theory or definition could highlight this as well, for example group dynamic theory, differential association, social control theory, subculture theory, or another definition of gang. However, these theories are difficult to use when no own empirical data is collected.

Further limitations are the themes that have not been treated. A discussion about the media's role and their effect on the structure, brotherhood and the symbols of mc-clubs has not been included. Media, and thereby the society as a whole, may have an impact on the clubs and how they choose to act and express themselves.

This study cannot capture and do not try to reveal the individual members' feelings or thoughts. The study intends to only give a description and touch upon the surface of what the members might feel based on other studies. This could be developed in future research to highlight the bikers view as well.

8.2 Future research and implications

There is a lack of studies about mc-clubs, and a deeper understanding of the structure, brotherhood, the symbols, and finally about the criminal involvement is needed. Partly for giving a nuanced picture of the motorcycle culture, but also for understanding what kind of people join these specific clubs, their criminal involvement and what drives them.

There is a need for presenting ethnographic studies about mc-clubs. The studies conducted in the 1960-1970's and also in the 1980's are the keys for the understanding of mc-clubs, but they need to be updated with the changing society's values and beliefs.

A development of this paper would be to meet, interview and observe the clubs classified as both legal and illegal for their opinions and look for their specific structure, brotherhood, symbols and criminal involvement. That kind of research could decrease the stereotypes and the stigmatization of the clubs and broaden the current research. Further development could include non-western countries and try to find research studying problems with mc-clubs in countries outside the current scope of research. This could be especially important if the illegal clubs continue to develop their criminal involvement to organized crime across borders.

The focus in the future could be on the structure and the brotherhood of gangs where the most differences are. A deeper study of the structure and brotherhood could be of advantage for law enforcement in order to stop organized crime and clashes between clubs. With puppet clubs doing the bidding for the bigger clubs the real "bad apples" are hard to reach. As mentioned in the criminal involvement section, the brotherhood together with the intense loyalty and solidarity is also the key for understanding their development in the organized crime and why it is hard to get any information from the members.

9 CONCLUSION

A phenomenon like the mc-clubs is often associated with criminality; even though this cannot be applied to all mc-clubs. A mc-club contains more than riding dangerous motorcycles. A mc-club participates in activities and enjoys the motorcycles. A club has a specific structure, symbols, and brotherhood. This comes for both legal and illegal clubs. The similar symbols makes it hard to distinguish them, but a closer look at the loose versus tight structure, the light versus intense brotherhood and the criminal involvement, reveals what separate the illegal from the legal clubs. What separates them is also what characterizes them. The law-abiding motorcyclists are at the same time a social gang that joins an association and acts with both conformity and deviance. The illegal ones stand outside of the society and are committed to a deviant lifestyle, engaged in activities which result in serious conflict and violence, and are a mixture of social, delinquent and violent gangs.

With a content analysis based on previous and current research, this paper has tried to go beyond the stereotyped views of mc-clubs and dig deeper in the structure, symbols, brotherhood, and criminal involvement of both legal and illegal clubs. All with the purpose to receive a nuanced picture of what a mc-club contains.

Mc-clubs represent a belonging for people loving motorcycles and who share the same values and beliefs. They symbolize freedom and otherness and are created on either loose or tight grounds. The loyalty, solidarity and the community are tempting since it offers a belonging and friendship, but is isolated from the conventional society.

The motorcycle had a thrilling and mysterious aura when it first was born. This was also the view of the mc-clubs when they first were formed. However, the motorcycle and the mc-clubs still stand for power, excitement and are subjected to speculations.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 3. Method, themes and main conclusion of the chosen articles.

Article	Method	Theme	Main conclusions
Austin et al. (2010). “Commodification and Popular Imagery of the Biker in American Culture”	Ethnographic research	Nonoutlaw recreational touring motorcycling. The view of illegal and legal clubs. Historical origin of the image of biker by media, manufacturer, subcultures, government, and its role of the view as a threat to social order. Symbols of clubs.	Media, manufacturer and government has an impact on the society’s view on motorcycling as dangerous. That the culture of community and achieved identity becomes a commodity for the manufacturer. Although many riders resist the commodified image of the outlaw biker, this image has had a major effect on the recreational riding subculture.
Ayling, Julie (2011). “Pre-emptive Strike: How Australia is Tackling Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs”	Literature review. Comparative context.	Focus on Australian laws against illegal clubs and organized crime. Structure and crimes conducted by clubs.	New laws have been introduced to control and prevent the illegal clubs enterprises. The problem with the laws is that they could be misunderstood and exaggerated. Its dimensions can attribute responsibility towards the wrong people, with potentially harmful consequences. The clubs criminality varies and not all clubs are criminal organizations. Being a member of an outlaw motorcycle club gives you protection and a web of contacts that can potentially be used for criminal endeavors.

Barker & Human (2009) "Crimes of the Big Four motorcycle gangs"	A content analysis of newspapers to classify the criminal activity of each of the Big Four gangs, using a biker criminality typology.	A small description of what characterizes the illegal and the legal clubs. The illegal clubs different criminal acts. The lack of research in the field.	Most common illegal acts were drug trafficking, racketeering, brawling, various weapon charges, and murder. The Big Four Clubs; Pagans, Bandidos, Hells Angels, and Outlaws—or chapters of these clubs, often operate as gangs oriented toward criminal profit rather than motorcycle clubs. The most common acts identified in the newspaper articles were ongoing instrumental acts, with forty-five incidents recorded. These incidents were examples of organized crime. The data also provided evidence of the violent nature of these clubs and gangs. The outlaw motorcycle culture focuses heavily on brotherhood and time spent in the saloon society milieu.
Barker (2005) "One percent biker clubs: A description"	Extensive literature review. Interviews. Associations with law enforcement officers and one percent bikers.	Illegal clubs spreading around the world. A description of illegal clubs as numbers and size and their structure with puppet clubs and friendly clubs. The birth of the big five clubs.	Important to describe and identify clubs and types of clubs for a first step in researching the issues surrounding mc-clubs. State that some have been involved in organized crimes and majority of the illegal mc-clubs are violent.
Barker (2011) "American Based Biker Gangs: International Organized Crime"	Information from national websites.	The nature, culture, structure and symbols of illegal clubs. Illegal clubs and chapters inside and outside USA. Criteria for becoming a member.	The American based biker gangs have become more criminal as they and their drug links expand beyond the US borders. They have become more violent toward each other as they fight over territory and drug markets. They commit many different illegal acts, mostly involving drugs, violence and racketeering. Has more chapters and members outside the United States than they do inside the US.

Benesch (2010). "Our Bikes Are Us: Speed, Motorcycles and the American Tradition of a "Democratic" Technology"	Content analysis of handbooks, school primer and novels.	The motorcycles symbolism.	Riding a motorcycle requires skills. With mechanical knowledge of the cycle riders attain a level of authority that is otherwise hard to find in advanced, differentiated industrial societies. The motorcycle and the one riding it have an intimate relationship. The motorcycle symbolizes liberation and escape from the society. Riding it is spiritually rewarding.
Biberman (2008). "Cold Pastoral: Notes on Becoming a Vincent Owner"	Literature review and own empiricism	The feelings of riding a motorcycle and becoming a motorcycle owner.	Motorcyclists are silent, but love the travel and the sensation seeking. When you ride, you feel connected to the natural world, the concerns disappear and you step out of yourself. The motorcycle needs care and restoration, and only a true motorcyclist can handle and love it.
Dagistanli et al. (2010). "Global Fears, Local Anxiety: Policing, Counterterrorism and Moral Panic Over 'Bikie Gang Wars' in New South Wales"	Content analysis of media coverage and state response to biker gangs.	Moral panic over mc-clubs. Media's portrayal of mc-clubs. Police efforts to stop the biker gang wars.	Since 9/11 and the war on terror there has been an expansion of police power and anti-gang laws which made the gangs "folk devils". The media's rhetoric also has changed, with a description of war.
Dulaney (2005). "A Brief History of "Outlaw" Motorcycle Clubs"	Literature review and ethnographic study with in-depth interviews and participant observation.	History of outlaw motorcycle clubs.	At its birth the motorcycle was mainly a cheap transportation vehicle and used to race with. It is said that the clubs were created after the second world war, when the war veterans found it hard to adapt to a normal life. That is when the more negative picture of motorcyclists started to escalate. During the 1950's the motorcycle clubs spread, and the one percenter emerged from the subculture. Following this, wars between the clubs occurred and their values were far away from the conventional society.

Gomez del Prado (2010). “Outlaw motorcycle gangs’ attempted intimidation of Quebec’s police forces”	Exploited the database from Québec’s Provincial Police Intimidation Project. Interviews with 20 police officers.	Analyzes the interaction between the Outlaw mc-clubs and the police. The intimidation- strategy the mc-clubs have to make the police not willing to fight them. Discusses the structure with prospects, hang-arounds and puppet clubs. Discusses their criminal involvement, and their connection to organized crime.	The mc-clubs intimidate many police officers which have made its mark. The police and the mc-clubs share some common elements. Both are specialized in intimidation by using force. They fight against each other, and try to dominate each other using fear tactics. Clothing, systematic violence and disputes: everything to create fear and a reputation of intimidation, which has made the police and government react.
Holmes (2007). “Motorcycle Myth: Rebels Without a Horse”	Content analysis of two magazines.	The picture of the motorcycle.	The motorcycle has since its birth been portrayed as a subculture. Cars have been portrayed as unbeatable with good quality. In motorcycling magazines from early 1900 it seems like the motorcyclists preferred to be seen as outsiders.
Hopper & Moore (1990). “Women in Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs”	Participant observation and interviews with outlaw bikers and their female associates.	Women’s role in illegal mc-clubs.	Women in the clubs were seen as objects used for sex and worked as dancers for the outlaw clubs. A mama belonged to the whole gang; old ladies belonged to a particular man. Luckily the treatment of women has changed over the years, even if they are viewed as property and inferior.
Huisman & Jansen (2012). “Willing offenders outwitting capable guardians”	Analyzes mainly two police investigations, and additional literature.	Describes the illegal clubs characteristics, structure and interaction as the leadership, the hierarchy of mc-clubs with puppet clubs etc. Symbols and the brotherhood with values, norms and rules are described.	Illegal mc-clubs are isolated from the conventional society. Loyalty, trust and cohesion are essential features. Symbols and logos are signs of strength and the reputation is vital. Mc-clubs represent a culture of silence. They live in a clubhouse and have their own culture, norms and beliefs. Their territory, where they can feel safe, is vital. All these factors make them feared and respected.

Katz (2011). “ The Enemy Within: The Outlaw Motorcycle Gang Moral Panic”

In-depth analysis of the interaction between the media, politicians and the public with the help of articles, statements and the media.

Definition of outlaw mc-clubs. Moral panic all around the world. The role of the media, public and politicians. Description of illegal acts. Police intervention against the mc-clubs.

Media, the public and the politicians create the moral panic of mc-clubs. They focus on the violent stories and create stricter laws which the public reacts on. This reaction can affect law-abiding bikers and make it harder for other groups as well. This does not mean that the beliefs are wrong and the clubs are fighting back and can be very dangerous. The attention must be to identify and get rid of the problems that make individuals involved in illegal mc-clubs.

Manning (2009). “Rebellion and remembrance: The Vietnam veteran’s motorcycle club rides into history.”

Literature review

The views on bikers. Symbols as clothes and legal clubs similarities with outlaw gangs. Cohesion. Difficulty for law-abiding mc-clubs to get established when the media and the public see mc-clubs as dangerous.

Because they felt persecuted for joining an “unpopular war”, the Vietnam war veterans could seek acceptance and belonging to a mc-club where they could talk to each other without fear. It was problematic to be accepted by the public as a motorcycle organization when they did not conform to the “right” veteran image and behavior. Wearing jeans and leather boots was not acceptable because that was associated with illegal clubs.

Maxwell (1998). “Motorcyclists And Community In Post-Industrial Urban America”

Participant observation and analyses of industry survey. Motorcycle-specific print media.

Demographic characteristics of actual motorcyclists versus the stereotype. The organizational, structural and symbolical components of the community in the form of clubs and rallies. Why motorcyclists ride. Motorcycles as transportation and a lifestyle.

Motorcyclists are loyal to each other and share a commitment involving motorcycling. The sense of solidarity and inclusion helps to maintain community. They have shared values and beliefs which create a community. This community and commitment is heightened by external forces. Internal interaction contributes to boundary maintenance. The community consists of trust and like minded who are equally committed to the lifestyle.

McDonald-Walker (1998).
“FIGHTING THE LEGACY:
BRITISH BIKERS IN THE
1990s”

Content analysis of the
reaction of riders of a police
action.

Symbols and the community of mc-clubs. The
media’s picture and the police views on mc-
clubs.

The paper discusses how a police action (The Waterman)
for banning motorcycle events was based on an earlier
wrong understanding of bikers. Motorcyclist’s struggle to
create positive identities and community to gain social
legitimizing for feelings, identity and their lifestyle. Riders
see themselves as fitting into a variety of social categories,
which carry effect for the self- identity.

Phillips (2005). “ Blue Jeans,
Black Leather Jackets,
and a Sneer: The Iconography of
the 1950s Biker and its
Translation Abroad”

Content analysis from popular
representations of bikers.

Symbols of the motorcycle culture.

The iconography of the biker was jeans, leather jackets and
a rebellion. Juvenile delinquents all around the world used
also these clothes to show the rebellious side. The films and
photographs that were spread were used as inspiration.

Quinn & Forsyth (2009).
“Leathers and Rolexes: The
Symbolism and Values of the
Motorcycle Club”

Ethnographic method. Contact
with outlaw clubs. Interviews
with members, associates and
law enforcement personnel.
Insights from other authors.

Symbols and values among mc-clubs.
Description of legal and illegal clubs structure,
culture and brotherhood. Distinctive attributes
of one percenter clubs.

Mc-clubs have many different symbols; patches, insignias,
colors, clothes, and their bike. They have their own values,
beliefs, and clubs persona. It is difficult to distinguish legal
and illegal clubs just by looking at them. The difference can
be seen by the criminal involvement, the rejection of
mainstream society and associations.

Quinn & Forsyth (2011). “The
Tools, Tactics, and Mentality of
Outlaw Biker Wars”

Interviews with members,
associates and law
enforcement.

Description of illegal clubs, their mentality,
structure, loyalty and solidarity.

Each club has values as friendship, loyalty, courage,
sacrifice, savagery and independence that rationalize the
tensions between clubs. Power and success is vital to retain
the reputation. The mind is always set on war and becomes
a part of their identity. Being a 1 % biker is a full time job.
The probationary members, puppet clubs and or others do
often the dirtier jobs.

<p>Quinn & Koch (2010). “The nature of criminality within one-percent motorcycle clubs”</p>	<p>Literature review, interviews and observation with bikers and law enforcement officials.</p>	<p>Description of illegal clubs in relation to law-abiding citizens. Characterization of crime. Brotherhood, structure, membership, selection of members. Law enforcement efforts.</p>	<p>Isolated from the rest of society, the clubs ethics is based on tribal solidarity, and collective thinking. The clubs support their members no matter what. They are involved in organized crime with gambling, extortion, drugs and prostitution. A wide range of crimes fit mc-clubs, but the clubs act mainly as a source of group or personal identity. The important part is that the crime and severity of crimes vary among the clubs. Laws have been created to deal with the collective biker criminality and are separated from other organized crime laws.</p>
<p>Quinn (2010). “Angels, bandidos, outlaws, and pagans: the evolution of organized crime among the big four 1% motorcycle clubs”</p>	<p>Literature review</p>	<p>Describes both legal and illegal clubs. Press on the organized crime among the big four mc-clubs. What characterizes a righteous biker. Treats the structure with different kinds of clubs, and the selection of members. Discuss about the specific symbols and what the brotherhood contains.</p>	<p>Illegal business is a central function in illegal mc-clubs. Devotion to motorcycles and friendship are central for all active club bikers, legal as illegal. Most 1% clubs avoid serious criminality and seek only to be left alone to ride and have fun with their brothers. The Big Four clubs have members deeply involved in criminal activities. The forces that make men join these groups are their intense internal dynamics. Because of their intense loyalty, these clubs are competitive which creates intergroup conflicts. The intensity of these conflicts creates a war mentality that makes them more isolated, intensifies the bonding and creates a world view and an emotional tone that encourages violence.</p>
<p>Schouten & McAlexander (1995). “Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers”</p>	<p>Ethnographic field work with Harley Davidson motorcycle owners.</p>	<p>Legal clubs in relation to outlaw clubs. The subcultures social structure, values, symbolic behavior, and its impact on identities. Expression with marketing institutions.</p>	<p>The legal clubs have their own interpretation of the culture and loose relations. The outlaw is completely committed to the lifestyle with toughness and probationary members. The clubs have similar hierarchy, but different membership criteria. Values as freedom and machismo are common.</p>

Stanfield (1992). "Heritage Design: The Harley-Davidson Motor Company"	Analyzes the popular culture as films and posters. Also companies that are marketing Harley Davidson and the role of the subculture.	A historical view of Harley Davidson and the motorcycle culture. What it symbolizes and the clothes and symbols around it.	Harley Davidson is the most famous and nostalgic motorcycle and has had a significant role in the motorcycle industry. Companies take advantage of the symbols, the subculture and the clothes of the mc-clubs when marketing the motorcycle. The Motorcycle symbolizes "otherness" for the outlaws and for the legal motorcyclists it is a sign of individualism and difference. Movies and other popular culture help create the picture of a rebellion.
Thompson (2000). "The arts of the motorcycle: Biology, Culture and Aesthetics in Technological Choice"	Literature review and content analysis.	The views on the motorcycle. What people ascribe the motorcycle and why people ride.	The motorcycle has been portrayed as dangerous and the one riding it as wild, having a death wish and being lawless. Riding a motorcycle is freedom, together with the nature you feel powerful and in motion with the motorcycle. The motorcycle becomes a part of the rider and they treat it as art; careful and with love. Motorcycling becomes similar to a risky sport, thrilling.
Thompson (2008). "Pseudo-Deviance and The "New Biker" Subculture: Hogs, Blogs, Leathers, and Lattes"	Participant observation and ethnographic interviews.	Symbolic interactions perspective to describe legal bikers and clubs. Similarities with illegal clubs. Symbols, structure and brotherhood.	The new biker culture consists of well-educated and middle class individuals with love for the bike. It also contains technomedia where people can meet. They enter the world of deviance and stigma through definition of the situation, where they conform but simultaneously deviate. They create their own subculture, with similar content as outlaw motorcycle clubs with structure, brotherhood and symbols.

Thompson (2011). "Don't Call Me "Biker Chick": Women Motorcyclists Redefining Deviant Identity"	Participant observation and ethnographic interviews with women.	Women's role in mc-clubs and in the motorcycle culture.	Women in the contemporary motorcycle culture are the fastest growing group, even if the males are dominating. Despite that, many women feel included in the brotherhood, but have to deal with the fact that they are viewed as "double deviant" both by the society and the male riders. Many women ride on the backs of their boyfriend's bikes, but more women ride themselves and have created a "sisterhood". There is a big difference between women who ride in the legal clubs where they feel empowered and independent, and the women in the hardcore culture where they can be treated badly.
Veno & Van De Eynde (2007). "Moral Panic Neutralization Project: A Media-based Intervention"	Case study using action research and media.	Moral panic. Police and government interventions and laws. Small description of illegal clubs.	Laws and interventions seem to solve the problem with folk devils, and the use of the public to create moral panic is an excuse to create these laws. This is however not completely true. With a neutralization project the ones being demonized feel less oppressed which result in less reaction. The project resulted in less fear of bikers overall, the outlaws' perceptions of the police changed and the priority of outlaws changed in the political parties.
