One Percent Motorcycle Clubs: Has the Media Constructed a Moral Panic in Kalgoorlie-Boulder, Western Australia?

Dr Kira J Harris, Charles Sturt University
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Kira Jade Harris

BA(Psych), GradCertCrimnlgy&Just, GradDipCrimnlgy&Just, MCrinJus

Faculty of Business and Law

Edith Cowan University

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USE OF THESIS

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to evaluate an instrument designed to assess the influence of the media on opinions regarding the one percent motorcycle clubs in Kalgoorlie-Boulder, establishing whether the media had incited a moral panic towards the clubs. The concept of the moral panic, developed by Stanley Cohen (1972), is the widespread fear towards a social group by events that are overrepresented and exaggerated. Exploring the concept of a moral panic towards the one percent sub-culture, this study compares the perceptions from two groups of non-members in Kalgoorlie-Boulder. One group of participants had interacted with club members \(n=13\); the other had no direct contact with club members and identified themselves as basing their opinions towards the clubs on information from the media \(n=13\). It was hypothesised that the two participant groups would differ on their opinions regarding the clubs’ autonomy, brotherhood, the righteous biker model, and the perceived image of one percent members. Participants were requested to complete the *Perception of the One Percent Motorcycle Sub-culture Questionnaire*. Quantitative data were analysed using the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test. The findings suggest little differences between the groups, indicating a moral panic towards one percent motorcycle clubs has not been identified by the instrument. Recommendations for improvement in the research design for a comprehensive study include modification to sampling techniques, Likert scales and analysis techniques. Further research is required to validate the present findings.
DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i) incorporated without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

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Chapter One: Introduction

*But it’s the nature of the 1 percent world. Motorcycle gangs like the Mongols, for all the terror and violence they inspire in law-abiding citizens, wreak their most complete devastation on their own. Prison, drug addiction, or violent death is the expected end for any man willing to wear that black-and-white patch* (Queen, 2006, p. 251).

One percent motorcycle clubs, also commonly referred to as outlaw motorcycle gangs, are reported to be violent and organised crime syndicates exported throughout the world from the United States of America, and are constantly defined by their criminality and hedonistic behaviours (Tretheway & Katz, 1998). Separated from the mainstream motorcycle community in 1947, members have become identifiable through club regalia in the form of club patches and tattoos, and intimidating appearance and style that impart a threatening presence to the public. Viewed as intimidating, unruly and unorthodox, one percent clubs are represented in the public forum as a deviant sub-cultural group that threatens the social fabric of society (Fuglsang, 2007, April). ‘Moral entrepreneurs’ benefit from this perspective by enforcing normative expectations, regulation of the moral status quo, and asserting legal controls over public behaviours (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995; Sanders & Lyon, 1995).

In 2001, there were an estimated 52 one percent motorcycle clubs across Australia, with five clubs established in Western Australia (Western Australia Police, 2001). The clubs have become synonymous with organised crime and violence, with the Fathers’ day massacre in 1984 (the infamous inter-club war between the Commancheros M.C. and the Bandidos M.C.), the murder of Perth
senior CIB chief Don Hancock and the belief that illicit drugs cannot be purchased in Western Australia without one percent club members being involved in some part of the process. The frequent reporting of one percent motorcycle clubs’ antisocial activities help to form strong links between the clubs and the community’s perceived threat to their safety and stability (Fuglsang, 2001). The dominance of criminality within the literature has negated the individuals within the sub-culture, creating an image of a motorcycle riding mafia (Tretheway & Katz, 1998). Problems that arise from the labelling of sub-cultures include the mainstream acceptance of stereotypes and myths. The social discourse between the dominant mainstream and minority sub-cultures enables authorities to demonise less powerful groups to increase their influence of power (Veno & van den Eynde, 2007). Governments and law enforcement have labelled one percent motorcycle clubs as ‘outsiders’ and relied on the public’s fear of marginalised groups to further their own causes, such as platforms for re-election or the imposing of stricter social controls ("Bikie gang crackdown", 2007, November 21; Edwards, 2007, May 3).

The cohesiveness of these clubs serves to isolate the members from the mainstream community, developing loyalty to other members and reinforcing sub-cultural values and focal concerns. However, the secrecy and silence surrounding the clubs assist in allowing the media to generate a one-sided image that is not refuted. The Hell’s Angels in the United States have used the media to defend themselves from accusations of criminality and antisocial practices; yet, Australian clubs have maintained a strong commitment of silence (Shand, 2006). Recently, Veno and van den Eynde (2007) undertook action research, in
conjunction with one percent motorcycle clubs, to increase positive publicity and reduce perceived injustices from law enforcement in the eastern states of Australia. Their study addressed public perceptions by encouraging others to consider club members beyond their indiscretions publicised in media reports and reflect on the one percent lifestyle and the by-products of engaging in a demonised sub-culture.

While Veno and van den Eynde (2007) attempt to establish a neutral public opinion towards one percent motorcycle clubs, little research has been conducted on the state of public perceptions and to determine whether the media reports have in fact led to the demonisation of clubs. In Western Australia, Blackburn (2000) reports the public perceptions reflect the opinion of one percent motorcycle clubs as a modern day mafia with clubs involved in territorial warfare, drugs and organised crime; however, the basis for this statement is unclear.

Attention given to the one percent motorcycle clubs in Western Australia has been limited to the popular press as no empirical research is available. Given the difficulties in researching an alleged organised crime organisation and the secrecy of the clubs, this pilot study will explore the impact of the media via public opinion rather than direct impact on club members. This exploratory research will implement a quantitative and qualitative instrument in a pilot study examining the sub-culture of one percent motorcycle clubs from a non-criminal perspective and ascertain whether focal concerns within the one percent milieu are understood by the public and whether the media has shaped the views of its audience.
Significance of Research

The significance of this research is to gain insight into a sub-culture that is traditionally alienated from a perspective outside law enforcement or political agendas. The study of one percent motorcycle clubs is fraught with difficulties due to the complex and secretive nature of the clubs (Barker, 2005). During the late 1970s and early 1980s academics (Hopper & Moore, 1983; McGuire, 1986; Montgomery, 1976, 1977; Watson, 1980, 1982) approached the cultural aspects of the clubs, albeit usually from an outsider’s perspective. Several popular press books were also released by those who associated with the clubs and ex-members (Barger, Zimmerman, & Zimmerman, 2001; Reynolds & McClure, 1967; Thompson, 1967; Wolf, 1991). As clubs evolved from hedonistic motorcycle clubs to organised crime syndicates, the study of one percent clubs declined. With personal risk to researchers and participants, ethical and legal considerations, and the nature of the clubs, there is little public knowledge about one percent sub-culture in the twenty-first century. Members of the one percent clubs are reluctant to share club related information with ‘outsiders’ and often view the fervent academic with disdain. In addition, those who disclose information without club approval can be violently punished.

Research into the activities and sub-culture of the one percent motorcycle clubs is difficult as clubs have a defined reputation as a criminal group that is dangerous and secretive (Barker, 2005). However, information on this sub-cultural group can be found through academic literature, court cases, law enforcement and government reports, popular literature, club websites and news reports. Through the analysis of available literature, focal concerns of the sub-
cultural group are defined for comparison with participants’ attitudes relating to one percent motorcycle club members. Many members of the community have an opinion regarding one percent motorcycle clubs, regardless of the depth of their knowledge or the establishment of their information (Haslett, 2007).

The uniqueness of the one percent sub-culture generates attention and public interest, and is of interest to law enforcement agencies and sociologists. This research is considered quite timely given the close media coverage of ex-Sergeant of Arms Troy Mercanti’s expulsion in ‘bad standing’ from the Coffin Cheaters M.C. In the closing months of this thesis, the Coffin Cheaters M.C. and the Finks M.C. were reportedly in conflict in Perth, Western Australia ("WA Police Minister", 2008, October 13). The attempts by the Finks to establish themselves in Western Australia and their recruitment of the defunct Mercanti has sparked violence with the shooting of a Finks member in Wooroloo (Guest, 2008, October 14; Towie, 2008, October 13). Media reports have anticipated the State’s one percent motorcycle clubs scene to become hostile and violent, citing a ‘bikie war’.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this exploratory pilot study is to design an instrument to assess the attitudes of two participant groups towards the one percent motorcycle focal concerns and public image. The two groups, obtained in Kalgoorlie-Boulder, Western Australia, are separated through the basis of their knowledge of clubs: those who have personal experience with one percent motorcycle club members and those who note the media as their main source of information. Kalgoorlie-Boulder was chosen for the location of the study by the researcher due to the local
knowledge of the city and the comparatively small population that is home to two clubs, with chapters formalised by the Gypsy Jokers M.C. and the Club Deroes M.C. The researcher lived in Kalgoorlie-Boulder for 17 years and developed a network of connections to assist with the research. Having worked in the saloon environment, the researcher developed knowledge of those associated with one percent motorcycle clubs and businesses which are frequented by members. These connections also indicated that several members from clubs who had not established chapters (those mentioned included the Finks M.C. and Mongrel Mob M.C.) were also residing in Kalgoorlie-Boulder.

It is hoped that this study will provide a starting point for further research into one percent motorcycle clubs in Western Australia and the impact of media reporting on marginalised groups. Research in to media treatment of marginal groups can be beneficial in highlighting the myths and stereotypes that are projected incorrectly and to establish if any detrimental outcomes are a result of such coverage. Although this is an exploratory pilot study, it is hoped that deficiencies in public understanding of one percent motorcycle club sub-cultural focal concerns will be highlighted.

*Definition of Terms*

These clubs and members are defined in the mass media by a variety of terms including biker or bikie gangs, motorcycle gangs, outlaw motorcycle gangs, and individually, bikers or bikies (Haslett, 2007). For the purpose of this research, the sub-culture will be referred to as *one percent motorcycle clubs* rather than media and law enforcement endorsed term, outlaw motorcycle gangs, for several reasons. Firstly, the term outlaw, whilst often used to differentiate between
mainstream and one percent motorcycle clubs, is also the name of an international ‘big four’ motorcycle club that is frequently associated with criminality, the Outlaws Motorcycle Club. Secondly, the motorcycle clubs are not representative of the sociological definitions of a gang as one percent motorcycle clubs have a formally organised structure rather than the informal gang networks (Montgomery, 1976). Furthermore, gangs do not have formal names, weekly meetings, club houses, dues, elections and officers or formal constitutions. Additionally, this is the term that is preferred by those involved in the sub-culture, insisting the term gang is used by law enforcement to incite negative connotations by the public (Veno, 2003). As to prevent confusion and limit reader bias, these terms will have limited use in this paper. Furthermore, individuals within the clubs will not be referred to as bikies or bikers within this thesis, but rather they will be addressed as one percent motorcycle club members, or just ‘members’.

Included within the scope of one percent motorcycle clubs is the Hell’s Angels M.C. While they were one of the founding clubs in the adoption of the one percent patch, the Hell’s Angels revoked their membership to this label after concerns that other clubs viewed the badge as a symbol of equality between clubs. Despite this, the Hell’s Angels are still considered a one percent motorcycle club in the context of this thesis given their consistencies with the sub-culture and lifestyle choices.

Sub-cultures are the sub-sets, or the smaller and more localised social group within larger cultural networks (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts, 1976). The sub-culture possess “a system of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and lifestyle” that opposes the dominant culture in which it exists (Abercrombie, Hill,
& Turner, 2000). The sub-culture differs in terms of its values and activities, but still retains some commonalities with the dominant culture. The inclusion of the one percent motorcycle clubs within the definition of sub-cultures is guided by their coherent dress, attitudes and their defiance to the mainstream community (Veno, 2003). In addition, membership rituals, symbolism, language and lifestyle traits can be strongly identified within the one percent sub-cultural context (Haslett, 2007).

The media response towards some forms of social deviance has been regarded as instigating a moral panic, a term defined by Cohen (1972) as episodes of widespread fear and anxiety triggered by events that are overrepresented and exaggerated by ‘moral entrepreneurs’. In these instances, a social group is often targeted by the media as a ‘folk devil’ or the creator of the alleged social damage (Haslett, 2007).

Focal concerns, as expressed by Miller (1958), represent a value system that dominates the beliefs, values and lives of a sub-culture that deviates from traditional middle class society. Miller’s (1958) theory was derived from analysis of lower class values and way of life, and is a product of the differences between the lower class community and middle class society. These differences stem from a need to attain different lifestyle values and goals that suit the needs of the individuals’ social environment. Researchers (Miller, 1958; Watson, 1980) argue that certain focal concerns are expressed in an exaggerated manner in certain sub-cultural groups, such as youth gangs and one percent motorcycle clubs. These exaggerations of focal concerns come into conflict with the ‘norms’ of mainstream society and can lead to the classification of behaviours and attitudes
as deviant or criminal. The focal concerns highlighted by Miller (1958) and Watson (1980) are discussed in relation to one percent motorcycle clubs include: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate, autonomy, status and belonging. Whilst the endorsing of the aforementioned focal concerns is not a precursor to criminality, the exaggerated expressions can lead to conflict with social ‘norms’ and their representative institutions.

Organisation of Thesis

The information contained within the present thesis will be categorised into chapters. The layout will be as follows;

Literature review. This chapter will provide an introduction into deviant sub-cultures and the impact of the media representation in instigating a moral panic. The chapter will then focus on one percent motorcycle clubs as the target deviant sub-culture for this thesis. The one percent sub-culture will be examined in terms of the clubs themselves before narrowing the focus of one percent motorcycle club presence in Australia and Western Australia. After exploring the incidence of clubs within Western Australia, the review will examine the literature on sub-cultural focal concerns. Beginning with the conceptual framework established by Miller (1958), the one percent sub-culture will be analysed through the following themes: trouble, toughness, excitement, smartness, fate, autonomy, power and status, and belonging. The summation of the focal concerns, and their input into the ‘righteous’ biker model, leads to the research questions exploring public knowledge of one percent motorcycle clubs’ sub-cultural values and whether the media has shaped public opinion.
The literature presented in the following review has been found in academic books and memoirs, media databases and journal databases. Through Edith Cowan University, relevant journal articles have been found through online databases, metaquest and the importation of sources via Virtual Document eXchange. Search terms used to identify relevant sources included the following; ‘one percent motorcycle clubs’, ‘outlaw motorcycle clubs’, ‘outlaw motorcycle gangs’, ‘motorcycle gangs’, ‘organised crime and motorcycles’, ‘moral panic’, ‘media and crime’, ‘criminal sub-cultures’ and ‘deviant sub-cultures’.

**Methodology.** The methodology section of this thesis provides a precise overview of the approach to the research. Firstly, the research design will be discussed in terms of appropriateness of analytical techniques and sample definitions, such as control and intervention groups and the decision to utilise a sample within Kalgoorlie-Boulder, Western Australia. Under *participants* will be a description of the socio-demographic features of participants, how the two participant groups were allocated and recruited and any ethical considerations. The materials used in the research comprised of the participant information letter and the Perceptions of the One Percent Motorcycle Sub-culture Questionnaire. The style and content of the questionnaire will be addressed with supporting literature in Appendix A. Finally, under the methodology is the procedure which will include the process undertaken in the collection of data.

**Results.** The results of the pilot study will be analysed according to proposed hypotheses and assessed focal concerns using the nonparametric Mann-Witney U Test to determine statistical differences between participants groups.
Descriptive statistics are also included to increase the strength of the findings based on a small sample size.

Discussion. The discussion section will interpret the results of the study within the existing literature and the acceptance or rejection of the proposed hypotheses. Additionally, the limitations to this research and the implications of the pilot study towards further study will be discussed. This will include evaluation of the research instrument and design, and recommendations for the continuation into a comprehensive study.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

One percent motorcycle clubs are often avoided as topics of academic research due to the difficulties associated with obtaining information on the isolated and criminal social group (Barker, 2005). Yet, the study of one percent motorcycle clubs is of sociological and criminological significance, with likely practical implications for law enforcement and investigations of organised crime networks (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005; Corruption and Crime Commission of Western Australia, 2005; Grascia, 2004; McDermott, 2006; McNally & Alston, 2006; Queen, 2006; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Smith, 2002; Tretheway & Katz, 1998; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002, September). Other relevant fields are sociological studies of religious sects with shared similarities in outlook and commitment to the clubs (Watson, 1982), and the motivation, for membership of different groups, based on status frustration and exaggerated lower class focal concerns (Danner & Silverman, 1986; Montgomery, 1976, 1977; Quinn, 1987; Watson, 1980).

The aim of this research is to extend the understanding of the one percent motorcycle club sub-culture by exploring opinions, regarding the social image and sub-cultural characteristics of these clubs, held by those who interact with club members in comparison to those whose only opinion is based on information collected from secondary sources, specifically the media. This research also explores whether the media has an impact in shaping opinions of the sub-cultural group.

This literature review is structured as follows; firstly, the chapter will examine deviant sub-cultures and the influence of the media on creating a ‘moral
panic’ and on social controls. An in-depth overview of the history and development of the selected deviant sub-culture, one percent motorcycle clubs, within an international, national and state context follows. The literature review then extends into the focal concerns prominent within the sub-culture before establishing the need for research on this isolated social group within a Western Australian community framework. Finally, the chapter concludes with the aims of this research: to explore the opinions towards one percent motorcycle clubs in terms of their focal concerns and image, and explore the influence of the media in shaping opinions.

*Deviant Subcultures and ‘Moral Panic’*

You call a group ‘barbarians’ if you want to be brutal to them. You call people ‘criminals’ if you want to suspend normal laws of decency and behave toward them in what would otherwise be considered a criminal way. You call a group ‘insane’ if you want to suspend the rules of rationality and reason in managing them (Gerbner, 1978, p. 49).

Deviant behaviours are those considered undesirable from the normative perspective and are judged on the basis of wrong or right (Horwitz, 1990; Roach Anleu, 2000). The behaviours considered deviant are relativistic, thus varying from time and place, and are also subjective – based on what the society deems as normative (Goode, 1978; Roach Anleu, 2000). Norm-violating behaviours are negatively perceived and labelled as acts of deviance wherein the audience calls for punishment or negative sanctions upon their detection, treatment as an illness beyond the control of the individual, or as misdemeanours which can be forgiven with a simple apology or remuneration (Goode, 1978; Horwitz, 1990).
Becker (1963) proposes that it is not the “quality of the act the person commits, but rather the consequences of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender”, that is, the norm-violating behaviour has been classified as deviant only when the label of deviancy has successfully been applied to the offender. Labelling theorists classify the act of deviance as primary or secondary. Primary deviation incorporates the initial act of norm-violation which is not formally recognised as deviance, whilst the secondary deviation occurs after negative sanctioning and successful application of the deviant label has been applied (Lemert, 1967). Consequently, the labelling effect of deviance can alter the self image of an individual and engage the self-fulfilling prophesy of adhering to their stereotype and amplification of deviance (Roach Anleu, 2000). Similarly, the criminological theory of deviance amplification, or the labelling theory, implies that the more a criminal stigma is attached to someone, the more likely that individual will offend again. As noted by Thompson (1967) some members of the Hell’s Angels’ club strive to live up to their reputation.

Cultural Identity

Deviant and criminal sub-cultural groups often organise and instigate particular acts considered by mainstream as norm-violating and adopt a symbolic style in opposition to the dominant cultural ideal (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995; Miller, 1995). The symbols and artefacts are used for the presentation of self in terms of mood, attitude and identity, group membership and cultural relationships (Miller, 1995). Ferrell (1995) defines the concept of sub-cultural style as the “personal and group identity, grounded in the everyday practices of social life” (p.169), including fashion, haircuts, posture, automobiles, music, language and other
characteristics displayed publicly. Style provides a method for the negotiation of status, identity and community within a larger cultural group (Ferrell, 1995).

When a group of individuals adopts a particular style, they engage in collective behaviour in which their style initiates social categorisation (Ferrell, 1995). When individuals within a group share a particular style it provides a message of membership and belonging, and can communicate either threat or security to others (Ferrell, 1995; Ferrell & Sanders, 1995). The significance of style is the impact it has on interactions. When the individual’s style elicits a response from others, the individual responds to their reactions, creating an interactive dynamic that reinforces and reconstructs the meanings of style for both the individual and the community (Ferrell, 1995). These characteristics are shared among groups and between people, developing meaning and cultural significance through collective behaviours (Ferrell, 1995).

Deviant sub-cultures encompass a complex network of symbols, meaning, knowledge and associations that are established and reinforced within the group (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995). Through interactions, members learn and reinforce motives, rationalisations and attitudes; and develop a system of language, appearance, and behaviours that form a collective way of life, thereby creating a sub-culture (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995). Intensive participation in a sub-culture allows the individual to identify, to oneself and to others, the qualities and personal attributes that enable membership, belonging, acceptance and the sense of importance.
Attempts to quash the deviant groups and their selected style by denying their symbolism can often work against political authorities by amplifying the importance of membership symbols, the commitment to them and their widespread stylistic power (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995). Moreover, the denunciation of sub-cultural groups can enhance the uniqueness of the members and romanticise mainstream resistance. Conversely, to detract from romanticising deviance, emphasis is placed on the hardships that deviants encounter as a consequence of their actions, for example, the loss of status or possessions, death or arrest; and the portrayal of present deviant sub-cultures as a product of mental inadequacy, moral deficiencies, sickness and weakness (Sanders & Lyon, 1995). Deviance elicits social controls that attempt to define, respond to, and control deviant behaviours (Horwitz, 1990). The negative portrayal of these sub-cultures can amplify the level of deviance by further isolation and labelling. The media significantly influences public perception of criminal behaviour and social problems, and is often guided by the agendas of the powerful bureaucratic structures (Sanders & Lyon, 1995). Their censorship determines the form and content of message outputs to portray values and normative expectations; thus, those in authority shape the mainstream notions of social, economic and cultural interests (Sanders & Lyon, 1995).

Cohen (1972) introduced the concept of ‘moral panic’ to describe the public’s reaction to the mods and rockers in Britain during the 1960s. Cohen (1972) defines moral panic as an event or groups of people who become defined through the media as a threat to societal values. Thus, when a social group is labelled as deviant, hostility is directed towards them by an over-arching
consensus of society and they are punished disproportionately (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Moral panic can change the way society perceives its current status and can have long lasting repercussions by changes to legal and social policies.

Incorporated within Cohen’s (1972) work regarding the moral panic surrounding the mods and rockers is an outline of the media’s inventory. When attempting to arouse moral indignation from the target audience three stages to the reporting of the events are incorporated – exaggeration and distortion; prediction; and symbolisation. Firstly, exaggeration and distortion can be applied to the seriousness of an event; the numbers involved in that event or associated violence, and their damage or effects. Secondly, the prediction element encompasses the implicit assumption that the reported event will inevitably reoccur. In some cases where the prediction is inaccurate, non-events will be reported, consistently reminding the audience of the threat. Consequences of both the prediction and the misreporting of events can initiate a self-fulfilling prophecy by members of the targeted group.

The third aspect in the inventory is symbolisation; the mass communication of stereotypes and the symbolic power of words and images influence the audience into attaching emotions to words and objects. The symbolism involves the three processes which will be explained using the example of one percent motorcycle clubs; firstly a word (for example, biker) becomes attached to a status (deviant or criminal). Secondly, objects (Harley-Davidson motorcycles and colours) become symbols of the word (biker). Finally, the objects become symbolic and emotions are attributed to them (Cohen, 1972),
thus Harley-Davidsons and club colours become associated with deviency and criminality, and emotionally arouse the public.

The media’s inventory influences societal perceptions so that the deviation fuels further stereotyping, myth making and labelling (Cohen, 1972). Consequently, public indignation is aroused by both the belief that a particular form of deviation was certain to reoccur and the negative symbolisation of the targeted social group and their associated objects. These elements combine to allow the demonology and alienation of the social group in focus (Cohen, 1972).

Those who are not representative of the mainstream ideal are categorised by political authorities as deviant and/or criminal and are demonised for the purposes of enforcing the moral status quo, and expanding power and social control (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995; Fuglsang, 2001; Horwitz, 1990). The moral indignation aroused from the widespread mediated displays of deviance provides the audience with a belief that the social environment is more dangerous than it realistically is. This can be achieved through the process of the ‘signification spiral’ which promotes an issue that is perceived to be escalating. This process is defined by the CCCS Mugging Group (1976, p. 77) and refers to the reception of increased mugging in Britain; (a) the intensification of a specific issue, (b) the identification of a ‘subversive minority’, (c) ‘convergence’ or the linking by labelling of the specific issue to other problems, (d) the notion of ‘thresholds’ which, once crossed, can lead to further escalation of the problem’s ‘menace’ to society, (e) the element of explaining and prophesying which often involves analogous references to the United States – the paradigm example, and (f) the call for firm steps. Thus, the manipulation of the perceived risk environment allows
increased social controls, as citizens are more likely to sacrifice civil freedoms for the perceived safety offered by authorities (Sanders & Lyon, 1995). The criminalisation of sub-cultures enables authority groups to launch political campaigns and assert legal statutes and enforcement procedures to reinforce moral standards upon the rest of the community (Sanders & Lyon, 1995). These criminalisation campaigns encompass not only media saturation of desired behaviours and the critical responses towards norm-violating behaviours, but also include the anticipated moral panic instigated by the portrayal of sub-cultures that threaten legal or moral control (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995).

The role of the media in displaying deviant sub-cultures and behaviours is also essential in promoting political platforms and influencing social controls by allowing ‘moral entrepreneurs’ to gain a consensus for their own views and eliminate alternative judgements (Homan, 2007; Sanders & Lyon, 1995). Thus, deviant sub-cultures are used by authority groups to implement a campaign amplifying the strong cultural symbols that guide “normal” behaviour and enforce the moral status quo (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995). In addition, the constructed stereotypes legitimise the increases in funding, personnel and other resources by political authorities attempting to implement social controls (Sanders & Lyon, 1995).

*One Percent Motorcycle Clubs*

Social groups who experience adverse treatment by moral entrepreneurs are exposed to increased law enforcement pressure and political attention (Cohen, 1972). Groups receiving such attention include the one percent motorcycle clubs
One percent motorcycle clubs form a sub-culture that has been defined by constant turf battles, conflict with police and criminality (Barker, 2005; Marr, 1995; Negus, 2003; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Western Australia Police, 2001). They are organised internationally, with chapters in Europe, North and South America, Africa, New Zealand and Australia. Law enforcement insists the clubs, both locally and abroad, are significant players in organised crime, to the point of rivalling and collaborating with traditional organised crime syndicates (Barker, 2004; Quinn, 2001; Smith, 2002; Tretheway & Katz, 1998). Since the conception of one percent motorcycle clubs in 1947, members have been associated with murder, prostitution, weapon and drug proliferation (mainly methamphetamine and cannabis), gambling rackets, trafficking of counterfeit goods, armed robbery, serious fraud, money laundering, extortion and internecine violence (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005; Clawson, 1983, March 30; Criminal Intelligence Service Canada, 2004; Quinn, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002, September).

In terms of social deviance, motorcycle clubs can be classified along the spectrum of conventional and deviant (Barker, 2005). Those who belong to conventional clubs are primarily focused on motorcycles and riding, whilst behaving in accordance with social norms. Deviant clubs represent the norm-violating clubs, with a focus on criminal and antisocial activities. These clubs provide opportunities for individuals to oppose mainstream establishments that are perceived to be suppressing their individuality. Their self-images as ‘social pariahs’, ‘modern outlaws' and ‘frontier heroes’ are reinforced through the interactions of club members. The cohesiveness of the group ensures mutual
support and reinforcement for the antisocial behaviours and the mentality that sets one percent motorcycle clubs apart from mainstream society as an identifiable group (Wolf, 1991).

Quinn and Koch (2003) argue that clubs, chapters and individual members can also be measured on a continuum of ‘conservatives’ to ‘radicals’ (Quinn, 2001). The conservatives are represented by those who regard their membership as almost recreational and have little desire for economic innovation, whilst the radicals have a prime focus on criminal enterprises. Although crimes are committed by both conservative and radical members, those who appear at the conservative side of the scale are more likely to commit spontaneous acts of crime than radicals who are associated with sophisticated and organised crime syndicates. Most clubs are considered conservative, while the big four (as discussed later in the chapter) are considered the pinnacle of radicalism in the motorcycle sub-culture; however, even in the big four, the continuum from conservative to radical still exists but is skewed (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

History

The one percent clubs represent the motorcycle groups who were segregated from mainstream riding groups in 1947 and adopted the one percent tag. The Fourth of July weekend celebrations saw the American Motorcyclist Association (AMA) approved Gypsy Tour Motorcycle Rally held at Hollister, California. During the weekend it is reported within the media that the motorcyclists ‘took over the town’ and caused public mayhem (“Town in Uproar”, 1947, July 7). At the height of the riot, motorcyclists rode their bikes into
restaurants and pubs and performed indecent exposure acts publicly (Wolf, 1991). The insufficient number of police caused the local citizenry to perform vigilante acts, thereby forcing bikers to coalesce as a mob. Thirty-eight arrests were made, out of a group of three to four thousand bikers in which the majority of arrests were for intoxication, reckless driving and disturbing the peace (Wolf, 1991; Yates, 2007). While this would indicate only a small number of arrests were made, the low number of police officer’s would limit the number of arrests possible. However, a number of sources (Dorrance, 2007; Drewery, 2003; Wolf, 1991; Wood, 2003) claim the media reports sensationalised the event to appear as if the town was destroyed by a new breed of monsters, with images printed in Life magazine (1947, July 21) and the New York Times (1947, July 7) which came to define America’s perception of the riders.

The image printed in Life magazine, by photographer Barney Peterson, showing a drunken motorcyclist on a Harley-Davidson motorcycle and surrounded by beer bottles was used by the Associated Press and disseminated across the world (Drewery, 2003). This article relied heavily on the imagery associated with the photograph and the caption “Cyclists holiday: He and friends terrorise town” (Dorrance, 2007; Dulaney, 2005; Yates, 2007). A second image that remained unpublished included a rearrangement of the beer bottles and the display of club insignia which suggests that the photos had been staged. This was later admitted by the photographer who took the famous photos (Dorrance, 2007). Irrespectively, this image borne from media coverage of the ‘bad ass’ biker still remains a staple in the modern day stereotypes of one percent motorcycle club members (Fuglsang, 2001, 2002; Yates, 2007).
In following with Cohen’s (1972) media inventory, the example of such exaggeration can be found in the accounts of the 1947 Hollister incident in which the number of bikers and those involved have been embellished. It was reported that 4,000 motorcyclists roared into town creating havoc, yet the number of arrests during the weekend indicate only a minority of motorcyclists were involved in the mayhem. The continual reporting of motorcycle club activities made the connection stronger between one percent motorcycle clubs and the threat to stability and safety (Fuglsang, 2001). Further reports were made about the club runs, with expectation that trouble would occur when the clubs came to town (Reynolds & McClure, 1967). In addition, photos of club members, riding or partying while wearing club colours and their identifiably unique personal images, in combination with the ‘less than human’ descriptions, made the clubs an easily identifiable threat to community safety and values (Fuglsang, 2001).

The media’s overzealous response to the Hollister event and reported disturbances at Riverside in 1948 led to the AMA releasing a statement insisting that 99 percent of motorcyclists are ‘good, decent, law abiding citizens’ and only ‘one percent’ of motorcyclists were outlaws and did not integrate well into social settings excluding their club and saloon society milieu, and thus were responsible for the negative events at Hollister and Riverside (Drewery, 2003; Dulaney, 2005; Haut, 1998; Quinn, 2001). Whilst many motorcycling groups were trying to distance themselves from the hype surrounding Hollister, the groups that became stigmatised enjoyed their new found image (Dulaney, 2005). During the 1960s, after political and social stigmata, the Hell’s Angels, Satan’s Slaves, Gypsy Jokers and a number of other small clubs proudly adopted the one percent tag and
designed the diamond-shaped ‘1%’ as a badge of honour and to unify all the clubs (Barger et al., 2001; Dulaney, 2007). This tag was adopted by riders as a symbol of non-conformity and distinction, formally creating a sub-culture within the motorcycle society.

Further notoriety was given to the one percent motorcycle clubs with the release of the Hollywood films *The Wild One*, starring Marlon Brando and Lee Marvin in 1953, *Hell’s Angels on Wheels* (1967), *Easy Rider* (1969), *Angels Die Hard* (1970), *Wild Angels* (1966) and *Hell’s Angels 69* (1969), wherein the characters were named after the members or the Hell’s Angels Oakland chapter (Haut, 1998). *The Wild One* (1953) was based on short story that had been based loosely on the Hollister incident and presented the violent personalities as misguided but good hearted characters (Drewery, 2003; Haut, 1998; Wood, 2003; Yates, 2007). The film provided members with a romanticised image of themselves, despite most members identifying with the ‘bad guy’ more often than not (Barger et al., 2001; Thompson, 1967). It fostered the self image of bikers as the modern day Robin Hoods; brave and robust, inarticulate men with misunderstood intentions who try to find retribution for the cruelty towards them when they were young and defenceless (Lyng & Bracey, 1995; Thompson, 1967).

The organisational and goal orientation of the one percent motorcycle clubs has evolved over the decades developing from ‘discordant hedonists’ to sophisticated organised crime networks (Marr, 1995). As described by Barger et al. (2001), in the 1950s one percent motorcycle clubs were a social group who loved to party and ride. The 1960s saw the clubs gain notoriety through movies, literature and media reporting. It was during this stage that the number of one
percent clubs expanded and the Hell’s Angels became a household name following their involvement in high profile crimes, such as the alleged rape of two adolescent girls in Monterey, the attack on the anti-Vietnam protestors at Berkley and the death of Meredith Hunter at the 1969 Rolling Stones concert in Altamont (Barger et al., 2001; Wood, 2003). The 1970s launched the one percent motorcycle clubs into the drug scene with a ‘gangster’ image. It was during this stage that Barger et al. (2001) reports the Hell’s Angels, and other clubs, began to feel isolated and loathed. This drug and criminal image continued into the 1980s, with significant expansion and sophistication in many clubs, and to the present day with law enforcement agencies dedicating resources towards disrupting and dismantling one percent motorcycle club criminal activity (Australian Crime Commission, 2007; Barger et al., 2001; Haut, 1998).

The Clubs

Most one percent motorcycle clubs have a consistent model of organisation with a regional hierarchy of national, regional or state, and local tiers, each tier has a set of officers which are normally elected annually (Quinn & Koch, 2003; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002, September). A pilot study conducted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2002) into 40 organised crime groups in 16 nations had Australian and Canadian criminal institutes provide information regarding the structure of one percent motorcycle clubs. The study identified that the clubs operate under a single leadership structure, in which the line of command comes from the centre. Regional authorities are given a degree of autonomy, but can be overruled by decisions made at the national level. The national office is responsible for the
status of the club, controlling the admission of other groups and has exclusive power to grant charters to prospective clubs (Hopper & Moore, 1983; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The regional officers are responsible for maintaining the club’s membership numbers and geographical distribution to balance club demands.

The President has absolute power over day-to-day chapter operations and is responsible for following orders from the national leadership. The Vice-President fully supports the President’s decisions and takes authority in his absence. The Secretary attends to financial and organisational tasks of the chapter, as well as recording the minutes of club meetings and making any necessary drafts or changes of club by-laws. The Treasurer has the role of ensuring the chapter is financially viable and that there are sufficient funds to pay for members’ bond releases. The Sergeant-at-arms is responsible for maintaining the discipline within the chapter and at group events. In some clubs, the Sergeant-at-arms is responsible for obtaining the weapons during times of warfare. Road Captains have the responsibility of organising runs for the chapter (Dulaney, 2007; Grascia, 2004; Hill, 1980; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Scaramella, Brenzinger, & Miller, 1997; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002, September).

The profile of a one percent motorcycle member has been created by researchers (Hopper & Moore, 1983) and for law enforcement purposes (Marr, 1995). The research suggests clubs consists of working class males aged between 21 and 45 years of age and are typically racially segregated (Hopper & Moore, 1983; Marr, 1995). In the United States, clubs exist for white, black, Spanish-speaking and Mexican members, but typically a club is committed to one line of ethnicity, although currently the desire for ethnic consistency within clubs and
relationships is wavering with the desire to find new financial channels. New South Wales police officer Paul Marr specialises in one percent motorcycle clubs and reports one percent members tend to be employed in the motor trade or affiliated industries, security industries, tattoo parlours, escort agencies, transportation industries or commercial enterprises (Marr, 1995). Additionally, a significant proportion of members are on some form of social security benefit, with few holding professional occupations. Moreover, members must have a love for the Harley-Davidson and appear to uphold an image of intimidating, unruly and unorthodox behaviours (Marr, 1995).

The identification of outlaws from the mainstream motorcyclists was predominantly determined by the ‘colours’ worn by members. Montgomery (1976) describes colours as dirty denim jackets with sleeves removed with the club crest on the back and the 1% diamond-shaped patch. Other features include nicknames, rank, and patch designating sexual or deviant exploits, for example; “red wings” for cunnilingus with a menstruating woman, and “brown wings” for sexual intercourse with an African American (Barger et al., 2001; Montgomery, 1976; Reynolds & McClure, 1967; Thompson, 1967). Without disputing the significance of club colours to members, the occurrence of display club colours in public has diminished as clubs recognised the patches invite unwanted attention from law enforcement and resentful citizens (Montgomery, 1976).

One percents have also been identified through their distinguishable motorcycles, usually a “chopper”: a modified Harley-Davidson motorcycle (Fuglsang, 2002; Reynolds & McClure, 1967). The Harley-Davidson motorcycle
has a god-like status within the sub-culture, with members having emotional relatedness to the inanimate object.

“...you know how one feels when he goes to see a friend he loves on his death bed in a hospital. That was the way I felt when I went into the garage which had towed my bike from the scene of the accident” (Reynolds & McClure, 1967, p. 92).

Relying on the motorcycle as a tool for identification has become unreliable as the code of Harley-Davidsons as a rite of passage has been relaxed with the introduction of Japanese bikes in to the sub-culture motorcycle riders. Additionally, motorcyclists who remain on the fringes of mainstream, whilst not entering the one percent sub-culture, have also embraced choppers creating difficulties in distinguishing between mainstream riders and one percent motorcyclists (Montgomery, 1976).

In the United States, the law enforcement and academic literature had identified an elite group of motorcycle clubs that dominate the sub-culture (Barker, 2005; Grascia, 2004; Haut, 1998; Quinn, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003). Often referred to as the ‘big four’, this group includes the Hell’s Angels M.C., Bandidos M.C., the Outlaws M.C., and the Pagans M.C. Each of the ‘big four’ clubs has its own unique identity which is maintained by member selection and chosen activities; yet, they all share an ideology of exaggerated lower class values and reckless bravado and demand a sect-like devotion to their club (Watson, 1982). These clubs have also been recognised as primary players in organised
crime; drug trafficking and manufacturing, high level violence and inter-club warfare (Haut, 1998).

*The Hell’s Angels M.C.*

The Hell’s Angels’ first chapter was founded in San Bernardino by a splinter group from the *Pissed Off Bastards of Bloomington* in 1948; yet, it was the Oakland chapter who forged the unison of all Hell’s Angels’ clubs, becoming the national chapter (Barger et al., 2001; Dulaney, 2005; Quinn & Koch, 2003). It has become one of the wealthiest and most internationally prominent of motorcycle clubs, with estimates of 2000 members in 20 countries and expanding. The Hell’s Angels are also considered to be one of the most powerful and well-structured criminal enterprises (Barker, 2004, 2005; Tretheway & Katz, 1998). The great expansion of the Hell’s Angels since the Californian amalgamation has seen the majority of chapters located internationally. Between 2000 and 2005 the numbers of chapters internationally had more than doubled to 218, with 62 and 35 chapters in the United States and Canada, respectively (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005). The United States law enforcement operation CACUS in the 1980s discovered millions of dollars worth of narcotics, explosives, dynamite, Composite 4 explosives and Trinitrotoluene (TNT) (Grascia, 2004).

The Hell’s Angels have developed a reputation built on elitism and extremism through the use of strict membership, strong demands on members, paramilitary styled authority and the elite subgroup known as the ‘Filthy Few’ (Quinn & Koch, 2003). Law enforcement organisations have claimed a member who wears the patch of the ‘filthy few’ is an elite hit man who has killed for the
club. Ex-Hell’s Angels’ President Sonny Barger denies this report, stating the title is more related to the way the person parties than killing (Barger et al., 2001).

The Hell’s Angels have courted media attention over the decades with actively participating in the making of certain motorcycle club movies (for example; *Hell’s Angels on Wheels* and *Hell’s Angels ’69*) and allowing journalist/author Hunter Thompson to associate with the club (Dulaney, 2005, 2007; Hopper & Moore, 1983, 2007). The encouragement of media attention on the Hell’s Angels allowed the club to capitalise on its image and turn the Hell’s Angels’ brand into a commodity, creating a corporation and selling 500 shares in 1966 and copyrighting their insignia in 1972 (Wood, 2003). Partially responsible for this development is Sonny ‘Ralph’ Barger, ex-President of the Hell’s Angels’ Oakland chapter and one of the most infamous names in the one percent milieu, described by Thompson (1967) as a ‘fanatic, philosopher and final arbitrator’.

Barger has been responsible for developing a sub-culture for the Hell’s Angels which has led to their organisational growth and has been emulated by other clubs around the world (Drewery, 2003).

*The Bandidos M.C.*

Barker (2004; , 2005) reports the Bandidos were formed in Houston, Texas by Donald Chambers in the late 1960s, allegedly for the purposes of drug trafficking and prostitution. The Bandidos reached international status when ex-members of the Comanchero M.C. formed and charted the Bandidos M.C. Australia in the early 1980’s (Simpson & Harvey, 2001). The second largest club, the Bandidos experienced significant expansion between 1999 and 2000, wherein
the number of clubs more than tripled (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005). By 2005 the Bandidos had 152 chapters, with 85 chapters based in North America including the national chapter based in Corpus Christi, Texas. The Bandidos also have a nomad chapter which acts as a security element of the club, providing internal discipline and counter-intelligence functions (Barker, 2004, 2005).

*The Outlaws M.C.*

The Outlaws established themselves in 1935 as the McCook Outlaws M.C., before changing to the Chicago Outlaws M.C. in the 1950’s. In 1963 the Outlaws formally established themselves as a one percent motorcycle club (Barker, 2004). The Outlaws have 134 chapters worldwide, with 75 based in the United States and Canada. The national chapter moved to Detroit in 1984 from Chicago, with Chicago still maintaining regional power of the Midwestern chapters (Quinn & Koch, 2003). Like the Bandidos, the Outlaws also experienced a growth in chapter numbers between 1999 and 2002 (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005).

Bandidos and the Outlaws are ‘sister clubs’ who forged a bond through a shared hatred for the Hell’s Angels and have considered merging in the past (Barker, 2004, 2005; Quinn, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The desire to end the Hell’s Angels’ hegemony within North-western Europe saw both sides arm themselves with military ordinance and automatic weapons, and in many ways, the Hell’s Angels-Bandidos-Outlaws dispute in likened to the mafia with assignations and extortion (Queen, 2006; Quinn, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003).
The Pagans M.C.

The Pagans were formed in Maryland in 1959 and by 1965 they had evolved into a strong one percent club with ties to traditional organised crime syndicates, such as the mafia (Barker, 2005). The Pagans have isolated themselves, with little involvement with other one percent clubs and intense adversarial relations with the Hell’s Angels. The Pagans have established a reputation on their calculating coldness, and providing hit men and enforcement services for other organised crime syndicates (Barker, 2005; Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The nomadic club is guided by a council of former national officers but has no permanent base for the national chapter or formal club houses, with the headquarters moving along the eastern states and the club (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

The Bureau of Justice Assistance (2005) reports the Pagans are the only big four club to maintain only a national base with 41 chapters situated in the United States. Membership numbers within the Pagans has been heavily affected since the 1970s by law enforcement efforts, competition by other clubs and internal discord (Barker, 2005; Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005). Whilst the Pagans are considered one of the big four clubs, the low membership numbers and the increases in members and influence by the Sons of Silence M.C. may see the Pagans decline in significance.

The unification of the one percent tag was short lived as the Hell’s Angels relinquished their one percent patch and separated themselves from other one percent clubs when other clubs wanted to be treated as equals and share in a
brotherhood (Barger et al., 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The Hell’s Angels reportedly have an attitude of superiority within the one percent milieu and regard all other clubs with disdain, resulting in frequent inter-club rivalries (Barger et al., 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The rivalries between the motorcycle clubs have expanded into full scale warfare, with reports of the inter-club war between Bandidos and Hell’s Angels peaking between 1994-1997 with the use of guns, explosives and anti-tank missiles to attack each other (Grascia, 2004). The Hell’s Angels-Bandidos-Outlaw disputes have been likened to the mafia with acts of assassinations and extortion (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

The ‘One Percenters’ in Australia

Australia was first introduced to one percent motorcycle clubs with the formation of the Sydney-based Comancheros M.C. in 1966 (“Comancheros M.C. Australia”, n.d.), and since their induction Australian one percent motorcycle clubs have been heavily influenced by the American sub-cultural norms (Blackburn, 2000). During the 1980s the Comancheros split into two chapters with members disaffected by the paramilitary style of leadership by their ‘supreme leader’ William George “Jock” Ross. Club member, Arthur Mark “Snodgrass” Spencer of the new segregated Comancheros chapter, visited the United States on a trip to buy bike parts and was introduced to the national leader of the Bandidos, commencing a relationship that would bring the Bandidos to Australia (Simpson & Harvey, 2001). According to Simpson and Harvey (2001), the Bandidos saw Australia as an opportunity to further their drug manufacturing though obtain P2P (Phenyl-2-propane), an active ingredient in amphetamines that could be legally obtained in Australia.
Snodgrass returned to Australia with a copy of the Bandidos by-laws with intent to form Australia’s first Bandidos chapter (Simpson & Harvey, 2001). The Comancheros western suburbs chapter formed a breakaway group that were later assimilated into the United States based club, the Bandidos, to operate under their club name. The resignation of these members was considered desertion by the Comancheros, creating inter-club tensions. The inter-club war between the two clubs began after the Presidents of both gangs, ‘Jock’ and ‘Snodgrass’, determined the rules of war (prohibiting attacks at the home or place of employment) through a phone call on the 10th of August, 1984 (“Comancheros M.C. Australia”, n.d.; Simpson & Harvey, 2001; Stephenson, 2007). The peak of the warfare occurred on the 2nd of September, 1984 with the infamous Father’s Day Massacre outside the Viking Tavern in Milperra, in which six patched members, two Bandidos and four Comancheros, were killed and a 15 year old girl, Leann Waters, died in the cross fire (Simpson & Harvey, 2001; Stephenson, 2007).

Police collected videos and photographs of the event from witnesses and began an intelligence operation. Thirty-one patched members were convicted and sentenced for the attacks outside the Viking tavern. Through “Operation Hardwalk”, raids and arrests were conducted on the 21st of September, with another 43 people charged with seven counts of murder – totalling 301 murder charges (Stephenson, 2007). Included in those who were sentenced was Australian President of the Bandidos ‘Snodgrass’ who later committed suicide in prison (Blackburn, 2000).
The number of clubs in Australia is significant despite police intelligence indicating a plan by major clubs in Australia to cull the numbers from 20 to 6 by 2000 (Blackburn, 2000). The Western Australian Police report 52 existed in Australia in 2001; however, Blackburn (2000) and Drewery (2003) have only identified 37 of the one percent motorcycle clubs in Australia: the Bandidos, Black Ulans, Club Deroes, Coffin Cheaters, Comancheros, Cossacks, Descendants, Devil’s Henchmen, Finks, Foolish Few, Fourth Reich, Gladiators, God’s Garbage, Gypsy Jokers, Hell’s Angels, Highway 61, Highwaymen, Immortals, iron Horsemen, Life and Death, Lone Wolf, Mob Shitters, Nomads, Odins Warriors, Outcasts, Outlaws, Nomads, Rebels, Renegades, Satan’s Riders, Satan’s Sinners, Satan’s Soldiers, Tramps and Vandiemans. Determining the number of clubs, chapters and members is an almost impossible task with patch-overs, memberships and chapter status influenced by incarceration or death, and the secrecy of club business (Barker, 2005). Figures can be estimated from club websites who include a listing of their chapters; however, it is subject to the club’s control with some chapters deliberately missing.

Western Australia.

In 2001, Western Australian law enforcement authorities estimated that Australia is home to 52 one percent motorcycle clubs, with five active clubs in Western Australia, being the Coffin Cheaters M.C., the Club Deroes M.C, the Rebels M.C., the Gypsy Jokers M.C., and the God’s Garbage M.C. (Western Australia Police, 2001). An article printed in the Western Australian Police magazine, Newsbeat, described one percent motorcycle clubs in Western Australia as becoming increasingly involved in legitimate businesses; such as
security businesses, motor vehicle wreckers, tattoo shops and nightclubs, and at the same time, increasing their involvement in illegitimate activities; clandestine laboratories, manufacturing and distribution of illicit drugs, firearm trafficking, prostitution and money laundering (2001). In addition, commentary in the Select Committee on Crime Prevention (1999, July 20) suggests that one percent clubs have a crucial role in the drug related crimes in the state capital of Perth.

Blackburn (2000) reports that the one percent clubs in Western Australia have cohabited peacefully since the 1970s under their four club policy. This policy limited the State to four clubs to protect club territories and limit the distrust between clubs. However, the Coffin Cheaters particularly believed expansion of clubs would relieve them of police pressure (Blackburn, 2000). There have been several attempts from clubs based in the eastern states to enter Western Australia. In the late 1980s, the New Zealand based club, the Mongrel Mob established a chapter in Bunbury. The response by local one percent motorcycle clubs to the threat of invading clubs saw an increase in membership drives. The Coffin Cheaters doubled their membership from 50 to 100 and the Gypsy Jokers membership grew five-fold. Due to conflict with the Coffin Cheaters and increased police pressure the Mongrel Mob retreated (Select Committee on Crime Prevention., 1999, July 20). The Rebels, who are Australia’s biggest one percent club, established a club in Busselton, then Perth, and developed into five chapters within two years ending the four club policy (Blackburn, 2000).

The Newsbeat article (2001) provided estimates of club numbers in Western Australia and briefly described the clubs within a law enforcement
context. The Coffin Cheaters are the premier club in Western Australia and have seven chapters and an estimated 70 patched members (Western Australia Police, 2001). The reputation of the Coffin Cheaters has developed through their entrepreneurial activities, their well-entrenched prominent members and the professional structure of economics and organisation. The Club Deroes are one of the least known clubs in Australia and have an estimated 45 patched members state-wide (Western Australia Police, 2001). The Rebels have an estimated 50 patched members, and are one of the fastest expanding clubs in Australia. The Gypsy Jokers have a reputation as one of the most violent clubs in Australia, with approximately 50 patched members in Western Australia and finally, the God’s Garbage are renowned for their anti-law sentiment and have approximately 60 patched members in Western Australia (Western Australia Police, 2001). While the article provides an overview of the one percent scene, it cannot be supported due to the lack of research on clubs in the state. Additionally, the figures reflect the membership numbers in 2001 that may have been altered due to policing efforts, inter-club rivalries and new clubs migrating to the west.

The Select Committee on Crime Prevention (1999, July 20) discussed the status of one percent motorcycle clubs in Western Australia, in particular the Coffin Cheaters and the Kalgoorlie-Boulder based club, the Club Deroes. The transcript identified the violent rivalry between the Coffin Cheaters and the renegade club, the Club Deroes. The inter-club warfare was instigated by the Coffin Cheaters taking in an ex-member of the Club Deroes. It is an accepted rule within the one percent sub-culture that clubs will not accept former members from another club or that members may join another club (Barger et al., 2001;...
Blackburn, 2000). Escalating from the membership dispute, territorial challenges saw the rivalry escalate into several shooting incidents, attempted murder and the high profile murder of the Coffin Cheaters’ Sergeant-at-arms, Marc Chabriere, by three members of the Club Deros.

Blackburn (2000) recounts events of conflict between Western Australian Police and one percent clubs during 1997 in her chapter in *Bombs, guns, and knives: Violent crime in Australia*. In March 1997, police closed down a rhythm and blues festival at Lake Clifton as a result of 300 club members being present. In April, an off-duty police officer was assaulted, as were the people who came to his aid, in a Bunbury hotel and in December raids were conducted based on the intelligence of three police officers who had worked as undercover agents within the Bandidos.

In response to the growing violence between the one percent motorcycle clubs and their suspected involvement with organised crime, the Western Australian Police formed a taskforce in 1998 to target motorcycle clubs. Operation Gallipoli saw 30 operational officers to target one percent motorcycle club activities, in hopes of mitigating any forms or retaliation between clubs, and investigations into club related murders (Select Committee on Crime Prevention., 1999, July 20). The zero tolerance approach that the police initiated was costly in terms of resources, and the lack of success negatively impacted on police reputation. Additionally, police officers were at odds with attempts to collect information thwarted by the code of silence adhered to by one percent motorcycle club members and those with strong affiliations with the clubs (Prince, 1999, March).
The Western Australian Police consider the upper echelons of one percent motorcycle clubs to be acutely aware of the impact of the club’s public image and accuse them of actively promoting a benign public image, for example charity runs for hospitals or the promotion of Bikers Against Child Abuse (Western Australia Police, 2001). The minimising of the violent one percent motorcycle club image is viewed by law enforcement as an attempt to influence the role of the jury in criminal charges and to de-escalate public calls for stricter legislation and law enforcement powers. However, the image of one percent motorcycle clubs within the media often displays a less benign image, with the focus on acts of violence and criminal activity.

Recent one percent motorcycle club activity portrayed in the media is the shooting of Finks M.C. member in Wooroloo. In line with the media’s inventory outlined by Cohen (1972), the coverage encompasses aspects of prediction of ‘a bikie war’: “Police are concerned the incident could escalate into more violence involving the State's notorious motorcycle gangs” (Guest, 2008, October 14). The role of symbolism in the coverage is similar to the example aforementioned. The news articles referring to the one percent clubs in Western Australia have strong undertones of violence and criminality (“Mystery over Mercanti”, 2008, February 4; Silvester, 2007; Taylor, June 14, 2008; , "WA Police Minister", 2008, October 13).

The result of the attention given to the event has seen politicians and authoritative controls comment on the status of the clubs. WA Police Minister Rob Johnson has been reported as recommending increased powers to police and the amendment of legislation (“WA Police Minister”, 2008, October 13). Other
community figures are also calling for the application of the South Australian Serious and Organised Crime (Control) Act 2008 which would allow the Attorney General to declare motorcycle clubs outlaw organisations and new laws of criminal associations.

One percent motorcycle clubs are of interest to both the Western Australian Police and the Australian Crime Commission (ACC) whom work towards the disruption of the continuity of criminal behaviours and criminal enterprises (Australian Crime Commission, 2007). The ACC, formally the National Crime Authority established Operation Panza in 1995, organising a national investigation into one percent motorcycle club organised crime activities, leading to raids on clubhouses and members homes and intensive road check points (Blackburn, 2000). The ACC continues to develop intelligence on one percent motorcycle club memberships and their criminal activity to assist in investigations and policy. The Western Australian Police pursue one percent motorcycle clubs and have created a taskforce whose primary objective is to target the clubs’ illicit activities and provide pressure that may prevent future crimes. However, Assistant Commissioner Atherton of the Crime Investigation Support Portfolio suggest that the clubs are far more organised than the law enforcement agencies intending to bring them into account (Western Australia Police, 2001).

Focal Concerns Theory

Miller’s (1958) research suggests law-violating behaviour is motivated by the desire to achieve socially valued goals within the individual’s sub-culture. These goals, referred to as focal concerns, are differentiated by the individual’s
social class and cultural milieu (Tittle, 1983). Linked closely with value systems, focal concerns enable a research focus that is descriptively neutral from the concept of ‘values’, derivable from study and a reflection of actual behaviours in place of assumptions of the mainstream ideal (Miller, 1958). Each individual focal concern represents a significant element of the studied sub-culture and represents an interdependent relationship with the other concerns.

Miller’s (1958) study highlighted a set focal concerns integral to the male orientated and lower class youth street gangs, whereby the efforts of achieving such focal concerns increase the possibility of law violation. Whilst not all individuals of the lower class are law-violating, certain sub-cultures within the lower class may hold a reactive ideology in response to the desired focal concerns that increases the propensity of criminal behaviour. The following descriptions are the lower class focal concerns identified by Miller (1958):

**Trouble** is conceptualised in lower class culture as the behaviour which causes unwanted attention from the official authorities or agencies of middle class society, describing behaviour as “law-abiding” and “non-law abiding”. The decision to act in accordance with the law varies depending on the individual and circumstances, with Miller (1958) suggesting the desire to avoid trouble is not a result of moral or legal standards but the desire to avoid the consequences of “getting into trouble”. In peer relations where trouble is recognised as prestige-conferring, individuals may engage in non-law abiding behaviours to maintain status and membership.
Toughness is a multifaceted element of lower class peer group acceptance that encompasses physical prowess, bravery in the face of physical threat, abilities in physical combat and overt masculinity (Miller, 1958). Masculinity emphasises an absence of sentimentality, non-concern with cultural aspects such as literature and art, conceptualisation of women as conquest objects, and other explicit sex roles (Miller, 1958).

Smartness in the lower class culture is not typically represented by formal education or “intellectualism”, but rather through the ability to outsmart others (Miller, 1958). Intellectualism is overtly devalued and viewed as an effeminate trait. Street ‘smartness’ through outwitting and conning others is highly valued and developed through games and mutual jibes with peers. An individual’s capacity to outwit, dupe or con others, whilst avoiding this themselves is a measure used for success and status within the group (Miller, 1958).

Excitement in lower class street gangs is represented by the search for emotional stimulation and escapism from routine lives (Miller, 1958). This includes behaviours such as substance misuse, widespread gambling and sexual adventures. For men, the thrill is to ‘pick up’ women and physical disputes may occur over possession of women, gambling or statements of physical prowess. The risk of sex or trouble is sought by the individual to create an element of excitement (Miller, 1958).

Fate, fortune or luck, as described by Miller (1958), is a concern that is related to the quest for excitement. Lower class individuals feel their lives are controlled by a higher force, not necessarily religious, that impacts upon their
successes. Consequently, they uphold the fantasy that success and failure are externally controlled and are independent of their own efforts (Miller, 1958).

Autonomy. There is a strong level of discrepancy between what is overtly valued and covertly desired in terms of control over one’s own behaviours (Miller, 1958). Overtly, there is a strong display of resentment towards external controls, restrictions on behaviours, and authorities that are perceived as unfair or coercive. Covertly, there is a desire for individuals to seek environments with rigorous external controls, where behavioural standards are enforced by authority systems and where deviance is sanctioned, for example the military, prisons and disciplinary schools (Miller, 1958).

On the periphery, Miller (1958) identified two additional focal concerns of youth street gangs that are dependent on the success of the aforementioned concerns: belonging and status. The acceptance of the individual by the group is dependent on the demonstrated knowledge and adherence to the rules and expectations of the peer group. Thus the acceptance sought by the individual requires conformity to the group’s focal concerns, even when in conflict with the external culture (Miller, 1958).

The achievement of status within the lower class peer groups are modified to suit criteria that is obtainable by those in the sub-culture (Miller, 1958). Mainstream status definitions are replaced by the qualities valued with the subgroups. The individual’s ability to demonstrate affective maintenance of the sub-cultural focal concerns determines the status within the peer group. Status is also measurable on an inter-group scale, with peer groups competing to maintain
their reputation (Miller, 1958). Both individual and group statuses are constantly challenged in status-ranking activities to develop a hierarchy.

A criticism of Miller’s (1958) study is that he assumes lower class focal concerns differ from those of other social classes without explaining why lower class people place a greater value on criminogenic focal concerns (Tittle, 1983). Whilst the debate of social class and cultural values is out of the scope of this thesis, previous research (Montgomery, 1976; Watson, 1980) has assessed the usefulness of focal concerns within the one percent motorcycle club culture. As such, the assumption that individuals conform to the norms and values of their membership group will be accepted and the impact of lower class focal concerns on one percent motorcycle clubs will be evaluated.

Miller’s (1958) focal concerns have been applied to the one percent motorcycle club sub-culture in varying degrees, with a consensus that the clubs emphasis the extreme expression of these lower class focal concerns (Danner & Silverman, 1986; Lyng & Bracey, 1995; Watson, 1980). Watson (1980) compared the value systems and lifestyle of three deviant motorcycle clubs in the Tennessee and Kentucky area with the focal concerns of lower class culture as described by Miller (1958), with the one percent motorcycle club sub-culture. The study indicated the focal concerns were a valid model for analysing the one percent clubs and suggested the differences in the values and the expression could be attributed to the age differential between adolescent gangs and one percent clubs.

Watson (1980) found trouble and toughness are the central values of the one percent motorcycle club sub-culture and reflect the descriptions by Miller
(1958), while smartness through outsmarting and conning others was not an emphasised value in the one percent sub-culture. Excitement is consistent with Miller’s (1958) idea that one percent motorcyclist gain emotional stimulation through the use of drugs and alcohol, however, the assumption that men seek women for excitement and trouble is inaccurate given the subservient role of women in the sub-culture. Fate within the biker sub-culture was found to have a greater meaning with the main theme of death. The autonomy of bikers reflects an ambivalent attitude towards authority of Miller’s (1958) lower class. Members appear to oppose the dominant culture’s authoritative controls, yet the club lifestyle imposes restrictions on personal freedoms.

Danner and Silverman (1986) compared focal concerns of incarcerated bikers against non-biker inmates. The results indicated that bikers were younger, with a greater orientation towards violence and excitement than non-bikers. Interlinking between focal concerns was observed through bikers desire to conform to the ‘righteousness biker’ model. Higher scores in excitement and the reported desire to seek excitement and trouble, requires bikers to be tough and masculine enough to manage it. The results for street smartness were inconsistent with Miller’s (1958) model, with non-biker inmates valuing smartness above non-bikers, thus supporting Watson’s (1990) findings that smartness, and conning, was not found to be a significant biker value. However, these findings may be influenced by the participant sample of only assessing those incarcerated. One percent motorcycle club members and other criminals who have eluded the justice system may express the sub-cultural focal concerns in a different manner. In addition to studies that emphasise lower class focal concerns, other academic
research, government and NGO reports, media sources and non-fiction texts have identified the significance of the following focal concerns within the sub-culture.

*Trouble*

Whilst many within the lower class sub-culture attempt to avoid ‘trouble’ with social control agents, one percent motorcycle clubs appear to amplify their involvement in trouble as a means of distinctiveness (Lyng & Bracey, 1995). Watson’s (1980) study found that the focal concern of trouble was significant in the motorcycle clubs studied and served a variety of purposes. Engaging in trouble, ‘outrageousness’ and the display of ‘class’, is considered a method of prestige and recognition within the sub-culture and is considered an essential part of the ‘righteous biker’ model. The desire to reach the status of a ‘righteous’ club member encourages members to perform a variety of outrageous and/or illegal activities (Lyng & Bracey, 1995). Not generally understood by those outside the club milieu, and through the desire of clubs themselves, the involvement in norm-defying behaviours has resulted in clubs isolating themselves from mainstream society. Through segregating themselves from society, the desire to perform more ‘outrageous’ acts that another can least to escalating forms of trouble and the reinforcement of thinking errors.

The display of outrageousness within the club can help establish status between members and develop a club hierarchy. When building a sub-culture with a focus on trouble, the display of behaviour consistent with the sub-cultural norms act as a method of cohesiveness as those who do not met the required standards of behaviour are disaffiliated with or punished (United Nations Office on Drugs and
Crime, 2002, September). Additionally, the display of outrageousness and the level or trouble, as expressed through violence, anti-law enforcement sentiment and antisocial behaviours can develop status within society and inter-club affairs.

Australian criminal institutes that responded to the United Nations request for information stated one percent motorcycle clubs rely on violence extensively, within Australia it is usually contained within clubs or between warring clubs (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002, September). Inter-club violence is viewed as an opportunity to display toughness for a perceived wrong doing (Watson, 1980). In many cases, inter-club violence can be attributed to disputes over drug trafficking with street level violence over territories, drug debt collection and related property crimes to support their addictions (Criminal Intelligence Service Canada, 2004).

The influence of impulsivity, usually exacerbated by drug and alcohol abuse, and the desire to perform the most outrageous of acts can often find members participating in a range of activities from creating a nuisance to excessive violence and criminal endeavours (Lyng & Bracey, 1995; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The perspectives held towards the ‘outside’ mainstream society and the impulsiveness of members meant that finding trouble usually came without effort (Watson, 1980). As members have to cope with social condemnation, moral disapproval, police and social policy pressures or vigilante attacks, it does not take long before the attitudes changes from ‘freedom of the road’ to ‘fuck the world’ (Wolf, 1991). The collective personality of one percent motorcycle clubs commonly depicts hostility that members are unable to detect. In instances where members try to act friendly to outsiders, amusing them with what they perceive as
funny stories, they often evoke fear and uneasiness in the listener and receive negative reactions (Thompson, 1967). It becomes easier for members to treat strangers with disdain when they feel misunderstood by the outside world.

Toughness

The stereotypical biker stands out in his promotion of the ‘tough image’. The toughness image promoted by one percent members is emphasised with body piercings and tattoos. Features that are considered unappealing and would be suppressed in mainstream society tend to be exaggerated and distorted in the one percent milieu, with an emphasis in physical height, muscle, width and obesity (Montgomery, 1976; Quinn, 1987, 2001). The tattoos on members cover a considerable proportion of the member’s body and proudly display the club’s name, emblems, colours and date of membership. The club tattoos remain property of the club despite being inked into the individual. Upon exiting a club, the member must surrender his tattoos to protect the club from being associated with the ex-member (Ballard, 1997). If the member leaves in good standing a simple exit date should be tattooed to the individual; however if the member leaves in bad standing, demands may be made to have the tattoos removed or the club may take it upon themselves to remove the member’s tattoos themselves (Ballard, 1997). Also incorporated in the tough image of bikers is the use of emblems within patches, tattoos and accessories: Nazi symbols, devils heads, skulls, vulgar phrases and satanic symbols (Tretheway & Katz, 1998; Wolf, 1991), as well as sub-cultural terms such as FTW (Fuck the World), 1661 (Angels Forever, Forever Angels) and BTBF (Bikers Together, Bikers Forever; (Barker, 2004; Grascia, 2004; Haut, 1998; Hopper & Moore, 2007; Wolf, 1991).
Bikers tend to have a “face it head on and tough it out” approach towards danger and discomfort (Wolf, 1991) and their appearance and behaviour make them both targets and perpetrators of saloon based violence (Quinn & Koch, 2003; Watson, 1980). Within the Hell’s Angels, the display of toughness in terms of this threat is significant to the membership of the club. If a Hell’s Angels member does not stand up for himself, or his colours, when alone, he may be expelled from the club as they consider his behaviour to tarnishes the club’s reputation (Barger et al., 2001). Even in situations when the member is certain he will lose, he is required to fight knowing that his ‘brothers’ will avenge his loss. The reputation of a biker is considered significant within the one percent milieu. If a biker loses a fight, revenge becomes imminent, creating a cycle of violence that becomes instrumental (Quinn & Koch, 2003). The cycle of violence has been known to escalate to the point when clubs have been reported as acquiring and using paramilitary ordinance such as rocket launchers and grenades (Quinn & Koch, 2003). However, due to the noticeable nature of one percent motorcycle clubs, and the threat this brings, members are more likely to travel in groups and carry weapons to prevent any attacks (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

**Masculinity and sexuality.**

Extreme displays of sexuality and masculine traits and behaviours are considered a significant aspect of the toughness focal concern (Miller, 1958; Watson, 1980). The sexual activity of members is flaunted with a constant desire to receive more sexual contact. The language used to express sexual desires and behaviours is lined with crude remarks that is emphasised within the culture.
The gender roles within the sub-culture reflect attitudes of lower class males but are expressed in the extreme.

The role of women.

In the early days of the one percent sub-cultural development, women had the opportunity to be active members within some clubs and wear the club insignia (Barger et al., 2001). Barger prohibited female members from joining the Hell’s Angels on the basis that females are incapable of defending the patch and do not have the stamina to ride the motorcycle all day long (Barger et al., 2001; Wolf, 1991). This formalised one percent motorcycle clubs as an elite men’s club wherein women can only gain access to the male dominated sub-culture through a union with a male biker or the ability to provide documents and information to the club, or monetary means (Quinn, 1987; Wolf, 1991). The women who become involved with the one percent clubs can be categorised into three groups. Firstly, the ol’ ladies are provided with a ‘property patch’ stating that she is a ‘significant other’ of a member of that club to protect against advances from other bikers (van den Eynde & Veno, 2007). She is not normally subjected to the extreme instances of machismo but is still expected to adhere to the subservient roles as a woman (Thompson, 1967; Wolf, 1991). In many clubs, members are restricted to one ol’ lady at a time, yet they are allowed to have several women simultaneously for the purpose of sexual activity or income sources (Quinn, 1987). Those within this role accept masculinity as a positive male quality and attempt to enhance and affirm the masculine powers of their man (Wolf, 1991).
Secondly, the ‘mamas’ are the women who are treated as the property of the club and provided with shelter, transportation, and protection as long as she makes her self available to any club member who desires her services (Lyng & Bracey, 1995; Quinn, 1987; Thompson, 1967). The mamas are generally older than the ol’ ladies and cannot compete for prostitution clients but are described by some club members as nymphomaniacs (Reynolds & McClure, 1967). Thirdly, there are the ‘sweetbutts’ who are regular sex partners and/or provide bikers with an income source. These women have relationships with one or a couple of members, but they neither have ties to the whole club nor are protected by the club through a ‘property patch’. As they are not deemed property of the club, they can neither be bought or sold (Quinn, 1987). Sweetbutts provide members with an important source of income, but are also afforded a little bit of economic autonomy (Quinn, 1987).

The sale of women is a commonly reported trait in the one percent motorcycle club literature. Reynold and McClure (1967) recall events on clubs runs in which women stood on crates in front of signs advertising the sale of women. The women are then described by the auctioneer in terms of the physical and sexual nature of each woman (Reynolds & McClure, 1967). The lower the price to purchase a woman, and the sale to outside clubs, can be correlated to the likelihood of the women being physically and sexual abused by the purchaser.

Some bikers are able to maintain legitimate jobs, relying on their female companion(s) to merely supplement their income. However, researchers such as Quinn (1987) argue that the legal sources of income are often sporadic, minimal or insignificant as members choose to spend most of their time with other
members, attending to club tasks or working on their bikes in place of formalised employment. Consequently, women are expected to provide day-to-day economic support and are perceived as ideally equipped to provide finances through sexually orientated occupations, such as prostitution or adult entertainment (Quinn, 1987; Scaramella et al., 1997).

The belief of female inferiority is common among lower class males. This belief is found in the extremes within the one percent milieu. The male biker must publicly adhere to what Quinn (1987) referred to as the code of ‘absolute masculine dominance’ over his female companions. This code does not allow a woman to criticise, berate or express herself in opposition to a male biker. Punishment for this normative error may be inflicted on either the male or female, depending on circumstances. The woman is expected to be constantly alert to the needs, approved by her ol’ man, of any men in her presence. This may refer to the simple task of retrieving a can a beer or providing sexual favours. Any man who collects his own beer or performs a menial task while a woman or a man of lesser status is present commits a normative error which is frowned upon in the milieu (Quinn, 1987).

Hell’s Angel’s ex-President Barger argues that women are not at risk when participating in the one percent social scene (Barger et al., 2001). Barger states that the club goes out of its way to ensure the women who attend runs, visit the club house during parties, or associate with the club feel ‘one hundred percent safe’. Additionally, should a person inappropriately address a Hell’s Angels ol’ lady, that person will be subjected to the wrath of not only the member, but the entire club (Barger et al., 2001). Whilst Barger’s account of treatment towards
women may be considered biased through his own involvement of the club, Quinn (1987) reaffirms that women who choose to be involved in the one percent milieu are not forced into staying with a member, unless in situations where the member is in jail, owes the club money or his bike is ‘down’. Unless the above state conditions exist, Quinn (1987) states that the club will not get involved, as women are viewed as an expendable commodity, and any revenge is considered to be an act of individual behaviour, not representative of the entire club or chapter.

Smartness

Watson (1980) and Danner and Silverman (1986) found the lower class display of smartness through outwitting or outsmarting their peers was not significant within the one percent milieu, rather a preferred emphasis was placed on confronting or avoiding opponents. In this sub-culture, avoidance is treated with contempt and viewed as a display of weakness; confrontation is viewed as an opportunity for demonstration of toughness (Watson, 1980). However, confrontation is usually avoided as few people are willing to challenge a member of the one percent community.

In addition, other researchers do not describe one percent club members as particularly articulate or academic (Queen, 2006; Watson, 1980). Even the one percenters make light of their formal education as Reynolds (Reynolds & McClure, 1967) describes himself and his club members as “the most illiterate, degenerate bastards that ever walked the face of the earth”. Traditionally, the one percent members had little respect or use for conventional skills or goals such as formal education (Montgomery, 1977), although exceptions do occur, for
example; Eddie Whitnell of the Coffin Cheaters obtained his Bachelor of Arts with Honours while in prison (Blackburn, 2000) however, Whitnell was not surround by his club members whilst serving his sentence. The emphasised qualities in the milieu taking precedence over the lower class display of smartness and formalised education include: mobility, mechanical aptitude, skill at fighting, ability to ride large motorcycles and the ability to con others (Quinn, 1987).

*Excitement*

Watson (1980) found excitement is consistent with Miller’s (1958) notion and that one percent motorcyclist gain emotional stimulation through the use of drugs and alcohol, as well as from parties and bike riding as a substitute for their mundane working lives. The assumption that men seek women for excitement and trouble is inaccurate given that one percent sub-culture hold women in low regard and assert dominance over them. However Danner and Silverman (1986) report that members do seek trouble for excitement, requiring them to display toughness and masculinity to manage the situations that accompany the pursuit for stimulation.

In a desire for excitement, adrenaline and escape from routine lower class lifestyles, one percent club members turn to the motorcycle. The speed and risks associated with motorcycle satisfy the rider’s need for danger and thrills, and provide a physiological response of heightened arousal (Wolf, 1991). The preferred Harley-Davidson is modified until they become dangerous impractical, departing from the rational, secure and sensible (Montgomery, 1976; Wolf, 1991). Not only does the rider turn to the bike to “find” himself, the bike also provides
feelings of freedom, strength, potency and liberating defiance against society, thus becoming an extension of the member’s self image (Thompson, 1967).

The pursuit of excitement and stimulation in the one percent milieu often leads members into trouble. Through observation and interviews with former and current one percent members, Quinn (1987) noted a level of hedonism in the lifestyle. The member’s desire for continuous exposure and participation in hedonistic practices can result in the lessening of intrinsic rewards for participating in such acts over time (Quinn, 1987). Quinn (1987) refers to Homan’s deprivation-satiation theory to explain the increases in deviancy within the one percent milieu. As hedonism and violence are considered normative within the sub-culture, club members can become satiated in short periods of time. However once this satiation is achieved the individual is likely to experience a sense of relative deprivation, initiating a cycle of deviancy for pleasure. The loss of gratification for performing these acts motivates the individual to commit even greater extremes of hedonism to achieve satiation, much like the physiological tolerance of drug and/or alcohol dependency (Quinn, 1987).

One percent clubs were originally designed to facilitate hedonism and stimulation for the soldiers returning from war who found re-establishing themselves in the American society difficult and longed for the camaraderie established with members of their squadron (Scaramella et al., 1997). This pursuit of pleasure has made the spiral of satiation and felt deprivation an implicit aspect of the one percent normative structure; yet, the increases in deviancy can attract unwanted attention from law enforcement and the media and in some cases can lead to the dispersion of chapters when criminal prosecutions become involved.
(Quinn, 1987). When the clubs control over member’s behaviour is inadequate or absent, the quest for pleasure can become the main focus for members with the desire to achieve satiation, surpass the ‘class’ shown by other members, discover new forms of pleasure, or establish territorial hegemony (Quinn, 1987). Clubs have identified the need to control members’ behaviours to advance the club’s criminality and facilitate the growth of illegal activities. The individual pursuit of hedonism, although a valued quality in the one percent milieu, is subordinated to the intense loyalty to the club and the clubs goals (Quinn, 1987; Scaramella et al., 1997). Clubs constantly battle to maintain a balance between an individual’s hedonistic satisfaction and the pursuit of club goals.

Fate

The members of the one percent sub-culture display a pronounced fascination with death, with the sub-culture inconsistent with the lower class by magnifying death into a celebration (Lyng & Bracey, 1995; Watson, 1980; Willis, 1978). The ‘hard living’ and reckless riding performed by one percent club members presents a likelihood of premature death. By embracing the likelihood of an early death, the members create the illusion of control over their destiny (Lyng & Bracey, 1995). The notion of fate and death can be identified within club names (Coffin Cheaters, Dead Men, Grave Diggers, Grim Reapers, Immortals, Life and Death, and Undertakers) and the club patches with the death’s head and skull prominent in many club’s insignia (Drewery, 2003; Lyng & Bracey, 1995). Death within the one percent sub-culture is glorified through their stories, and the notion of dying whilst riding a Harley-Davidson is consider the most ‘righteous’ way to die. Even after death, the clubs have their own rituals, such as burying the
deceased with other fallen members and burying the member in his colours on top of casket (Hopper & Moore, 1983). All members attend the funeral wearing their club colours in honour of their fallen ‘brother’.

Religious symbolism can be found within the one percent milieu, ranging from club names (Devil’s Disciples, God’s Garbage, Hell’s Angels, Red Devils, Satan’s Cavalry, Sons of Satan to name a few), emblems (devil’s head) and the labelling of club practices. For example, mandatory weekly meetings are referred to as ‘church’ (Clawson, 1983, March 30; Grascia, 2004; Tretheway & Katz, 1998). In the United States, the Hells Angel’s have even established its own ‘Church of Angels’. Whilst they have a religious undertone, the setting up of the ‘Church of Angels’ provides the club with local, state and federal taxation exemptions. In addition, prisoners are allowed visits from ministers of their chosen church (Tretheway & Katz, 1998).

In addition to the establishment of churches, Watson (1982) and Hopper and Moore (1983) believe one percent clubs and extremist religious groups share similarities. Watson (1982) compared the value systems of bikers to those in a religious sect via participant observation of four clubs and informal interviews and interactions with several other clubs over a three year period (1977-1980). The sect definitions by Stark (1967) and Troeltsch (1931) were likened to the one percent motorcycle sub-culture by Watson (1982) included; (1) the variation from established and universal groups to esoteric cults, or the extremist biker lifestyle, (2) an emphasis on separateness from the mainstream community through in and out group distinctions and the withdrawal into ‘holiness’, or in the one percent sub-culture, ‘righteousness”; (3) emphasis on the ‘right’ behaviour as the pathway
to righteousness – thus a strongly emphasised brotherhood and communalism and the qualities of righteousness; (4) extremists in orientation; (5) the substitution of worldly achievements for individual status needs; and (6) the rejection of the present for future or past orientated goals.

The biker sub-culture displays parallels to religious sects by the demands and nature of commitment required from members on the pursuit to righteousness. The one percent clubs seek exclusivity through prescribed behaviours, dress and ritualistic activities (Hopper & Moore, 1983, 2007). They maintain a distinctive and recognisable value system and lifestyle that is isolated from the mainstream social environment that enhances the members’ experiences of belonging (Hopper & Moore, 1983).

**Autonomy**

I need a close knit club of men who could jump on their bikes, ride cross-country if they wanted to, and not abide by rules or clocks (Barger et al., 2001, p. 27).

The one percent motorcycle club ethos is based on freedom from conforming to social norms. Coinciding with the desire to be free from society is also the desire to be self-reliant and avoid independent. An example of autonomy within the one percent milieu is the desire to be self-reliant and avoid interference by ‘outsiders’. Barger et al. (2001) describes this as living in their own underground world and dealing with things in their own way. This includes the resistance towards calling an ambulance in times of medical emergency or informing the police of incidents where members are victims (Barger et al., 2001;
Simpson & Harvey, 2001). The clubs insist on handling their situations without institutional involvement. Although they display a desire to live in self-governing manner, the autonomy of members reflects and ambivalent attitude towards authority as they oppose the dominant cultures authoritative controls; yet seek a club culture that imposes restrictions on personal freedoms (Watson, 1980).

The lifestyle of a biker promotes freedom from the regulations of mainstream society and laws; what it does not provide is an autonomous lifestyle. Despite the outlandish behaviours and rough appearance of members, the clubs represent highly organised communities governed by club rules and regulations (Haslett, 2007). Clubs can demand absolute conformity to their own set of norms from their members who are bound by a strict code of conduct in which sanctions, ranging from fines to murder, apply for violations (Ballard, 1997; Quinn & Koch, 2003). Members must attend regular club meetings, usually weekly sessions referred to as ‘church’, mandatory involvement in club sanctioned runs and functions and pay a set amount of dues (Grascia, 2004; Quinn, 1987; Tretheway & Katz, 1998). The knowledge of the club by-laws or constitution, which prescribes the expected behaviours of members, is generally restricted to members to promote and protect the secrecy and mystique surrounding one percent clubs. However, ex-Hell’s Angels club President Barger printed the club’s by-laws with his commentary in his Hell’s Angels (2001) book.

Some of the rules imposed on members include acts proving loyalty to one’s ‘brothers’ and the club, displays of club colours, behaviour of members and non-members, what drugs can be used, choice and style of motorbike, and the maximum days in which the member’s bike may be kept off the road (Ballard,
Disobedience towards the club’s rules can lead to members being dispelled and colours removed (Reynolds & McClure, 1967). The strictness of the club lifestyle enforces group welfare, cohesion and reputation and is emphasised during periods of warfare or expansion. It is perceived that the more rigid and demanding the club rules, the more solid a club is in terms of long term membership commitment and segregation from the community (Wolf, 1991). The firm regulations of behaviour are not viewed as invasive towards the autonomy of members as no other way of life is seen as to be as attractive as offered by their club (Quinn & Koch, 2003; Wolf, 1991).

The authoritative structure in one percent clubs needs to be flexible enough to enable local chapters to promote growth and provide sufficient autonomy for the independent and rebellious personalities (Quinn, 1987; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The autonomy afforded to individuals provides two significant elements for the club: minimising rebellion in members and deflecting responsibility of the formal leadership; thereby creating difficulties for the implementation of legislation against criminal organisations, such as the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organisations Act (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

Clubs are structured with hierarchies of power and responsibility, ranging from the elite centre to the rank-and-file members. The elite try to contain the hedonistic behaviours of members and place rational limits on their excesses to protect the club’s interests. Members accept these restrictions on self-indulgence and gratification as long as it is justifiable in terms of tangible rewards. As high ranking officers in the one percent clubs can offer the rank-and-file members with
employment, loans and gifts, the self-destructive hedonistic behaviours are becoming less frequent (Quinn, 1987).

The public’s tolerance of mayhem created by the biker sub-culture is limited and can lead to an increase in unwanted attention by law enforcement, or legislative changes targeting the one percent sub-culture (Quinn, 1987). Realising this, the clubs attempt to regulate behaviour and impose a code of conduct on members. The violation of club imposed rules occurs infrequently, due to the sect-like devotion to other members and the club.

Power and Status

The quest for power and monetary gains motivate clubs to develop and maintain the image of the dangerous, unpredictable and outrageous biker (Quinn & Koch, 2003). This image is a marketable commodity that provides economic opportunities in both the legal and illegal employment sector, for example, security and loan sharking, respectively (Quinn, 2001). In this aspect, the clubs rely on their media representation to market the ‘bikie’ image and associated symbolic interpretations for pecuniary rewards (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

The pursuit of power is demonstrated by club rivalries and profiteering (Quinn & Koch, 2003). Clubs are territorially orientated and rivalries occur over territorial disputes that threaten a chapter’s financial gains or impinge on their club’s dominance within an area (Blackburn, 2000). Their territory is viewed as symbol of power and honour (Quinn & Koch, 2003). The inter-club warfare is associated with concerns about power, honour, territory and financial issues (Quinn & Koch, 2003).
The escalation of violence within one percent motorcycle clubs can be viewed as a method of obtaining status over opposing clubs. For example, Thompson (1967) reports that the Hell’s Angels operate under the concept of total-retaliation wherein they respond to an attack or threat in extremes:

...when you’re asked to stay out of a bar, you don’t just punch the owner - you get your army and tear the place down and destroy the whole edifice and everything it stands for... If a man gets smart, smash his face. If a woman snubs you, rape her. (p. 68).

This level of violence is used to intimidate opposition and assert authority within the one percent motorcycle club hierarchy.

**Belonging (The Brotherhood)**

One percent motorcycle clubs are often classified into a deviant sub-culture with the aim of criminal enterprising. However, the sub-culture is founded on a central ideology of ‘brotherhood’ (Haslett, 2007; Thompson, 1967; Veno, 2003). Members of a one percent club identify themselves as modern outlaws and outsiders of the norm-conforming public, wherein the social milieu of their club is the only outlet to which they find sanctuary (Quinn & Koch, 2003). The brotherhood bond of members is intense, frequent and exclusive, and in some cases, members have been reported as living together in a commune-like setting. Wolf (1991) describes the brotherhood as ‘being part of a high frequency of interpersonal contacts that were activated over a wide range of social situations’, establishing a sense of moral, emotional and material interdependence between members. The intense interaction experienced by the brotherhood between
members reinforces their self image of social pariahs, reinforcing the social bonds between members, criminal pride, similar thinking errors and guide their impression management (Hopper & Moore, 1983; Quinn, 1987, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Wolf, 1991).

Members’ sense of belonging within their clubs ensures the development of extreme loyalty to each other and the club, fostering mutual protection associations between members and promoting the “All on one, one on all” mentality in which all members will fight to protect their ‘brothers’, irrespective of whether he is in the right or wrong (Blackburn, 2000; Haut, 1998; Hill, 1980; Hopper & Moore, 1983, 2007; Quinn, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Reynolds & McClure, 1967; Wolf, 1991). This approach also acts as a preventative measure against others attacking a ‘brother’, but with the understanding between members that one must not endanger his ‘brother’ or abuse this ethic (Barger et al., 2001; Wolf, 1991).

Other rules of the brotherhood identified by Wolf (1991) include the right to ask for help and the obligation to provide assistance, repair and maintenance of motorcycles and loaning money, sharing of living accommodations, finding employment and solving personal problems. The intensity that one percent motorcycle clubs place on membership and loyalty implies that those who join are members for life. Those who are thought to have deserted the club are heavily penalised by the club, and in some cases as led to violence between the perceived ‘deserter’ and the remaining club members (Blackburn, 2000).
Membership.

One percent motorcycle clubs are very careful about who they admit as members; yet, each club varies depending on the club procedures, the desire to maintain a membership standard, expansion goals and/or the nature of their criminal activities (Quinn & Koch, 2003). Membership can be obtained via individual’s involvement with a chapter, or the ‘patching-in’ or the ‘patching-over’ of smaller clubs (Quinn & Koch, 2003). The ‘patching-in’ of a club refers to the assimilation of a club that would not meet the membership requirements for the purposes of expanding territory or responding to a threat. ‘Patch-overs’ occur when the members of the smaller club are congruent with the assuming clubs persona and meet the required membership standards. (Quinn & Koch, 2003). Large scale ‘patch-ins’ and ‘patch-overs’ are used as a method of acquiring territory and regional strength during inter-club warfare. Individuals who undergo the membership process without belonging to a patched club are acquired to fulfil skills requirements at the club; for example, mechanical, information-technology, or artistic skills (Ballard, 1997; Quinn, 2001).

The stages of membership for a non-patched over rider are association, prospect (also known as a nominee) and then, if approved, full membership (Blackburn, 2000; Scaramella et al., 1997). At the association level, the individual associates with members without being formally recognised. This stage enables the individual to determine whether he is suited to the club, and conversely whether the club believes he is suited to their club values and goals (Ballard, 1997). After a period of association, a member may move to have the individual become a prospect for the club. The prospect receives the first stage of club
regalia, or colours, as recognition of his prospective status. Increased membership within the club will determine the state of his ‘patch’ (Ballard, 1997). At this stage, the prospect must display behaviours that align with the club’s code of conduct and fulfil any initiation tasks. Some clubs are believed to make this process humiliating, with members degraded the prospect and requiring them to provide servitude to the club and all members in the interest of moulding the prospect. Other clubs encourage individuality within members and only require prospects to prove their loyalty to the club and lifestyle (Ballard, 1997; Montgomery, 1976).

The ‘Righteous’ Biker

The ‘righteous’ biker upholds the values of the sub-culture and is described as a rider who belongs to a one percent club, owns and rides a bike (preferably a Harley-Davidson), has appreciation for, and skill with, mechanical aspects of a bike, treats other righteous bikers as brothers, has a masculine approach in outlook, behaviour and sexual orientation and has a non-conformity to worldly values whilst adhering to the biker sub-culture (Hopper & Moore, 2007; Quinn, 2001; Watson, 1980, 1982). Consequently, the one percent motorcycle club’s ideology of the righteous biker includes traits familiar with the biker lifestyle and encompasses qualities outlined in Miller’s (1958) descriptions of toughness, trouble and excitement. Righteousness in the one percent sub-culture is functionally equivalent to ‘outrageousness’ in mainstream society (Quinn, 2001). The desire to achieve the ‘righteousness biker’ model is interlinked with the adherence of the aforementioned focal concerns, and can often lead to the increased risk of incarceration (Danner & Silverman, 1986).
Research Limitations

Much of the literature describing the lifestyle of the one percent biker is outdated and omits any evolutionary styles of the club milieu. Tretheway and Katz’s (1998) analysis of one percent clubs in the United States argues that club members have become more elite and are better in blending in with mainstream society. Members have become better dressed and educated, with many members and associates having tertiary education and qualifications in computer science, finance, business, criminal justice and law (Scaramella et al., 1997; Tretheway & Katz, 1998; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2002, September). The increased education levels in clubs has allowed members to gain employment in positions and professions that provide access to technology, weapons, and information databases containing security records, motor vehicle files, personal data and police records.

In addition, puppet clubs (independent clubs) are used to do the ‘street’ work for a larger club, such as recruiting membership, providing street soldiers in an inter-club war and providing a proportion of their illegal monetary gains (Barker, 2005; Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005; Criminal Intelligence Service Canada, 2004; Grascia, 2004). Some of the well known puppet gangs in the United States include the Red Devils M.C. (Hell’s Angels) and the Black Pistons M.C. (Outlaws). These clubs help the one percent clubs diffuse responsibility for criminal activities, thus providing a protective layer between law enforcement and the one percent motorcycle clubs (Grascia, 2004). Tretheway and Katz (1998) have nicknamed the new brand of bikers, the RUBs (Rich Urban Bikers), who have an improved expertise in criminal enterprises.
Other limitations to the study include observational bias held by the researcher, particularly in the case of Thompson (1967) and Barger et al. (2001). Thompson (1967) spent a year with the Hell’s Angels and recounts the events in his book *Hell’s Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga*. Thompson was subjected to a beating in his last social interaction with the club for refusing to pay for the two kegs he owed to the club for the privilege of ‘hanging around’. This, combined with the fact that the final editor, Allen Ginsberg, had personal and political issues with the club, may have influenced the outcome of the book (Kieffner, 2005).

Barger et al. (2001) provide a perspective on the one percent motorcycle club sub-culture through the experiences of Hell’s Angel’s President Sonny Barger. The book provides an insight into the Hell’s Angel’s inner sanctum and the major events of Barger’s life. It provides an alternative to the media’s portrayal of the club but the information must be considered in context, wherein the author may be biased by his involvement with the club and criminal liability. However, what Barger et al. (2001) do provide is an inside perspective as an alternative to the media’s viewpoint. Books by both Barger and Thompson (and others such as *Under and Alone: The True Story of the Undercover Agent Who Infiltrated America’s Most Violent Outlaw Motorcycle Gang*) are written for the popular press and may be subjected to either sensationalism or the sanitisation of certain information (Haslett, 2007; Russell, 2006).

Even research conducted by Wolf (1991) for his anthropology doctorate, in which he rode with the Rebels M.C., now absorbed into the Hell’s Angels, is rife with limitations. The research was conducted on a now defunct club, who experienced changes in club goals between the period of research and publication.
of his book in 1991 (Haslett, 2007). As mentioned by Haslett (2007), there is
debate on the extent of Wolf’s involvement in ‘club business’.

Cultural immersion is sometimes crucial for researchers; however, the
researchers who submerge themselves within the sub-culture for extended periods
of time expose themselves to the risk of ‘going native’, wherein they get caught
up in the local understanding and fail to observe and analyse objectively. They fail
to present a statement of wider theoretical interests (Alvesson, 2003; LeCompte &
Goetz, 1982). This does not discredit the ethnographic studies as it is likely that
information relating to the one percent motorcycle clubs would not be available to
those viewed as outsiders. However, it is important to consider the subjectivity of
the researcher, and any influence the researcher may have had on those under
observation.

The lack of research into one percent motorcycle clubs can be explained
by the secretive and dangerous world in which they exist, with crime involvement,
vViolence and unpredictable behaviours (Barker, 2005). Additionally, club
members do not appreciate the formal education and research process of social
scientist and have a great distrust in those who do not adhere to their way of life
(Hopper & Moore, 1983) Furthermore, clubs rarely grant interviews and
members are at the risk of punishment for disclosing information to an outside
source without club approval.

Research Questions and Aims

The purpose of this research is to construct a survey instrument for use in
exploratory research of the public’s opinions towards one percent motorcycle
clubs and the impact that secondary sources have on the shaping of public opinions. While some researchers who have infiltrated into the one percent sub-culture (Barger et al., 2001; Lavigne, 1994; Reynolds & McClure, 1967; Thompson, 1967; Veno, 2003; Wolf, 1991), there remains limited literature exploring the public’s perceptions of member values and the influence of a one percent motorcycle club on the community.

Blackburn (2000) asserts that the Western Australian public perceive one percent motorcycle clubs as a modern day mafia with clubs involved in territorial warfare, drugs and organised crime. The purpose of this study is to survey key sectors of the public and compare the attitudes towards one percent motorcycle clubs. The research compares how two groups of the Kalgoorlie-Boulder public perceive one percent motorcycle clubs. One group or participants will be drawn from a population of people without personal experience with one percent motorcycle clubs and have based their opinions on information provided through the media, such as news reports, film or literature. The second group will be drawn from a population who have personal interactions with one percent motorcycle club members. In determining if the media has influenced the attitudes towards one percent motorcycle clubs, the analysis of ‘moral panic’ may assist in the understanding of the contexts in which the clubs are publicly represented and officially regulated. The two research questions to be explored in the pilot survey instrument are as follows:

Research Question 1: Do the participant groups differ on their understanding of sub-cultural focal concerns?
Research Question 2: Do the participant groups differ on their image of one percent clubs?

Due to research limitations, the following research will explore only three focal concerns that are identified consistently by ethnographic studies and explored in the academic literature. The three following focal concerns are incorporated into the language of the sub-culture: the ‘righteous’ biker, brotherhood (belonging) and autonomy. The ‘righteous’ biker has been chosen as it encompasses various facets of Miller’s (1958) focal concerns and emphasises the qualities required by a member of a one percent club. It is expected that there will be a difference of attitudes between groups, with the control group displaying attitudes and knowledge of the sub-culture consistent with media reports, whilst the intervention group will display attitudes and knowledge consistent with previous ethnographic studies and one percent sub-cultural literature.