

The fierce commitment to 1% motorcycle clubs

Dr Kira J. Harris

Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security, Charles Sturt University, Canberra, Australia

ABSTRACT

One per cent motorcycle clubs provide opportunities for members to oppose mainstream establishments that are perceived as suppressing their individuality. The purpose of this paper is not to portray the 1% motorcycle club as a security threat, but to explain the personal significance of membership. Through discussing membership through a social identity theory framework the club is recognised as an essential part of a member's identity. The intense commitment ensures members will go to great lengths to protect, or enhance, their club and it is this fierce commitment, combined with their growing skill sets, that makes 1% motorcycle clubs of interest to alternative movements and law enforcement.

Key words: outlaw motorcycle gangs; one percent motorcycle clubs, social identity, organised crime, ideology

Introduction

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)

Social groups that exist on the fringes of society are often categorised as deviant, radical, and/or criminal, and can be used by moral entrepreneurs to increase law enforcement pressure and political attention (Cohen, 1972; Harris, 2009). This prevents a humanistic approach towards understanding the social phenomenon of group membership when researchers and politicians take an antagonistic position.

Law enforcement commonly espouses the perception that Motorcycle Club (MC) members are thugs wearing patches, and misfits who join to facilitate criminal behaviour. The concerns associated with deviant groups extend to their behaviours, which are often poorly understood. Policing strategies, which are developed by purely objective data, such as organisational size and structure, leadership as well as criminal enterprise, can lead to unintentional outcomes. The need to understand the social dynamics of these groups when creating strategies is essential; one must be able to visualise not only their approach to the issue, but also how their adversaries will respond to their actions, which furthermore requires considerations on how they will manage their adversaries' responses (Maltz, 2009). While the role of violence and crime within the sub-culture is not ignored, this paper will not focus on the structures or criminality of the 1% MC, but rather it will provide a perspective that explores the personal significance of membership through a social identity analysis and discussion of the brotherhood as an ideology. Membership in a club, and even the sub-culture, is not static; yet the adherence to subcultural norms and commitment during membership play a significant role in the clubs' activities.

This paper also acknowledges the psychosocial similarities between the 1% milieu and alternative ideological groups. The intense commitment ensures MC members go to great lengths to protect, or enhance, their club. It is this fierce commitment, combined with their growing skill sets, that makes the 1% MC attractive to alternative movements and a concern to law enforcement.

Background

Military veterans formed MCs in the 1940's to re-establish camaraderie and provide a sense of adventure post WWII. This intense social camaraderie of the 'brotherhood' was hard to replicate in the mainstream society and was the driving impetus for membership. These clubs provided opportunities for their members to oppose mainstream establishments, which were perceived as suppressing their individuality. However, while these clubs biker promote freedom from the regulations of mainstream society and laws, they do not provide a fully autonomous lifestyle. The clubs represent highly organised communities governed by club rules and regulations, despite their outlandish behaviours and rough appearance of members (Haslett, 2007).

MCs can demand absolute conformity with members bound by a code of conduct in which sanctions (ranging from fines, having colours removed, to murder) apply for violations (Ballard, 1997; Quinn & Koch, 2003). The strict club lifestyle enforces group welfare, cohesion and reputation, which is emphasised during periods of warfare or expansion. It is argued 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). However, the organisational structure in 1% MCs is flexible enough to enable local chapters to promote growth and provide sufficient autonomy for the independent and rebellious personalities (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 limit the hedonistic behaviours of members and place rational limits on their excesses to protect the club's interests. Members accept these restrictions as long as they are justifiable in terms of tangible rewards. As high-ranking officers in the 1% MC can offer the rank-and-file members with employment, loans and gifts, the self-destructive hedonistic behaviours are becoming less frequent (Quinn, 1987). The firm regulations of behavior are not viewed as invasive towards the individual members' autonomy as the way-of-life that MCs' offer is preferable to the alternative, mainstream society (Quinn & Koch, 2003; Wolf, 1991).

Clubs, chapters and individual members can be measured on a continuum of 'conservatives' to 'radicals' (Lauchs, Bain, & Bell, 2015; Quinn & Koch, 2003). 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 both conservative and radical members commit crimes, 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 (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). Most clubs are considered conservative, while the key criminal players, such as the Rebels and Hell's Angels are considered the pinnacle of radicalism in the motorcycle sub-culture; however, even in these clubs, the continuum from conservative to radical still exists but is skewed. Members with differing priorities can co-exist until conflicting priorities create internal conflict within the club, which can lead to disillusionment (Harris, 2015).

While the love of motorcycles has given way to the Nike Bkie, the emotional attachment to the socially constructed MC identity remains. The modern perspective presents MC's as criminal organisations that have evolved beyond the social ideology that fostered the clubs' creation, yet members still emphasise the sense of brotherhood. Harris' (2015) interviews with former MC members has shown the sense of belonging, support and emotional attachment to other members existed as drivers to their commitment and was particularly prevalent in low-ranking members and prospects. Additionally, the conflict between members and challenges to the concept of the brotherhood were found to influence club attachment and the willingness to engage in criminal endeavours.

Social identity theory and the 1% MC

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains group membership and inter-group relations based on self-categorisation, social comparisons and the construction of the self-concept in terms of group defining properties (Boros, 2008; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). May (1991) argued people are drawn to groups which can provide meaning and relieve anxieties. Collective ideologies, according to May, provide a sense of identity, endorse a set of moral values, encourage loyalty to communal groups, and provide meaning to existential issues. These beliefs form individual reference systems that give meaning to the world and personal experiences, as well as influencing personal goals, emotions, attitudes and behaviour. This meaning system is characterised by stability, logic and political sophistication, which provides coherent and comprehensive explanations for the universe and one's existence in it (Iannaccone & Berman, 2006; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). The social environment created by a cohesive ideological group fosters the social, temporal, attachment and moral aspects of group membership that presents the belief system and way-of-life as an undisputed truth (Orsini, 2012). The confidence in which these beliefs are held makes alternative information and lifestyle changes difficult for members to comprehend.

Wolf (1991) described the brotherhood in MCs as 'being part of a high frequency of interpersonal contacts that were activated over a wide range of social situations', which reinforces attachment to the club's way-of-life and fosters interdependence. Orsini (2012) explained it is the interdependence and reassurance given by the ideology that provides the social bonds between group members who are not necessarily marginalised or disadvantaged in society. The intense interaction experienced by members reinforces their self-image of social pariahs, supports the social bonds between members, facilitates criminal pride and similar thinking errors, and guides impression management (Hopper & Moore, 1983; Quinn, 1987, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Wolf, 1991). The intensity that 1% MCs place on membership and loyalty implies that those who join are members for life; regardless of the reality that membership usually ends.

Social identity theorists Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued groups provide people with a source of pride and self-esteem, as well as a social identity that provides a sense of belonging in the world. To maintain, or increase, the self-image, members attempt to enhance the group's status while criticising outsiders. This leads to the exaggerated differences between groups, increased perceived homogeneity in the out-group's members, stereotyping, as well as attribution errors. Tajfel and Turner (1979) state groups develop an 'us and them' perspective as a consequence of this social-categorisation, which can lead to antagonism between groups.

At the basic level, the social identity of a person refers to the self-concept that is derived from membership within personally significant social groups, and consequently, the internalisation of group characteristics (Onorato & Turner, 2004; Sharma & Sharma, 2010). The identification with different social groups regulate personal behaviours and membership provides the individual with the meanings for who he or she is (Stets & Burke, 2000; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). By identifying with a MC, the member's self-concept incorporates the associated value connotations and emotional significance that the club embodies (Turner, 1999). Being successful in club activities and achieving recognition within the sub-culture fosters self-esteem and establishes a positive identity.

Self-categorisation into the MC enforces group norms and encourages conformity in cognitive processes such as perceptions, inferences, feelings, behaviour and interpersonal interactions (Erikson, 1962; Haslam et al., 1996; Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2007). The constant criticism by key members of undesirable behaviours further instil habitual patterns of decision-making and the punishment of behaviours deviating from group standards further strengthens behavioural controls as well as reaffirms cultural norms (Erikson, 1962). Akers (1973) refers to this as 'differential reinforcement'; the adoption of deviant behaviours and shifts of the perceptions of right and wrong are not adopted merely through interaction but are

learned through conditioning. As individuals enter into criminal groups, behaviours are reinforced through punishment and reward, both tangible as well as social rewards of belonging and significance (Lauchs et al., 2015).

Traditionally, the ideal 1% member upheld the sub-culture's values was a rider who had appreciation for, and skill with, mechanical aspects of a bike, treated other bikers as brothers, was overtly masculine in behaviour and sexual orientation, as well as a non-conformity to worldly values whilst adhering to the biker sub-culture (Hopper & Moore, 1983; Quinn, 2001; Watson, 1980, 1982). The brotherhood bond of members was intense, frequent and exclusive, and shared similarities with alternative ideological groups, including new religious movements, in terms of the commitment required from members. While dated, Watson's (1982) comparison of the value systems of bikers to those in a religious sects found commonalities 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 distinction; (3) emphasis on the 'right' behaviour; in particular, a strongly emphasised brotherhood and the display of sub-cultural focal concerns, such as masculinity, toughness and power; (4) extreme in orientation; (5) the substitution of worldly achievements for intra-group status needs; as well as (6) the rejection of the present for future or past orientated goals.

Consequently, the traditional 1% MC's model biker encompassed personal qualities of toughness, trouble and excitement as well as distinctiveness from the mainstream community. Understandably, the desire to uphold the ideal biker model often led to increased risks of incarceration (Danner & Silverman, 1986; Lyng & Bracey, 1995). However, the limited public tolerance of biker mayhem led to an increase in unwanted attention by law enforcement and legislative changes targeting the 1% sub-culture. Realising this, the modern MCs attempt to regulate behaviour and impose a code of conduct on members.

Quinn and Forsyth (2009), and Harris (2015) recognised criminality as a significant aspect of the MC milieu, yet acknowledge members still stress the fraternal aspects of the club as central to their membership. The members' perception of belonging ensures the development of extreme loyalty to their club. This fosters mutual protection between members and promotes the 'all on one, one on all' mentality in which all members will fight to protect their brothers (Blackburn, 2000; Haut, 1998; Hopper & Moore, 1983; Quinn, 2001; Quinn & Koch, 2003; Wolf, 1991). This approach acts as a preventative measure against others attacking a brother, but relies on the understanding that one must not endanger his club, or abuse this ethic (Barger, Zimmerman, & Zimmerman, 2001; Wolf, 1991). While upholding group honour is not exclusive to MCs, it is critical to group dynamics and individual behaviour as it ensures mutual support and reinforcement for the club ethos (Quinn & Koch, 2003).

The identity achieved through categorisation into MCs and subsequent roles is not a fixed state, but can be subject to shifts back-and-forth between varying social identities. However, in certain contexts one identity can become dominant and more readily activated than others (Stets & Burke, 2000). When a certain social identity becomes salient, it overshadows other aspects of the person's life. The 1% motorcycle club promotes a salient identity where group norms are expected to take precedence in their members' lives, and be prioritised over employment, social obligations and family.

The notion central to social identity theory is that social comparisons within and between groups relevant to one's social identity produce pressures for inter-group differentiation, with the objective of enhancing self-esteem. The emphasis on similarities and differences between groups occurs for the attitudes, beliefs and values, focal concerns, behavioural norms and stylistic properties associated with the in-group (also known as the ultimate attribution error; Hewstone, 1990; Stets & Burke, 2000). People are motivated to evaluate themselves and their group favourably; subsequently, the superiority to comparable groups can provide the impetus

for the 'us and them' mentality, which motivates negative attitudes and animosity towards the 'other' and in-group favouritism (Onorato & Turner, 2004; Schmitt, Branscombe, Silvia, Garcia, & Spears, 2006; Turner, Pratkanis, Probasco, & Leve, 1992).

Intra-group comparisons also provide the individual member with normative referent, upon which personal performance can be judged (Laferrière & Morselli, 2015). From this, attachment to criminal achievement is increased by the social influence of criminal peers and success is relative to the context of the reference group. As such, an MC with higher criminal achievers is likely to encourage individual members to strive further. Furthermore, Quinn and Forsyth (2009) suggest the MC acts as a referent group for other criminal actors (e.g.: some associates, hang-arounds).

The extreme of social-categorisation can lead to ethnocentric attitudes and the dehumanization of the 'other' (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012; Perreault & Bourhis, 1999). This involves perceiving the out-group(s) (or rival MCs) as less significant and less deserving of basic human rights, which can justify the use of violence. Perceived threats to the club's interests and survival can increase cohesiveness, as well as a lack of empathy and animus towards an out-group. Violence between MCs has often escalated to lethal means, for example, the Waco shooting in 2015 and the use of military arsenal in the Nordic biker war.

In-group identification occurs to a greater extent when categorisation transpires during times of threat and uncertainty—irrespective of how the uncertainty is caused (i.e.: interclub conflict, law enforcement pressure). Psychological studies (Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Hogg, 2000; Hogg et al., 2007) have found inducing uncertainty produced stronger self-reported group identification and inter-group discrimination. These were considered strongest when the focus of uncertainty was socially related to the self; that is, uncertainty relating to the individual's social world and their place in it (Hogg, 2000; Hogg et al., 2007). One per cent MCs are frequently exposed to violent conflict, or perceived oppression through social policies and law enforcement efforts, which can facilitate uncertainty and enhance cohesiveness. Policies such as the 'anti-association laws', as well as the various task forces targeting the MCs need to consider the alternative, that external pressures actually reinforce commitment to the club (Harris, 2012). As members have to cope with social condemnation, as well as police and political pressures, the social pariah identity is reinforced and it does not take long before the attitude changes from rebellion to 'fuck the world' (Wolf, 1991).

The increased cohesiveness in groups encourages the disinhibition of personal attitudes through conformity (Cliff, 2006). The submerging of members' identity within the club enables the concept of 'group think', and in cohesive groups under pressure, group-think tends to be demonstrated to an extreme degree (Tsintsadze-Maass & Maass, 2014). This includes excessive risk taking and optimism, the assumption of the MC as of high moral character and invulnerable, illusions of unanimity, stereotyping, as well as the lack of tolerance for those in the out-group and those questioning the MC's activities. Consequently, members are resistant to alternatives and are more susceptible to flawed, and extreme, decision-making (Janis, 1982; Turner et al., 1992).

The collective approach to violence can diffuse the sense of responsibility for an attack, particularly when blame is ascribed to the victims, through the act of simply following orders, or the distortion of the cause and effect relationship (Bandura, 1990; McAlister, Bandura, & Owen, 2006). As the MC's identity becomes the salient identity for the individual, the club provides the necessary justification for actions without individual responsibility. Consequently, if the MC presents violence or criminal behaviour as required and justified, then members are more likely to embrace this view; guilt or remorse are not expressed by individual members if the club does not overtly endorse such emotions.

This socialisation towards club commitment and the rationalisation of violence and extreme behaviour are supported by a social ideology that strengthens emotional attachment to the MC. The brotherhood, developed through intense identification with the club, is recognised and reinforced through the MC sub-culture's founding principles.

Implications for law enforcement

Law enforcement insists the clubs, both locally and abroad, are significant players in organised crime, to the point of rivalling and collaborating with traditional organized crime syndicates and drawing considerable attention from police (Barker, 2004; Haut, 1998; Quinn, 2001; Smith, 2002; Tretheway & Katz, 1998). Additionally, involvement with 1% MCs and associated activities can cause emotional strain and be detrimental to relationships and future opportunities. In extremism literature, it is believed that operating in a clandestine manner and experiencing threats of violence or punitive actions from enemies or authorities can find members longing for a mainstream society lifestyle, including lifestyle factors unavailable while maintaining membership, such as marriage and starting a family, developing a career, or living without the fear associated with intergroup conflict (Bjørge & Horgan, 2009; Fink & Hearne, 2008; Harris, 2010). For those with low identification with their social group, this discrimination can emphasise intergroup heterogeneity and/or further disillusionment with their membership (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). However, in the 1% milieu where the recruitment process emphasises strong identification to the group, it is more likely to reinforce attachment to the club.

As such, attempts by law enforcement to dismantle these clubs can work in two ways; cause the group to fragment under pressure, or conversely, increase the group's cohesiveness—strengthening the 'us against them' mentality. Harris (2012) found police pressure could influence a member to leave, but not necessarily to protect one's self from punitive measures. This particular participant maintained positive attachment towards the club and emphasised the need to leave in order to protect the club and maintain his status as 'a solid guy'. This participant also acknowledged if circumstances were different, he would return to the club. The brotherhood and depth of camaraderie provides the psychological impetus to neglect mainstream standards and threats to the individual are often overlooked by the immediate need to protect the club (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011).

However, a positive for law enforcement is that rising external pressures and increased group cohesiveness can increase the frequency of mistakes made by members (Alexander & Myers, 1982). Pressures can be internalised by members, which cause greater concentration and intensify the desire to achieve; however, these factors can compound until all rationality within the group as well as its methods are removed, which creates a volatile environment. Examples of intra-group conflict resulting in extreme violence and fatalities are available in the Australian media. For example, the 1984 Milperra massacre between the Comancheros and Bandido MCs developed over the Comancheros' internal fractions and the rivalry between the Finks (who have now merged with the United States based Mongols MC) and the Coffin Cheaters MC over the defection, and subsequent recruitment, of former Sergeant-At-Arms Troy Mercanti (Cox, 2011; Stephenson, 2007).

The internal conflicts combined with external pressures can lead individual club members to disengage. A key finding by Harris' (2015) study into reducing dependency on groups, including the 1%, is that external threats must accompany discontent within the group for members to reduce their attachment to the club and leave.

Concluding comments

The 1% MC seeks exclusivity through club expectations of behaviours, dress and ritualistic activities. They maintain a distinctive and recognisable value system and lifestyle that is isolated from the mainstream social environment which also enhances the members' experiences of

belonging. The organisational model ensures members are personally motivated to perform their designated roles and achieve the desired goal; beyond the motivation for more traditional roles. The intensity that 1% MCs place on membership and loyalty implies that those who join are members for life. Emotional attachment is strengthened by the relationships within the group, the biker lifestyle, and the ideological imperative that provides status and self-esteem through the distinctiveness of the club.

Social movements seek this kind of status and intensity of commitment from their members and replicating this organisation model with alternative ideologies will ensure the commitment and intensity can facilitate conflict. In Australia currently, the ideology is distinctly unique to the biker sub-culture; however abroad white supremacist groups have created their own clubs, or established ties with existing MCs. The loyalty and ferocity that members display to their clubs and its goals make the MC the ideal foot soldiers for social movements. At this stage, the 1% MCs and white supremacy groups in Australia remain separate movements; however the social networks overlap and similar cultural practices are observed.

Over the years, clubs have balanced the social needs of members with increasing fiscal interests and (in some cases) criminal behaviour. 1% MC members have become highly skilled in unlawful activity and developed a social ideology that emphasises the club over other everything else. This kind of dedication enforces commitment from the members, but also ensures members will go beyond the mainstream standards of right and wrong to protect, or enhance, their club. It is this fierce commitment, combined with their growing skill sets, that makes the 1% MC attractive to alternative movements and a concern to law enforcement.

References

- Akers, R. L. (1973). *Deviant behaviour: A social learning approach*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Alexander, Y., & Myers, K. A. (Eds.). (1982). *Terrorism in Europe*. London: Croom Helm.
- Anti-Defamation League. (2011). Bigots on bikes: The growing links between white supremacists and biker gangs. <http://www.adl.org/combating-hate/domestic-extremism-terrorism/c/bigots-on-bikes.html>
- Ballard, L. M. (1997). "These youngsters change all these traditions": A perspective on "outlaw" motorcycle clubs in Ireland. *Folklore*, 108, 107-114.
- Bandura, A. (1990). Mechanisms of moral disengagement. In W. Reich (Ed.), *Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind* (pp. 161-191). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barker, T. (2004). Exporting American organized crime - Outlaw motorcycle gangs. *Journal of Gang Research*, 11(2), 37-50.
- Barger, R., Zimmerman, K., & Zimmerman, K. (2001). *Hell's Angel: The life and times of Sonny Barger and the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Bizumic, B. & Duckitt, J. (2012). What is and is not ethnocentrism? A conceptual analysis and political implications. *Political Psychology*, (33)6,887-909, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00907.x
- Bjørgo, T., & Horgan, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Leaving terrorism behind: Individual and collective disengagement*. New York: Routledge.
- Blackburn, E. (2000). The Western Australian biker wars. In M. Brown (Ed.), *Bombs, guns, and knives: Violent crime in Australia* (pp. 237-259). Chatswood, NSW: New Holland Publishers.
- Boros, S. (2008). Organizational identification: Theoretical and empirical analyses of competing conceptualizations. *Cognition, Brain, Behavior*, 12(1), 1-27.
- Branscombe, N. R., Ellemers, N, Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of social identity threat. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity: Context, commitment, content* (pp. 35-58). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Cliff, A. V. (2006). *Disinhibition and terrorism*. (Master of Arts in Political Science master's thesis), University of Canterbury, Canterbury. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10092/896>.

Cohen, S. (1972). *Folk devils and moral panic: The creation of the mods and rockers*. London: MacGibbon & Kee Ltd.

Cox, N. (2011, July 24). Bokie protection plan. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/878723642?accountid=10675>

Danner, T. A., & Silverman, I. J. (1986). Characteristics of incarcerated outlaw bikers as compared to nonbiker inmates. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 9, 43-70.

Erikson, K. T. (1962). Notes on the sociology of deviance. *Social Problems*, 9(4), 307-314.

Fink, N. C., & Hearne, E. B. (2008). Beyond terrorism: Deradicalization and disengagement from violent extremism. *International Peace Institute*, 1-27. <http://www.ipinst.org/asset/file/384/BETER.pdf>

Grieve, P. G., & Hogg, M. A. (1999). Subjective uncertainty and intergroup discrimination in the minimal group situation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 926-40.

Harris, K. J. (2009). *One percent motorcycle clubs: Has the media constructed a moral panic in Kalgoorlie, Western Australia?* (Unpublished master's thesis), Edith Cowan University, Perth, Western Australia.

Harris, K. J. (2010). *Review: Disillusionment with radical social groups*. Paper presented at the 1st Australian Counter Terrorism Conference, Perth, Western Australia.

Harris, K. J. (2012). *Commitment and the 1% motorcycle club: Threats to the brotherhood*. Paper presented at the 3rd Australian Counter Terrorism Conference, Perth, Western Australia.

Harris, K. J. (2015). *Leaving ideological social groups behind: A grounded theory of psychological disengagement*. PhD Thesis, Edith Cowan University, Perth, Western Australia. Retrieved from http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=kira_harris

Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J., McGarty, C., Turner, J. C., Reynolds, K. J., & Eggins, R. A. (1996). Stereotyping and social influence: The mediation of stereotype applicability and sharedness by the views of in-group and out-group members. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, 369-397.

Haslett, D. (2007). *Riding at the margins: International media and the construction of the generic outlaw biker identity in the south island of New Zealand, circa 1950-1975*. University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Haut, F. (1998). *Organised crime on wheels: The outlaw motorcycle gang*. Department for the Study of the Contemporary Criminal Menace. http://www.drmmc.org/download_en.php?dl=41b3a34b81b08.pdf

Hewstone, M. (1990). The 'ultimate attribution error'? A review of the literature on intergroup causal attribution. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 20(4), 311-335. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420200404

Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subjective uncertainty reduction through self-categorization: A motivational theory of social identity processes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 11, 223-255.

Hogg, M. A., Sherman, D. K., Dierselhuis, J., Maitner, A. T., & Moffitt, G. (2007). Uncertainty, entitativity, and group identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 43(1), 135-142. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2005.12.008

Hopper, C. B., & Moore, J. (1983). Hell on wheels: The outlaw motorcycle gangs. *The Journal of American Culture*, 6(2), 58-64.

Iannaccone, L. R., & Berman, E. (2006). Religious extremism: The good, the bad, and the deadly. *Public Choice*, 128(1-2), 109-129. doi: 10.1007/s11127-006-9047-7

Janis, I. L. (1982). *Groupthink: Psychological studies of policy decisions and fiascos* (2nd ed.). New York: Free Press.

Jones, A. (2014). *Transformers: Motorcycle Gangs and Extremism*. *Foreign Intrigue*. <http://foreignintrigue.com/2014/08/transformers-motorcycle-gangs-and-extremism/>

Jost, J. T., Nosek, B. A., & Gosling, S. D. (2008). Ideology: Its resurgence in social, personality, and political psychology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3(2), 126-136. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-6916.2008.00070.x

Laferrrière, D., & Morselli, C. (2015). Criminal achievement and self-efficacy. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 1-34. doi:10.1177/0022427815579513

Lauchs, M., Bain, A. & Bell, P. (2015). Outlaw motorcycle gangs: A theoretical perspective. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lyng, S., & Bracey, M. L., Jr. (1995). Squaring the one percent: Biker style and the selling of cultural resistance. In J. Ferrell & C. R. Sanders (Eds.), *Cultural Criminology* (pp. 235-276). Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Maltz, R. (2009). The epistemology of strategy. Presented at the XX Annual Strategy Conference, Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College. Retrieved from http://dnipogo.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/maltz_epistemology_of_strategy.pdf

May, R. (1991). *The cry for myth*. New York: Norton & Co.

McAlister, A. L., Bandura, A., & Owen, S. V. (2006). Mechanisms of moral disengagement in support of military force: The impact of Sept. 11. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 25(2), 141-165.

Onorato, R. S., & Turner, J. C. (2004). Fluidity in the self-concept: The shift from personal to social identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 34(3), 257-278. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.195

Orsini, A. (2012). Poverty, Ideology and Terrorism: The STAM Bond. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 35(10), 665-692. doi: 10.1080/1057610X.2012.712030

Perreault, S. & Bourhis, R. Y. (1999). Ethnocentrism, social identification, and discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology*, 25(1), 92-103. doi: 10.1177/0146167299025001008.

Quinn, J. F. (1987). Sex roles and hedonism among members of "outlaw" motorcycle clubs. *Deviant Behavior*, 8(1), 47-63.

Quinn, J. F. (2001). Angels, Bandidos, Outlaws, and Pagans: The evolution of organized crime among the big four 1% motorcycle clubs. *Deviant Behavior*, 22(4), 379-399.

Quinn, J. F., & Koch, D. S. (2003). The nature of criminality within one-percent motorcycle clubs. *Deviant Behavior*, 24, 281-305.

Quinn, J. F., & Forsyth, C. J. (2009). Leathers and Rolexes: The symbolism and values of the Motorcycle club. *Deviant Behavior*, 30(3), 235-265.

Quinn, J. F., & Forsyth, C. J. (2011). The tools, tactics, and mentality of outlaw biker wars. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(3), 216-230. doi: 10.1007/s12103-011-9107-5

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Silvia, P. J., Garcia, D. M., & Spears, R. (2006). Categorizing at the group-level in response to intragroup social comparisons: A self-categorization theory integration of self-evaluation and social identity motives. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 36(3), 297-314.

Sharma, S., & Sharma, M. (2010). Self, social identity and psychological wellbeing. *Psychological Studies*, 55(2), 118-136. doi: 10.1007/s12646-010-0011-8

Smith, R. C. (2002). Dangerous motorcycle gangs: A facet of organized crime in the Mid-Atlantic region. *Journal of Gang Research*, 9(4), 33-44.

Stephenson, R. H. (2007). Milperra massacre. In A. Veno & K. Sims (Eds.), *The mammoth book of bikers* (pp. 425-444). Philadelphia, PA: Running Press Book Publishers.

Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63(3), 224-237. doi: 10.2307/2695870

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed.). Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.

Tretheway, S., & Katz, T. (1998). Motorcycle gangs or motorcycle mafia? *National Alliance of Gang Investigations Association*.
<http://www.nagia.org/Gang%20Articles/Motorcycle%20Gangs.htm>

Turner, M. E., Pratkanis, A. R., Probasco, P., & Leve, C. (1992). Threat, cohesion, and group effectiveness: Testing a social identity maintenance perspective on groupthink. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63(5), 781-796.

- Tsintsadze-Maass, E. & Maass, R. W. (2014). Groupthink and terrorist radicalization. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1–24. doi: 10.1080/09546553.2013.805094
- Watson, J. M. (1980). Outlaw motorcyclists: An outgrowth of lower class cultural concerns. *Deviant behavior*, 4, 31-48.
- Watson, J. M. (1982). Righteousness on two wheels: Bikers as a secular sect. *Sociological Spectrum*, 2, 333-349.
- Wolf, D. R. (1991). *The Rebels: A brotherhood of outlaw bikers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ysseldyk, R., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2010). Religiosity as identity: Toward an understanding of religion from a social identity perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14(1), 60-71. doi: 10.1177/1088868309349693