

pragmatically important and agents of social control. Such paradoxes lead us to wonder if deviance is either hard or soft. Caton's perplexing data suggest that organized deviant subcultures do not threaten social order but enhance it, as do data in the next two chapters. Nanda's discussion of Hijras' careers in India also suggest close ties between deviant subcultures (the term is not used) and the straight world. Hijras (trans-sexual? homosexual prostitutes? religious functionaries? all of the above?) are closely tied to straight Indian culture. Another paradox! Shaw *does* focus on the deviant subculture of Taiwan youth gangs and their ties to straight society. This subculture elaborates the values of personal freedom, universal morality and equality derived from a prior "knights errant" model in Chinese history. The subculture uses these values to justify their relation to, and demarcation from, straight society. These values and the subculture are in turn partially accepted by the straight society.

Gaffin's piece on clowning and story-telling in the Faroes illustrates the construction and control of deviance in a small-scale unit embedded in a larger society. Small-scale units handle deviance internally and avoid reference to the bureaucratic institutions of the larger society.

In sum, I have more quibble with the theories in this book than with the ethnographic data. My preference is to put off theoretical debate until we have more data, because the anthropology of deviance is a *very* new field. To this end, I would recommend this work to *all* anthropologists who have an interest in the new subdiscipline, and even more so to sociologists of deviance who *need* it as an antidote for their theories derived solely from an examination of deviance in large-scale industrial and post-industrial societies.

The Rebels: A Brotherhood of Outlaw Bikers

Daniel R. Wolf

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Perhaps I spend too much time with international police, and too little among criminologists: but at the close of the 1960s cult film, *Easy Rider*, a romanticization of two biker cocaine dealers, a redneck in a pickup truck won my heart by instantaneously reducing the number of dealers by two. Wolf's unique examination of a bikers' club does nothing to change my mind on this matter, but the book is a significant anthropological achievement and a major contribution to the sociology of deviance.

This study of one of North America's 900 outlaw bikers' clubs goes right to the heart of the mentality, the *sensibility*, of those who dress in such outlandish costumes, parade such rebellious personae, provoke the hatred of so many police officers, induce interesting speculation on their sources of income and strike fear in the hearts of honest citizens as they noisily prowl the highways of this continent. The working-class author's credentials and honesty are impressive: a long-time biker himself, he says he "rode my motorcycle in anger; for me it became a show of contempt and a way of defying the privileged middle class that had put me down and had kept my parents 'in their place.' I felt that the Establishment had done me no favours and that I owed it even less" (p. 10).

Wolf would not renege on that negative commitment. He states in his acknowledgment that his aim was “neither to condemn nor to glorify bikers,” but Wolf is clearly deeply smitten by the style of life (indeed, he is a long-time participant), and he goes well out of his way, if not to glorify, at least to *sanitize* the culture of bikerdom — especially its routine and savage violence, its sources of income and its ugly treatment of women. Perhaps he had no choice, given the potential petulance of his informants.

Wolf knowledgeably guides us through first contact with a bikers’ club, the intimate relationship of the men with their “hogs” (motorcycles), the details of recruitment to the club — learning the acceptable interactional styles and internalizing the demands for absolute loyalty — and ultimately earning members’ “colours” and full acceptance in what he engagingly calls this “participatory democracy.” This is followed by a most interesting chapter on the increasing number of women bikers, not just as tag-along girlfriends, but as individual bikers. “Gangbangs” and other degradations of female camp followers are unconvincingly sanitized as: “The portrayal of these masculine (dominance) and feminine (submissive) traits is not as deviant as may first appear.” Uncontrolled drinking and brawling are glossed as “the subculture’s concern for male prowess”: in the words of one club member, “a good bar-room brawl is good for club morale . . . the guys were sure as hell in an excellent mood after it” (p. 203). The hysterical public and police reaction to a “club run,” a long-distance trip, is related with a barely concealed glee. The clubhouse-cum-armoury in which they live is glossed as “more than a fortified refuge, it is primarily a social centre for good times” (p. 248). He skates rather lightly over biker economy, based among other things in theft (but of course mainly “to provide themselves with replacement parts or bikes” [p. 267]), hired muscle, pimping and drug distribution: Wolf insists his bikers are “outlaws, but they are not professional criminals. . . . [L]aws were sidestepped, bent, and broken, but rarely for profit” and “criminal acts were usually confined to minor misdemeanours” (p. 268). Fierce turf wars (sometimes in other clubs accompanied by multiple killings) are described as variously motivated, perhaps by “personal pride,” or “group power,” even “public relations,” “and, for some clubs, criminal profit” (p. 314).

The literate text is complemented and enriched by the many photographs, as well as the handsome book production; and one cannot fail to see the guiding hand here of the University of Toronto Press’s Virgil Duff, whose succession to the editorship has been accompanied by the publication of a number of fine volumes in the sociology of deviance, including M. Cusson’s sadly neglected but brilliant (and exquisitely translated) *Why Delinquency?* (1983). Wolf’s *The Rebels* is a fine example of what symbolic interactionism tries to do in sociology, and it extends the foundation of an anthropology of deviance; it is certainly destined to become a classic.