



THE ORGANIZATIONAL STIGMA OF MOTORCYCLE GROUPS

O ESTIGMA ORGANIZACIONAL DOS GRUPOS DE MOTOCICLISTAS

Priscila da Silva Duarte

Email: priscila.duarte@ifpr.edu.br

Doutoranda pelo Programa de Mestrado e Doutorado Acadêmico em Administração de Empresas da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Brasil

Noézia Maria Ramos

Email: ramos.noezia@gmail.com

Mestre em Administração (UFU-2007), Especialista em Gestão e Estratégia Empresarial (ULBRA-2002) e Bacharel em Administração (1995). Atualmente é Professora do Curso de graduação em Administração na Universidade Federal de Uberlândia - Campus Ituiutaba/MG, Brasil

Denise Queiroz Ribeiro

Email: deniseqr@gmail.com

Doutoranda em Administração na Fundação Getúlio Vargas de São Paulo. Mestre em Administração pela PUC-MG/Fundação Dom Cabral, Brasil

Adriana de Fatima Valente Bastos

Email: adriabastos@gmail.com

Professora efetiva no Instituto Federal de Pernambuco - IFPE. Vice-líder do Núcleo de Estudos em Marketing no Interesse Social (MIS). Doutora em Administração de Empresas pela Fundação Getulio Vargas - FGV / EAESP (2019, Brasil).

Abstract:

Since scholars have come into contact with Erving Goffman's work, "Stigma: Notes on the Handling of Deteriorated Identity," many issues have been discussed in an interdisciplinary way on the subject of stigma, at the individual level and, more recently, in the organizational level. At this level, there are studies on organizations that have been stigmatized since its inception; have become stigmatized; developed actions to circumvent stigma; and, they obtained the destigmatization. This is the

level of analysis chosen for the development of this study. The general objective of this article is to describe how motorcycling groups respond to the organizational stigma that is typical of this urban tribe. And, the specific objectives were to identify and compare the emotional, social and collective responses and motivations that underlie and drive the actions used by motorcycling groups in the Brazilian context. Through an exploratory study, conducted through interviews with members of Brazilian motorcycling groups (some belonging to the motorcycle club), it was found that, surprisingly, despite the ethnic and cultural diversity among Brazilian motorcyclists, there are few women, blacks and homosexuals who drive and are members of motorcycle groups. Most motorcyclists encourage / collaborate on fraternization and philanthropic events, some of which are designed to circumvent the stigma of the organizations of which they are part and thus reduce the individual stigma they carry when they publicly show themselves as motorcyclists belonging to these groups.

Keywords: stigma; organizational stigma; motorcycling groups; motorcycle club; Brazilian motorcyclists

Resumo

Desde que estudiosos tiveram contato com a obra de Erving Goffman, "Estigma: notas sobre a manipulação da identidade deteriorada", muitas questões têm sido discutidas, de modo interdisciplinar, sobre o tema estigma, no nível individual e, mais recentemente, no organizacional. Neste nível, encontram-se estudos sobre organizações que são estigmatizadas desde a sua origem; se tornaram estigmatizadas; desenvolveram ações visando contornar o estigma; e, obtiveram a desestigmatização. Esse é o nível de análise escolhido para o desenvolvimento desse estudo. O objetivo geral desse artigo é descrever como os grupos de motociclismo respondem ao estigma organizacional que é próprio dessa tribo urbana. E, os objetivos específicos foram identificar e comparar as respostas e motivações emocionais, sociais e coletivas que subjazem e conduzem as ações utilizadas pelos grupos de motociclismo no contexto brasileiro. Através de um estudo exploratório, conduzido por meio de entrevistas aplicadas a membros de grupos de motociclismo brasileiros (alguns pertencentes à motoclubes) se verificou que, surpreendentemente, apesar da diversidade étnica e cultural brasileira entre os motociclistas há poucas mulheres, negros e homossexuais que pilotam e são membros dos grupos de motociclismo. A maior parte dos motociclistas incentiva/colabora em eventos de confraternização e filantrópicos, alguns deles visando contornar o estigma das organizações das quais fazem parte e, conseqüentemente, reduzir o estigma individual que carregam quando se mostram, publicamente, como motociclistas pertencentes a esses grupos.

Palavras-chave: estigma; estigma organizacional; grupos de motociclismo; motoclubes; motociclistas brasileiros

1. INTRODUCTION

Since scholars, mainly from the fields of sociology and psychology, have come into contact with the work of Erving Goffman, published in 1963 under the title "Stigma: notes on the manipulation of decayed identity", many issues have been

discussed in an interdisciplinary way, on the topic stigma at the individual level and, more recently, at the organizational level.

At the individual level are recurrent studies on the experiences of social depreciation and, consequently, marginalization of stigmatized people; which relate to stigmatized individuals and their responses to the stigmatization process. And, in the organizational, studies on organizations that have been stigmatized since its origin; have become stigmatized; developed actions aimed at circumventing or assuming stigma; and, they obtained the de-stigmatization.

As the organizational stigma is the object of study of this analysis and the motorcycling groups (some belonging to the motorcycle club) the subjects of the research, this article presented to the 34th Egos Colloquium shows a part of the doctoral thesis research in business administration that is under development in Brazil on urban tribes and identification processes, the general objective was to describe how motorcycling groups respond to the organizational stigma that is characteristic of this urban tribe. And, the specific objectives were to identify and compare the emotional, social and collective responses and motivations that underlie and drive the actions used by motorcycling groups in the Brazilian context.

From the lack of research identified the scarcity of studies involving the stigma theme studied from motorcycle groups and, specifically, the process of developing strategies used by these research subjects to circumvent or assume the stigmas, this article aims to contribute to the theme "Surprise and around Organizations: Trips to the Unexpected" by showing how individuals assume various identities, one of them stigmatized due to the organizations that associate can mean many different things, not just negative ones. Involvement with motorcycling groups, then considered urban tribes that manifest themselves in spaces of representation called stigmatized organizations can bring (re) significance of the identities of individuals and promote them from new discoveries and openings to shocks and ruptures, especially emotional.

To accomplish this, a qualitative and exploratory study was carried out, through interviews with members of motorcycling groups in one of the largest cities in Brazil, Curitiba, Paraná. Having been submitted data content analysis. The article was divided into five sections and structured as follows. In the first section we have an analysis of the stigma and the relationship between the themes identification processes, urban tribes and organizational stigma is explained. In the second section

are presented several studies already done on motorcycling groups. In the third section the qualitative approach is described. In the fourth, the discussion is presented. And, in the fifth section the conclusions, limitations and agenda for the development of future research are presented.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Looks at the stigma (s)

Although the term "mark" is commonly used to attribute a prominent feature to a person and / or object, generating interest or scorn for those interacting with it, the mark encompasses broader contexts (Goffman, 1963). And in this section, entitled "Looks at stigma (s)," we seek to lead readers to a greater understanding of how one of the hallmarks of present-day society interferes with identification processes, shapes urban tribes, and stigmata individual and organizational.

According to Maffesoli (1996) there is a new "social dynamics" that may be one of the marks of contemporary society, the mutation. If in modern society there was a mechanical structure of functioning and the establishment of relationships of trust that relied on the function that the individual intentionally exercised within the contractual groups through a outlined profile, a secure profession, a life project, that is , an identity that made him distinguish himself and be recognized by the others, at present, this does not exist (Maffesoli, 1996, Bauman, 2007). In contemporary society it is possible to observe the formation of an organic structure of functioning and the establishment of trusting relationships that are based on the meeting of individuals who come close to the desire to "be together" and to share the same way of experiencing the world (Maffesoli , 1996; Bauman, 2003). An individual who is mutant, with (almost) nonexistent profession, who assumes an occasional life project through a future that he considers as uncertain. There is therefore, in this society, the identifications that are developed through constant, simultaneous and temporary processes of group affiliation and lead to the creation of identities (Goffman, 1985, Maffesoli, 1996, 1998 and Bauman, 2003).

Thus, everyday life develops in a manner similar to what takes place in a theater stage (Goffman, 1985). Through encounters, individuals influence and transform themselves into actors, representing multiple identities. Before and during the course of social interaction, they combine hierarchies, roles, and expectations regarding the choice of verbal symbols, bodily attitudes and ways of presenting to the

public. In organizations as well as in society, individuals come to represent various social roles or performances commensurate with the social positions occupied in certain scenarios (Maffesoli, 1998). In order to avoid asymmetries, constraints, and misunderstandings, they strive to maintain their coherent attitudes toward others (Goffman, 1963, 1985). And, they approach other individuals who are apparently similar to them (Maffesoli, 1996). Individuals recognized through their related tastes, for example, education, music, politics, sports etc ... Attributes that classify and distinguish them from others, approaching and alienating those who experience these cultural goods (Bourdieu, 2007).

Although the discourse conveyed by the media emphasizes the need to risk, to be free, to live new experiences, to fill the void of their existences (through the consumption or continuity of fragmented relationships) and to give a new meaning to their trajectories of life, individuals pass as a group to behave according to circumstances and to be what others expect them to be to be constantly protected (Bauman, 2007). In seeking to experience meaningful life experiences by sharing a community ideal, subjects become people, able to wear masks or present various facets that, although distinct, are incorporated by the same individuality (Goffman 1985, Maffesoli, 1996; 1998; Bauman, 2003). In organizations, individuals are allowed to assume their identities, but within what is agreed upon in a group (Goffman, 1985; Bauman, 2003). Through habitus individuals approach those who have tastes or practices of consumption that for them are representative of a lifestyle that is familiar to them and begin to be defined and to distinguish, from these habitus embodied in their ways of being and see life and others, between what is aesthetically admirable or symbolically vulgar (Bourdieu, 2007).

This new logic, which orders social interactions based on affects, establishes another form of equilibrium and harmony in society, no less important or totally replacing rational practices of control, especially disciplinary (Maffesoli, 1998). In the groups there is the meeting of individuals who seek freedom to express their most intense emotions, to share feelings with other individuals they consider similar and the possibility to communicate and behave according to a set of voluntarily accepted habitus. Individuals who through experience gained in rituals and ceremonies and the sharing of values, norms, rules, symbols, and histories (re) configure their own social identities according to organizational identity (Goffman, 1985; Maffesoli, 1996). With this, exhibiting, many times, manifestations (ideas and attitudes) that may or may not

be contradictory to what they exhibit in daily life, but which are stimulated, consented and shared among the members that circulate in the space of representation created through the groups (Maffesoli, 1998).

This new form of relationship and control that emerges within the organizations through the groups and based on the ordering of affections conveys to the individuals, simultaneously, two impressions: first, that it is necessary to control their emotions according to what is established by the group to be accepted, protected and to continue to feel free to question and lead other individuals to question the moral, ideological and aesthetic standards in society (Goffman, 1963 and Maffesoli, 1996). And the second is that because of globalization and the new technologies have given the impression that "everything is connected and at the same time separate", individuals only have their proven existence through and under the eyes of others, the audience (Goffman 1985, Maffesoli 1998, Bauman 2003). Transforming the image of the individual as well as the group of which he is part in one, thereby building on a foundational identity (Maffesoli, 1998). This new identity controls and directs the actions of the individuals in the groups and, in addition, causes them to be perceived as civilized people now as wild, by others who do not actively participate in the spectacle (Goffman 1985, Maffesoli 1998).

The constant fluxes of change that mark contemporary society mean that, nowadays, through decentralized, restricted groups that bring together individuals, especially considered at the margin, the connections between the archaic and present worlds are reawakened and open spaces of possibility for the development of new social interactions (Goffman, 1963, 1985; Maffesoli, 1998). It gives rise to a new social formation that resembles the clans and tribes of antiquity, but that at no time replaces them. Neo-tribal formations that resemble those traditional organizations (due to the sharing of habits, ideologies, rituals, specific signs of recognition, and, above all, secrecy - used to protect the group against invaders, to unite its members around affinity, leading them to consider themselves as privileged individuals-and resisting economic, political, social, and cultural attempts at standardization), but which differ from them by not necessarily bringing together individuals who have blood ties and / or who belong to a the same locality (Maffesoli, 1998).

Micro groups known as urban tribes that promote, in the cities, informal and playful encounters that bring together individuals who are characterized by difference

and seek in public and private spaces to share their roles as well as to worship feelings of heroes and / or objects considered by them as sacred (Maffesoli 1998, Bauman 2003). Neo-tribal formations that group individuals who experience, temporarily, illusory experiences of protection and freedom as if they are real, from the moment they begin to share and to keep together through emotional links (Magnani, 1992; Maffesoli, 1998). Individuals who in everyday life often do not explicitly display their distinguishing marks, but who in a group show them to question and arouse questions by society about what values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviors can be considered as "normal" , as do individuals who deal daily with their stigmas (Goffman, 1963, Magnani, 1992). The explanations on this social construction will be seen below.

Having emerged in Ancient Greece, the term "stigma" has undergone several modifications until the present time. Initially referred to as something extraordinary or bad that was associated with an individual's moral status and made him or her be excluded from society, the term "stigma" is used more broadly today (Goffman, 1963). It serves to highlight, distinguish, remove, and destroy the identity of individuals, groups, and organizations through the insertion of the deeply deprecating attribute (s) placed by other individuals, groups, and organizations who believe they are privileged and accepted for the purpose of meeting the moral, ethical and aesthetic standards of society (Goffman, 1963, Sutton & Callahan, 1987, Hudson, 2008, Devers et al, 2009) And in the existence, often, of confrontation between two distinct social groups, represented by individuals who play the role of stigmatized (those who receive the stigmata because they are considered by stigmatizers as unfit for full social acceptance) and by individuals who play the role of stigmatizers (those who transfer the stigmata to the stigmatized because they believe they are inferior) (Goffman, 1963, Sutton & Callahan, 1987). As stigma is transferred to individuals through continuous and / or simultaneous depreciation processes, the change in the way this process is conducted (Goffman, 1963) can also be observed in contemporary times. The process of stigmatization that was previously more veiled and intended only to individuals who had character flaws (physical and / or emotional deformities, linked to work viewed as degrading and / or tribal associations of specific ethnicity and religiosity) and varied according to the way the stigmatized revealed and exposed their characteristics seen as reprehensible by stigmatizers, contemporary society, has become more explicit (Abonizio, 2011; Trindade & Enumo,

2001). The process of stigmatization came to be more commonly perceived on a day-to-day basis because stigmatizers more clearly judge, group and isolate individuals stigmatized by their distinctive marks, experienced and experienced more intensely (Gibbs et al., 2011; Martins & Barsaglini, 2011; Santos et al., 2014). Trademarks acquired during passages at stigmatizing sites and organizations throughout their life trajectories (Redígolo, 2012; Siqueira, 2009; Queiroz, 2008; Borenstein et al, 2008). Places that allowed the separation between individuals considered "normal" and "marginalized" individuals, due to the lack of knowledge, the strangeness and / or fear aroused by their differences: color, gender, clothing, education, history generational, consumer, political / religious affiliation, and adaptability and resilience by means of the innumerable disparate charged attributes (Martins & Barsaglini, 2011, Santos et al., 2014, Fife & Wright 2000, Garrido et al., 2007; Borenstein In this paper, we present a review of the results of the present study and the results obtained by Trindade & Enumo, In this paper, we present the results obtained by Martins et al.

Identity deterioration processes that, depending on the individual and how they react to social interactions, have serious physical and emotional consequences for both the stigmatized individual and those interacting with him (Martins & Barsaglini, 2011; Santos et al. (2003), Martins et al. These are the impacts of the social distinction brand, obtained through individual stigma: the increased perception of the limitations of the body for the accomplishment of everyday tasks and as a result, self-depreciation (Martins & Barsaglini, 2011; Santos et al., 2014; Fife & Wright, 2000; Garrido et al, 2007); the judgments about morality, sexuality and the dangerousness of stigmatized individuals (Abonizio, 2011, Grizente, 2015, Trindade & Enumo, 2001, Fonseca, 2009); the emergence of laws that not only collaborate in maintaining the stigmas by isolating individuals, but also extending stigma to their relatives (Borenstein et al., 2008; dos Santos, 2013); the placement of pejorative labels in both stigmatized individuals as in the people who are related to him (wife of a prisoner, woman who is a prostitute, anyone who relates to a bandit is a bandit, etc.) (Redígolo, 2012, Siqueira, 2009; the association of their routine and work activities with criminal and / or distracting practices (Kunst, et al., 2012, Redígolo, 2012 and Siqueira, 2009); the accusations of lack of professionalism without there being or have few technical justifications for these actions (Abonizio, 2011, Grizente, 2015); the difficulty to get and keep themselves employed (Fife & Wright, 2000; Garrido et

al, 2007; the spatial separation between stigmatized individuals and their families as well as between the stigmatized and the resources that would promote their personal and professional ascents (Queiroz, 2008; Tella, 2008); the silence and / or omission of the manifestations of physical, emotional and / or symbolic violence (Queiroz, 2008, Toledo, 2008, Gibbs et al., 2011, and Fonseca, 2009). the impossibility or reduction of their political participation (Kunst, et al, 2012); the search for eternal youth as the promise of a more prominent and healthy life, but which is not always obtained in the way expected (Andrade, 2011). And, the formation of new ghettos under the justification of urbanization, where stigmatized individuals live in isolated and stealthy ways (Queiroz, 2008; Tella, 2008). Stigmatization processes that I believe initially generate identity crises that, in an immediate and / or long-term way, are capable of bringing these individuals frustration, suffering, anger and revolt against those who stigmatize them.

Impacts that lead me to believe that they bring consequences for all and can also be observed by comparing the change felt and manifested by the stigmatizers (they become more distrustful, prejudiced and discriminating, acting often with severity and rigor, demanding the stigmatized results and behaviors as if they were wild beings, without considering and / or reducing the importance of their physical, emotional, cultural, social, and economic limitations) and the stigmatized (they became more vulnerable, inferiorized, lonely individuals, distressed beings that act, often, in a discreet way so that through their insertions in affiliation groups they can obtain emotional support, moments of protection, liberation, acceptance and pleasure, and at the same time, enjoy informal encounters that foster their interaction as well as their also stigmatized with other individuals who resemble their differences) (Goffman, 1963; dos Santos, 2013). But also, they generate contrary to what is expected, being expressed by the mixture between negative and positive consequences due to individual stigma also promote the development of new forms of social interaction and resistance with the strengthening of groups whose affinity relationships are constructed from the approximation of individuals who identify and are recognized by their stigmata. Individuals who in organizations can share the same space of coexistence as individuals belonging to groups considered and recognized as "normal", as can be seen from stigmatized organizations, whose explanations will be more detailed now.

One of the equally shocking changes in the way stigma is seen in today's society is due to the recognition that it is not restricted to individuals (Sutton & Callahan, 1987, Devers, et al., 2009). Stigma also denigrates organizational identity, interfering with the professional experiences and everyday affective relationships of individuals and organizations that make up the organizational environment (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009; Silva & Saraiva, 2014; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). As a negative consequence, the professional demotion and isolation of stigmatized individuals, the drop in the market share of organizations, the rupture of important business relationships between organizations and their suppliers, partners and clients, and even the bankruptcy of these organizations (Sutton & Callahan, 1987, Farley, 2004, Carberry & King, 2012, Henriquez, 2017 and Sandoval, 2013). But in contrast, the emergence of new partnerships between stigmatized organizations and non-stigmatized organizations, especially at a time when the stigmatized organization assists the state in its control role (Barry et al., 2014; Helms & Patterson, 2013, Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017, Hampel & Tracey, 2016, Silva & Saraiva, 2014). In contemporary society it is understood that perhaps all organizations are stigmatized by one public at one time or another, due to the place where they were installed, their management, their products and services, their employees, their suppliers, its partners and also its clients that may have one or a few attributes that are deprecated by a portion of the society considered to be legitimate (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Durand & Vergne, 2014; Milhaupt & West, 2000; et al, 2017).

Although it is a type of depreciation derived from the stigma attributed to individuals, organizational stigma is characterized differently (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Hudson, 2008; Devers, et al, 2009). Unlike individual stigma, organizational is a stigma of conduct based on the actions and specific choices of organizational members that contribute, purposely or unintentionally, to other individuals, groups, and / or organizations that judge and condemn the management practices performed by one or a group of organizations. Organizational stigmas are generally perceived as more controllable than individual ones because they can be bypassed or excluded from the implementation of stigma management strategies, both aimed at defending the organization and repairing its organizational image. In addition, it is conceived that organizational stigma is not viewed with as much prejudice and / or discrimination in newly industrialized and developing countries as they contribute to the growth of the economy. That is, it is a stigma directed at organizations that have

their disapproval because of the various negative public reactions that usually trigger legal sanctions and even closure of business organizations (Hudson, 2008; Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009).

Stigmatized organizations, to my understanding, are organizations that have been or are being tried and convicted, by the responses of their managers, their employees, their supplier organizations and their clients, the other members and representatives of society which, through the media, associate these organizations with events that make public their deviations from managerial conduct, as regards lack of ethics, poor financial or labor management and / or which lend themselves to openness to the exhibition of behaviors deemed inappropriate by individuals judged and condemned by society (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Hampel & Tracey, 2016; Sandoval, 2013; Hudson & Okhuysen, 2008; Associations that trigger bankruptcy and / or destabilization of the identity of these organizations, whose business activities may be viewed as detrimental to health and / or the economy (Durand & Vergne, 2014). Organizations that are often composed of and for stigmatized individuals who bring or receive from these organizations stigmatizing brands that interfere with their lives and those of other individuals with whom they relate (Sandoval, 2013; Helms & Patterson, 2013). With this, bringing in many moments suffering for its members as a result of (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Hampel & Tracey, 2016) Viewed as spaces of social representation, stigmatized organizations can provide the building and sharing of affinity bonds between individuals that approach the stigma, making it possible, through various strategies, to coexist with the stigma (s) and its overcoming, through destigmatization, with the complete elimination of social distinction marks (Goffman, 1985, Maffesoli, 1998, Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009, Hampel & Tracey, 2016, Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017).

Many organizations stigmatized by either deviant conduct event or by disapproval of their core attributes even survive and thrive through the careful management of their business activities (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009; Hampel & Tracey, 2016). Some examples of organizations that have stigmatized by event and tried and / or managed to minimize the impacts of this stigma: the US oil industry, ENRON, which filed for bankruptcy in 2001 after its managers were accused of accounting and tax fraud (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Carberry & King, 2012); the small trading company owned by Bernie Madoff, one of the biggest names on Wall Street, which made the US population more visible to its financial fragility by disclosing the

existence of a sophisticated fraud called the "ponzi scheme" (Henriquez, 2017); the Brazilian mining company Vale SA, which in 2015, in a joint venture with the Australian mining company BHP-Billiton, called SAMARCO, promoted the biggest ecological and social disaster in Brazilian history, the spillage of ore tailings in a river basin that covers 230 municipalities, many of whom supplied their population with river water (Barros, 2015); and more recently in Brazil, organizations such as Petrobras and some political parties accused of money laundering crimes that have been and are being tried and imprisoned through a series of investigations carried out by the Brazilian Federal Police, Operation Lava Jato (Araujo et al, 2017).

To circumvent the organizational stigma attributed by events and reduce their impacts, stigmatized organizations similar to those mentioned may opt for one or more of the following strategies. They can: 1) settle in difficult to reach places; maintain their physical structures by promoting the separation between those who compose them; rigorously select its effective and outsourced employees (in order to promote the privacy and confidentiality of its activities); and, at no time allowing the external identification of their patrons; 2) instead of isolating themselves in hard-to-reach places, stigmatized organizations may choose to base their headquarters where their potential clients are; 3) to use relaxed spaces of social interaction and to combine with their patrons the representation of acceptable behaviors when they are in the presence of supervising agents, displaying to them the image that they are organizations that do not have attributes capable of leading them to reproach; 4) to establish cooperation commitments, especially with suppliers, partners and auditors, so that neither party is bothered by stigma; and 5) instead of hiding their stigma as well as stigmatized members, organizations may choose to make them more visible and extreme in order to promote acceptance of what differentiates them and to retain and attract new members (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009; Bouchard & Dion, 2012).

Stigmatized organizations, due to their main attributes, make it difficult to forget / eliminate stigma because they are available to critics for a longer time, such as: abortion clinics, casino, tobacco and alcohol industry, criminal organizations, prostitution, cannabis, child labor promoters, tattoo studios and MMA fighter organizations, to name a few examples, can adopt the following strategies aimed not only at circumventing stigma but also at eliminating it. Organizations with core stigma may choose to develop the following sequential strategies for managing stigma. First,

refusing to accept any mistakes or embarrassment about their activities and instead showing the public how close their activities are and similar to the activities carried out by non-stigmatized organizations and making the public aware of why they are virtuous. In the sequence, conquering greater approximation and support of the stigmatizers, and, at the same time, isolating and questioning the qualification of those who still reprove them. And later, by making stigmatizers and their stigmatizing organizations understand how the stigmatized organization is similar to others, and therefore has the objective of carrying out its activities to play a positive role for society as well (Helms & Patterson, 2013; Hampel & Tracey, 2016; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017).

From the explanation of all these arguments, it is possible to understand that the processes of identification may be occurring, even, from the stigmatized organizations capable of providing a living space the development of emotional relations between stigmatized and non-stigmatized individuals, who at some point in their lives may belong to the new organizational formations called urban tribes. Illustrative of this assumption are the explanations given below by reviewing studies that show how the history of motorcycling, some motorcycling groups and motorcycle clubs has developed. And, in the following chapter through the analysis that I made using as subjects of research some Brazilian motorcycling groups, founded in the city of Curitiba, Paraná.

Organizations of and for individuals also stigmatized

There is no way to talk about motorcycling and / or motorcycling groups without mentioning the important and crucial role of Harley-Davidson (HD) manufacturer for the dissemination of this practice and consolidation of these groups, as we have seen throughout the development of this article . At the end of 1800, Europe and the United States saw the international diffusion of the bicycle as a useful vehicle for the delivery of products, transportation, tourism and practice of sports activities. With the realization of cycling championships, some inventors began to couple motors to the bicycles to give more speed to the machines and less physical wear to the racing drivers, appearing in the USA, the first motorcycle factories, the Indian Motor Company (1901) and the Harley-Davidson Motor Company (1903) (Toledo Pinto, 2011, 44).

The interest of the US population in the sport of motorcycling, the most accessible value of these motor vehicles and the actions of the Federation of American Motorcycle (FAM), in particular "encouraging the use of motorcycles and promoting the general interests of motorcycling" the government to create a law requiring the registration of motorcycles (Toledo Pinto, 2011, 44). In the competitions organized by the FAM that included the first groups of motorcyclists (New York Motorcycle Club, Yonkers MC, San Francisco M. C, Oakland MC and the Pasadena Motorcycle Club), the meeting of motorcycle drivers was more frequent of the Harley-Davidson brand (HD) and that win every race. Motorcycle exhibitions, especially during the Black Hills Classic rally organized by the Jackpine Gypies Motorcycle Club in the city of Sturgis, South Dakota and the constant improvements of its motorcycles to serve its users, have made the brand recognized, nationally and internationally, as the largest US producer [HARLEY-DAVIDSON MUSEUM, 20 ??].

Always seeking to meet the new requirements of the motorcycling segment and the daily life of customers and consumers in their country of origin. HD, aiming at its survival through the customization of motorcycles, was also available to support the US government during the period of economic recession and armed conflict (Great Depression of 1929 and World War I). Without disassociating the brand of the motorcycle championships in which it accumulated victories through its official pilots, but following its worldwide sales being reduced as a result of the First World War (1914-1918) and the Great Depression of 1929, HD began to train its labor for the gradual replacement of the production of civilian military motorcycles [HARLEY-DAVIDSON MUSEUM, 20 ??]; Panzarini, (2015, p.68).

With the introduction of Japanese sports motorcycles on the American market, accelerating competition between motorcycle manufacturers in the United States and, later, World War II (1939-1945), the "spirit of American patriotism" the traditional Harley-Davidson factory was once again willing to help the government of their country, which culminated in its closer approach to motorcycle owners and enthusiasts (Toledo Pinto, 2011; Panzarini, 2015). Believing in the speed and endurance of HD-brand motorcycles motors, seen during motorcycle rallies and during the first armed combats, the US Army acquired several motorcycles of that brand for the fighters during World War II. Many had their first contact with them in the war camps, piloting the function in combat and / or using it within minutes of distraction during conflicts (Panzarini, 2015, p.70). The demand was so intense that

the founders of the HD began to destine 100% of its production for military purposes, which assured them the receipt of 4 awards by the army and the US Navy in function of the services provided in the 1st and 2nd World War . And, the recognition by the other Americans of the importance of this factory for the history of the country [HARLEY-DAVIDSON MUSEUM, 20 ??].

In this context, the first motoclubs (civilian and / or military motorcycle organizations, inspired by the military hierarchy, formed by at least 6 members, among them: the president, the vice president, the director, the treasurer / secretary, the Road Captain and Sargent of Arms, as well as associates, who are governed by their own statute and code of conduct and can be legally registered) (Almeida, 2014, p.50). Motorcyclists who can be identified mainly by their use of a leather vest and / or jacket and associate them with a particular group. Being the first motorcycle registered officially at the American Motorcycle Association (AMA) and recognized by the Fédération Internationale Motorcycliste (FIM) (organizations interested in promoting the motorcyclist's lifestyle and the general interests of motorcycling with safety), Motor Maids. Covering the United States and Canada, this motorcycle club, which has among its founders an HD motorcyclist and is composed exclusively of female motorcyclists, aims to "unite women motorcyclists in the promotion of motorcycle interest" and show that "the woman can ride a motorcycle and still be a lady "(Toledo Pinto, 2011). The Motor Maids opened the opportunity for the formation of other motoclubs composed mainly of men interested in the practice of motorcycling. Social organizations that have preserved inspiration in the military hierarchy, its organizational and legal structure, and its symbols of identification and recognition. Motorcycles that, in the US, are now distinguished by their characteristics related to: gender, membership, hierarchical rotation, sponsorship of motorcycling events, support of manufacturers, encouragement of group tourism practice, links with a specific purpose or career and affiliation to the American Association Motorcycle [AMA, ??]. Organizations that between World War I and WWII were often composed of former veterans who missed the bonds of friendship built during training and they turned other soldiers into more important people than their own kinsmen as they were given technical, emotional, and psychic subsidies to confront the wars of brotherhood together. Motorcycles that also united some marines, aviators, soldiers, sailors and veterinarians who presented different degrees of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a disorder characterized by the difficulty of

recovering after experiencing or witnessing frightening events (Weber, 2015, p.95). A disorder identified mainly in the former fighting that operated in the Vietnam War (1955-1975) and made them more intolerant of postwar social standards. At the age of only 19, many were sent to battle and, unlike previous wars, had to fight their separate enemy troops and become more exposed to suffering. Returning to American society already influenced by the counter-culture movement (unfavorable to wars), the former Vietnam veterans, instead of being valued, suffered various prejudices and received no government support. Many became addicted to drugs and saw suicide or motorbikes as an opportunity to get rid of their anguish.

Thus, motorcycle riders, military and motoclubs, mainly those whose members had a HD, at first, contributed to the appreciation of their brand.

However, the story of motorcycling tells us that in 1947 an episode of vandalism that occurred in the city of Hollister in the USA contributed to partially accentuate the fall of its HD sales and stigmatization of motorcycle groups (Toledo Pinto, 2011, p.79). During a motorcade rally organized by the AMA, called the Gypsy Tour, which took place in this city, some drunken motorcyclists began to run through the streets amid pedestrians and toss beers through the windows of the bars reaching people, causing accidents. And, consequently, they were arrested. In this episode, which is not known to what extent is true, was taken a photograph of one of these drunken motorcyclists, on top of a HD surrounded by beers. This photo released by the press had negative repercussions among the population, denigrating the image of the event, motorcyclists and that important brand of motorcycles that was valued by the citizens of the United States.

In addition, being an event seen as a demonstration of savagery. Episódio that contributed to give visibility to motorcycles 1%, a type of motoclube outlaw (not affiliated to AMA) founded by some veterans who took advantage of the Hollister incident, to intensify the display of their behaviors of rebellion (being dirty, with long and drunken hair capable of fighting and misrepresenting public property for any reason) and, mainly, to carry out criminal practices (drug trafficking and / or weaponry) (Klement, 2016). Among the motorcycles belonging to this classification is the Hells Angels M.C, motorcycle club founded in 1948, whose characteristics, which distinguish them from others, are the violence and obligation of its members to own motorcycles of the Harley-Davidson brand. Thus, fostering the image of a group that contributed to further destabilize the HD brand (Toledo Pinto, 2011, p.83).

While continuing to participate and win in motorcycle championships, to transform its increasingly powerful engines and to innovate in product design with the painting of an eagle in the tanks of its motorcycles to refer it to the American symbol of power and freedom and to call the attention of your target audience. Or, even publicizing his brand through illustrious and "rebellious" television figures, such as Elvis Presley, who appeared posing in *Enthusiast* magazine, riding on one of his motorcycles. And, being associated with motorcyclists through theaters, with characters featured in the films "The Wild One" (1953) and "Easy Rider" (1969), the reduction of market share culminated in the sale of HD by American Machine and Foundry Company (AMF) [HARLEY-DAVIDSON MUSEUM, 20 ??]

This leisure-time manufacturer, throughout its management, tried to modify the symbol that identified the consumers of this brand of motorcycles. This unsuccessful action has once again generated financial instability in the factory and in its national and international resellers, causing the founders of the HD brand, after borrowing, to (re) buy from AMF. And then, inspired by the repercussions of motorcycles, they founded the Harley-Davidson Owners Group (HOG). A motorcycle group sponsored by the brand, associated with its authorized dealers, which maintains hierarchical constitution, organizational structure, charter and code of conduct and symbols similar to other motorcycle clubs, but exclusively composed by men and women owners of HD (Chiarelli, 2015, p.18). A characteristic that distinguishes them, above all, from other motorcycle and motorcycle groups, as can be seen by analyzing the data in this article.

Actions of re-approximation of the consumers that culminated in the rescue of the fascination by the HD. Throughout its history, its management has shown resistance and resilience in the face of challenges, thus achieving a symbolic construction capable of transforming the Harley-Davidson brand into an icon, especially for young Americans (Panzarini, 2015, p.70). And also contributing to the creation of the motorcycle rider's mystique of HD, that is, a person who plays several roles in daily life, but keeps on seeking freedom, convinced of their personal values and dedicated to share their passions for motorcycles, motorcycling (Schouten & McAlexander, 1993; Pacheco, 2013, p. 36). This finding could also be evidenced through the video of the advertising campaign "Live by It" (Santos, 2015). The images that appear are similar to those of a religious manifestation, with people

gradually joining together to share emotional experiences, as they reproduce synchronized speech, as if seeking to approach a transcendent and / or divine being.

3. METHODOLOGY

For the development of this article, a qualitative and exploratory study was chosen so that there could be a closer approximation of the researcher with the field of research to be studied and the capture of subjectivities of the respondents that probably by other forms of approach of research could hardly be obtained (Bryman, 2003; Prasad & Prasad, 2002).

Over the period of approximately one month semi-structured interviews were conducted with motorcycle groups based in the Brazilian city of Curitiba, Paraná. Groups chosen for convenience and ease of access, mainly, in order to relate to the thesis project of the researcher. This project has been in development since the year 2017 and aims to analyze "What is the influence that belonging to urban tribes exercises in the process of identifying its members?".

In this article, through the content analysis of information obtained in semi-structured interviews, conducted through a road map drawn from the literature review, I try to give indications about how motorcycling groups respond to the organizational stigma that is typical of this urban tribe, from the identification and comparison of the emotional, social and collective responses and motivations that underlie and lead the actions used by motorcycling groups in the Brazilian context.

Altogether, I present the analysis of four interviews that I managed to accomplish. Which, apparently, shows a little representative quantity, but for that study were precious. I emphasize this because, because the characteristics of these urban tribes are associated with secrecy about their activities and machismo, interviews were not easy to obtain. During the 4-month period prior to these interviews, attempts were made with other motorcycling groups, but responses to the contacts were not obtained, the possibility of interviewing was difficult and even denied by some motorcycling groups identified in the medium motorcycling, as more violent. It should also be pointed out that such difficulties were not limited to those contacts considered, at first, unproductive. Even though they were found in my home city, the respondents who granted the interviews, after accepting the agreement, confirmed that conducting this research would not be easy. Due to time constraints of

those interviewed who were working during the day (3) and (1) undergoing psychological counseling but also reluctance to receive a "female researcher" at the headquarters of their motorcycles and / or other sites, all interviews were difficult to obtain. The interviews were conducted in up to two hours in the evening, 3 of them being obtained through a virtual application that allowed the interaction and recording of the interview and 1 of them being performed in person in a bar in the city. All the interviews were recorded, transcribed, each one was read, and the words that were repeated in the discourse were categorized through a process of analysis and re-analysis, aided by Atlas TI software, which led me to verify of existence 4 thematic categories, they are: meaning of being and belonging; symbols of distinction; group cohabitation and stigma experience.

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND TREATMENT

In this section, I show the profile of the interviewees and in the sequence the analysis developed through the thematic categories: meaning of being and belonging; symbols of distinction; group cohabitation and stigma experience. Noting that at no time, the names of motorcycle / motorcycle groups founded more than 10 years ago, or respondents will be revealed, for security reasons requested by the interviewees. Each respondent was identified by a code (E) followed by a numbering as the interviews occurred, with the purpose of the researcher recognizing the "speech" of the respondents.

Among the 4 respondent motorcyclists it was observed that 3 are single and 1 married; having 1 single and 1 married, have children. Most motorcyclists have high school education (only 1 are attending higher education); they work as autonomous professionals; live in the same city as the headquarters of their motorcycles and have been affiliated to the same motorcycle group, on average for more than 5 years.

Regarding the meaning of being and belonging to the motorcycling groups, the interviewees report that they always had "passion for motorcycles" and "interest in the lifestyle of motorcycling groups" [E2; E4]. They got in touch with the medium of motorcycling for the first time during their childhoods through relatives and friends. The entrance to motorcycling groups, allowed motorcyclists to rescue their family memories, to build new interpersonal relationships, to approach similar people and, above all, to become more self-confident individuals by living with a group of

individuals marked by the difference that , inclusive, is highlighted as a favorable attribute for acceptance in these groups. A consistent scenario, such as Maffesoli described by urban tribes, provides new identifications for individuals (Maffesoli, 1996, 1996)

In motorcycling groups the symbols of distinction do not refer to individuals, but to objects they carry, to the time of experience in the group and to participation in social and philanthropic activities, being for them attributes that are fairer than the conventional ones (found in other organizations) by uniting, voluntarily, all those who identify and are identified as motorcyclists. Also differentiating these motorcyclists from other individuals who are not part of this organizational environment that seeks in the activities of social interaction also reduce the stigmas of the individuals that compose them and approach stigmatized individuals of other individuals and organizations that apparently do not receive social depreciations. A manifestation coherent with the one identified by Goffman on the spaces of social representation (1963, 1985).

Good coexistence in the group is exalted. According to the words of one of the motorcyclists about the coexistence: "It is not perfect! As in every space in which affective relationships develop, motorcyclists discuss and face each other physically, but all motorcyclists value good living with their group and therefore voluntarily accept and preserve the rules!" [E1]. In addition, it was mentioned that: "there is a scale of priorities in the life of the motorcyclist who belongs to motorcycle / motorcycle groups, where their participation in the groups must be in 3rd place, but in practice, this is not what happens!". [E2]. Two interviewees assume that they have already had problems with their families and / or jobs because they put the participation in the motorcycling groups in 1st place: "in the motorcycling group we find a new family that often, we accept more than the family from where we came! "[E2; E3]. One of them even mentions that it does not assume in the working environment nor for the family that belongs to a motorcycle group.

Regarding the experience of stigma, all affirm that in one way or another they have experienced or witnessed both "group suffering" and "prejudice", both individually and in groups, due to the related prejudice and / or discrimination: "skin color, educational level and clothing" [E4]. But also, they admit that in their groups "even being in Brazil, with their diversity, we do not accept women and homosexuals in our motorcycle club. And, niggers? In our? We never had! "[E3]. They mention that

they have already been disapproved of their participation by their own families; were unable to obtain and / or remain in employment after disclosing that they belong to motorcycle groups. One of them mentioned that in his family he heard that the image of a motorcycle clerk came down to "a drunk who can only confuse!" [E2], and hearing this he had feelings of anger, revulsion, and contempt. , even stayed for 5 years without talking to this member of your family. These passages confirm the existence of stigmatizers and stigmatized and the consequences of stigma reported by Goffman (Goffman, 196 3). Another testimony that stood out was a motorcyclist, [E4], who has participated in the same motorcycle for 10 years and is currently the director of this stigmatized organization. He reports that in the motoclub he feels safer because of his rigid rules and has been able to gain more confidence through him. Since his past has accumulated stigmas of poor person, drug addict, person with mental disorder, but since joining the motorcycle club his affective and professional life has improved. He mentions 2 episodes that show through his responses how he and motorcycle groups, in synthesis, from what I've come to have been reacting to the stigmata. In his earliest recollection he quotes that he once went to college, "biker dress," and turned the estrangement of his classmates and teachers into admiration and respect. He showed them that even wearing an impaired identity by virtue of their association with the motorcycle club was able to even surpass, intellectually, their classmates. In his second memory, he described another episode about how he responded to the stigmata. He reports that on the virtual page of his company providing services was subjected to prejudice because he is a member and representative of a stigmatized organization. He described how he had peacefully tried to resolve the conflict with his stigmatizing agent who, while being surprised by the motorcyclist's attitude as "a wild being belonging to a tribe", showed no regret. The assaults continued, attempting to denigrate the nature and professionalism of the motorcyclist who responded to them through judicial means, just as he believes a conflict must be resolved by a "normal person." These testimonies show that stigma still exists in the lives of motorcyclists and motorcycle groups. However, as some authors emphasize, there is scope for the core-stigmatized organization to someday be de-stigmatized by adopting sequential stigma management strategies (Helms & Patterson, 20013; Hampel & Tracey, 2016; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017).

5. CONCLUSION

Through this article I have tried to describe how the motorcycling groups respond to the organizational stigma that is typical of this urban tribe, through the identification and comparison of the respondents' emotional, social and collective motivations. Motorcycle groups, through their representatives, respond to stigma in the same way as other organizations stigmatized by their end activities. However, unlike in this specific organization, the emotional involvement between stigmatized individuals and between them and the stigmatized organization that happens to be a space of social representation created by this urban tribe is very present.

I believed that the limitation of this research is mainly due to the small number of participants. Therefore, I suggested as a research agenda that later studies explore the relationship between the issues identification processes, urban tribes and stigma, from a larger number of respondents.

REFERENCES

- Abonizio, J. (2011). Other glances over others - the uncomfortable presence of modified bodies in blogs. *Polym! Ca.* 10 (3), pp. 484-493.
- Almeida, L. O. V. de (2014). Community of brands and the owners of Harley Davison of Belo Horizonte. (Master's Dissertation), Fundação Pedro Leopoldo, Pedro Leopoldo, Brazil.
- Andrade, M.A. R. (2011). Stigma and old age: trials on the manipulation of the deteriorated age. *Revista Kairós Gerontologia*, 14 (1), pp. 79-97.
- Araujo, F. S. M et al (2017). Stock market reaction and the behavior of managers in relation to the environmental accident of the mining company Samarco. XX SEMEAD - Administration Seminars.
- Barros, M (2015). Analysis of the "Operation Lava Jet" in light of the concepts of corporate governance. XI National Congress of Excellence in Management.
- Bauman, Z. (2003). *Community: the search for security in today's world*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Publisher.
- Bauman, Z. (2007). *Fragmented life: essays on postmodern morality*. Lisbon: Clock of Water.
- Bordieu, P. (2007). *The distinction: social criticism of judgment*. São Paulo: Edusp.

- Borenstein, M. S. et al. (2008). Leprosy: stigma and prejudice experienced by institutionalized patients in Santa Catarina (1940-1960). *Revista Brasileira de Enfermagem*, 61, pp. 708-712.
- Bouchard, M. ; Dion, C.B. (2012). Growers and facilitators: probing the role of entrepreneurs in the development of the cannabis cultivation industry. *Journal of Small Business & Entrepreneurship*, 22 (1), pp. 25-37.
- Bryman, A. (2003). *Research methods and organization studies*. New York, New York: Routledge.
- Carberry, E.J., King, B.G. (2012). Defensive practice in the face of organizational stigma: impression management and the diffusion of stock option expensing. *Journal of Management Studies*, 49, (7), pp. 1137-1167.
- Chiarelli, C. (2015). *The difference is the soul? The Harley-Davidson consumer subculture is a comparison of the brand's significance in different consumer cultures. (Master's Dissertation), Universidade do Vale do Itajaí, Biguaçu, Brazil.*
- Devers, C.E., et al (2009): "A general theory of organizational stigma." *Organization Science*, 20, pp. 154-171.
- dos Santos, J. (2013). *The stigma of mental illness: understanding and action of CAPS workers. (Master's Dissertation), University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.*
- Durand, R. ; Vergne, J.-P. (2015), Asset divestment as a response to media attacks in stigmatized industries. *Strategic Management Journal*, 36, pp. 1205-1223.
- Farley, M. (2004). "Bad for the Body, Bad for the Heart": Prostitution Harms Women Even if Legalized or Decriminalized. *Violence Against Women*. 10 (10), p. 1087-112.
- Fife, B.L. ; Wright, E. R. (2000). The dimensionality of stigma: a comparison of its impact on the self of persons with HIV / AIDS and Cancer. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*. 41 (1), p. 50-67.
- Fonseca, L.A. da. (2009). *The stigma on the alcoholic women in treatment in the Service of Study and Attention to users of Alcohol and other Drugs of the University Hospital of Brasília. (Graduate Monograph), Universidade de Brasília, Brasília, Brazil.*
- Garrido, P., et al. (2007). AIDS, stigma and unemployment: implications for health services. *Journal of Public Health*, 41 (2), p. 72-79.
- Gibbs, D.A., et al. (2011). Dynamics of stigma for alcohol and mental health treatment among army soldiers. *Military Psychology*, 23 (1), 36-51.
- Goffman, E. (1963): *Stigma: notes of the management of spoiled identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Goffman, E. (1985). *The representation of the self in everyday life*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Grizente, I. N. P. (2015) *The tattooed worker: considerations about work, tattooing and stigma in a consumer culture*. (Master's Dissertation), Unigranrio, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- Hampel, C. E., & Tracey, P. (2016): "How organizations move from stigma to legitimacy: The case of Cook's travel agency in Victorian Britain." *Academy of Management Journal*.
- Helms, W., & Patterson, K. (2013): "Eliciting acceptance for illicit organizations: The positive implications of stigma for MMA organizations." *Academy of Management Journal*, 57 (5), 1453-1484.
- Henriques, D.B. (2017). *The Wizard of Lies: Bernard Madoff and the story of the greatest financial fraud ever*. Editora Record.
- Horn, S. (2017). Non-English nativeness as stigma in academic settings. *Academy of Management: Learning & Education*, 11.
- Hudson, B.A. ; Okhuysen, G. A. (2009) Not with a ten-foot pole: core stigma, stigma transfer, and improbable persistence of men's bathhouses. *Organization Science*, 20 (1), pp. 134-153.
- Hudson, B.A. (2008): "Against all odds: a consideration of core-stigmatized organizations." *Academy of Management Review*, 33, pp. 252-266.
- Klement, C. (2016). Outlaw biker affiliations and criminal involvement. *European Journal of Criminology*, 3, (4), pp. 453-472.
- Kunst, J.R et al. (2012). Coping with islamophobia: the effects of religious stigma on muslim minorities'identity formation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 36 (4), pp. 518-532.
- Maffesoli, M. (1996). *In the background of appearances*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Maffesoli, M. (1998). *The time of the tribes: the decline of individualism in mass societies*. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: University Forensics.
- Magnani, J.G.C. (1992). Urban tribes: metaphor or category? *Revista Cadernos de Campos, São Paulo*, 2, (2), pp. 48-51.
- Martins, J.A. ; Barsaglini, R.A. (2011). Aspects of identity in the experience of physical disability: a socioanthropological view. *Interface: communication, health, education*. 15, (36), pp. 109-21.

- Milhaupt, C., West, M. (2000). The dark side of private ordering: an institutional and empirical analysis of organized crime. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 67 (1), pp. 41-98.
- Prasad, A .; Prasad, P. (2002). The coming of age of interpretative organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, New York, 5, (1), pp.4-44.
- Queiroz, C. M. de. (2008). Stigmas, ghettos and gentrification: homosexual segregation in Brasília. (Master's Dissertation), University of Brasília, Brasília, Brazil.
- Redígolo, N. C. N. (2012). Penitentiary system and its stigmas: the case of São Paulo. *Journal of the Laboratory of Violence Studies, UNESP / Marília*, 9, pp. 82-96.
- Sá, S.M.P., Rabinovich, E.P. (2006). Understanding the family of the child with physical disability. *Journal of Human Growth and Development*, 16 (1), pp. 68-84.
- Sandoval, M. (2013). Foxconned Labor as the Dark Side of the Information Age: Working Conditions at Apple's Contract Manufacturers in China. *TripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique*, 11 (2), pp. 318-347.
- Santos, W. S.dos et al. (2014). Men with acquired physical disabilities: stigmas and prejudices experienced that interfere in their sexuality. *Revista Interfaces: Health, Humanities and Technology*. 2, (6), pp. 1-5.
- Schembri, S (2009). Reframing brand experience: the experiential meaning of Harley-Davidson. *Journal of Business Research*, 62, pp. 1299-1310.
- Schouten, J. W .; McAlexander, J. (1995). Subcultures of consumption: an ethnography of the new bickers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 11, pp. 43-61.
- Siqueira, D. P. (2009). Social inclusion of former detainees: the joy of returning to society versus the difficulty of resocialization. *Argument Journal Law*, 11, pp. 111-123.
- Sutton, R. I., Callahan, A. L. (1987) The stigma of bankruptcy: spoiled organizational image and its management. *Academy of Management*. 30, pp. 405-436.
- Tella, M.A. P. (2008). Stigmas and social disqualification of blacks in São Paulo and Lisbon. *Revista Ponto e Vírgula*, 3, pp. 152-169.
- Toledo Pinto, F. R. de. (2011). Do you have a motorcycle or a Harley? Links to the Harley-Davidson brand in São Paulo. (Thesis), Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.

- Toledo, L. G. (2008). Stigmas and stereotypes about lesbianities and their influences on the narratives of life stories of lesbians living in a city in the interior of São Paulo. (Master's Dissertation), Universidade Estadual Paulista, Assis, Brazil.
- Toubiana, M., & Zietsma, C. (2017): "The message is on the wall? Emotions, social media and the dynamics of institutional complexity. "Academy of Management Journal, 60 (3), pp. 922-953.
- Trindade, Z. A .; Enumo, S. R. F. (2001). Social representations of female infertility among married and single women. *Psychology, Health & Diseases*, 2 (2), pp. 5-26.
- Weber, K. P. (2015) "I do not pay 60,000 for a motorcycle. For a Harley I paid ": consumption analysis of the symbolic image. (Master's Dissertation), Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil.