

# Understanding the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs



# Understanding the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs

*International Perspectives*

Edited by

**Andy Bain**

**Mark Lauchs**



CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS

---

Durham, North Carolina

Copyright © 2017  
Carolina Academic Press, LLC  
All Rights Reserved.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Names: Bain, Andy, 1971- editor. | Lauchs, Mark, editor.

Title: Understanding the outlaw motorcycle gangs : international perspectives  
/ edited by Andy Bain and Mark Lauchs.

Description: Durham, North Carolina : Carolina Academic Press, [2016] |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016036256 | ISBN 9781611638288 (alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Motorcycle gangs.

Classification: LCC HV6437 .U53 2016 | DDC 364.106/6--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016036256>

e-ISBN 978-1-53100-000-4

Carolina Academic Press, LLC  
700 Kent Street  
Durham, North Carolina 27701  
Telephone (919) 489-7486  
Fax (919) 493-5668  
[www.cap-press.com](http://www.cap-press.com)

Printed in the United States of America

*For Aly, Mikey, Corrie & Ryan with Love  
Daddy*

*To friends and family  
Mark*



# Contents

<b>Illustrations</b>	xi
<b>Foreword</b>	xiii
<i>Scott Decker</i>	
References	xviii
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	xxi
<b>Notes on the Contributors</b>	xxiii
Editors	xxiii
Authors	xxiv
<b>Introduction</b>	3
<i>Andy Bain and Mark Lauchs</i>	
The Structure of the Book	4
References	6
<b>Chapter 1 · Motorcycle Clubs or Criminal Gangs on Wheels</b>	7
<i>Tom Barker</i>	
Hollister Incident/Riot — 1947	10
Riverside, California — 1948	11
<i>The Wild One</i> : Cult Classic Biker Movie	12
Hells Angels Motorcycle Club and the One Percenters	13
Ralph “Sonny” Barger	13
Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs to Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs	15
Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs	16
Federal Law Enforcement Action against OMCGs	16
Criminal Organizations/Enterprises —RICO Prosecutions	17
OMCGs as Criminal Organizations — Canada	20
Puppet/Support Gangs	22
Conclusion	24
References	25

<b>Chapter 2 · Bikes, Bros, and Hoes: Sex and the OMCG</b>	29
<i>Amelia Davies Robinson and Andy Bain</i>	
History of Sex Work	30
Girls and Other Groups, Gangs, and Organizations	32
Molls, Dolls, and Cathouses	32
Girls and the Other Gangs	34
OMCGs and the Girls: Mamas, Broads, and Chicks	35
Gangs in Trafficking and Sex Work	39
Conclusion	41
References	42
<b>Chapter 3 · The OMCG: South Central</b>	47
<i>Andy Bain</i>	
The Reality of Life: Needs, Conflict, and Rationality	48
Crime as Organization	50
Enterprise and the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs	52
Mexico and Central America	54
The Caribbean Connection	58
Examples from the South	59
Conclusion	62
References	63
<b>Chapter 4 · Mapping and Conceptualizing Organized Motorcycle Gangs: The British, German and Spanish Experience</b>	67
<i>Dan Silverstone and Philip Crane</i>	
Definitions	68
OMCGs in the United Kingdom	74
OMCGs in Europe	80
OMCGs in Germany	80
OMCGs in Spain	84
Conclusion	85
References	86
<b>Chapter 5 · Outlaw Bikers in the Netherlands: Clubs, Social Criminal Organizations, or Gangs?</b>	91
<i>Arjan Blokland, Melvin Soudijn, and Wouter van der Leest</i>	
Introduction	91
History of Dutch Biker Clubs	93
Hells Angels	94



Satudarah	95
No Surrender	97
Trailer Trash	97
Red Devils	98
Clubs, Social Criminal Organizations, or Gangs?	98
Criminal Careers of Dutch Bikers	101
Crime among Dutch Biker Clubs	102
Conclusion	108
References	111
<b>Chapter 6 · Nike Bikies</b>	<b>115</b>
<i>Mark Lauchs</i>	
Introduction	115
Origins of OMCGs in Australia	117
Part 1 — Members of OMCG	118
Focus on Making Money	119
Using Motorcycles	122
Fashionable Appearance	123
Public Violence	125
Ethnicity	126
Part II — The New OMCG	128
Notorious	128
Brothers for Life (B4L) and Muslim Brotherhood Movement	131
New Boys	132
Conclusion	133
References	134
<b>Chapter 7 · The History of Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs in New Zealand</b>	<b>139</b>
<i>Jarrold Gilbert</i>	
The Hells Angels Form in Auckland	139
Follow the Leader — The Growth of Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs	143
“Grey Organizations” — The Evolution of the Outlaw Clubs	147
The Hells Angels: From Prison to Profit	152
Clubs and Organized Crime	154
Complex Decline and Contemporary Revival	156
Conclusion	158
References	158

<b>Chapter 8 · The Rising Tide of OMCGs in Asia</b>	161
<i>Andy Bain and Mark Lauchs</i>	
Local Clubs	162
The Expat and the Local Clubs	163
Japan	165
Western Influence	167
The OMCGs in Asia	168
Bandidos Nation — Asia	170
Conclusion	171
References	172
<b>Final Thoughts</b>	175
<i>Andy Bain and Mark Lauchs</i>	
References	177
<b>Index</b>	179

# Illustrations

Box 1.1	Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs	17
Table 1.1	Red and Gold World — Bandidos Puppet Clubs	23
Figure 3.1	Self-Reported OMCG Presence in Central America	57
Figure 3.2	Self-Reported OMCG Presence in South America	60
Figure 5.1	Percentage of Individuals with at Least One Registered Offense by Club	102
Figure 5.2	Dutch Outlaw Biker Clubs as They Fall along the Club-Gang Continuum	103
Figure 5.3	Contribution to the Totality of Registered Crime by Club	104
Figure 5.4	Contribution to Totality of Registered Crime by Type of Crime by Club	106
Figure 5.5	Criminogenic Profiles of Dutch Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs	107
Box 8.1	Article 44. Definition of Public Unity and Harmony	167



# Foreword

*Scott Decker, PhD: Foundation Professor of Criminology & Criminal Justice, Arizona State University*

While there is a public fascination with motorcycle gangs, there has been a dearth of academic attention to the topic. Public fascination extends from the involvement of Hells Angels during the Altamont Speedway Free Festival in 1969 to the public celebrity of Sonny Barger. Barger is a founding member of the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club in Oakland, California. Barger has been the subject of numerous books and movies and at one time taught sociology within the California State University system. As recently as 2015, Yavapai, Arizona, hosted a Poker Run in Barger's honor, despite no apparent local connection. Hells Angels boasts over 200 chapters worldwide, representing six continents, with 10 new chapters becoming active in 2016 (and counting).

Andy Bain and Mark Lauchs provide a useful tonic for this circumstance in their edited volume, *Understanding the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs: International Perspectives*. This new edited volume includes information about outlaw motorcycle gangs in the Americas, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Spain, the Far East, Australia, and New Zealand. In addition, this book provides a look at many of the fads that pervade the world of the outlaw motorcycle gang. This book concludes with a chapter that examines various strategies and recommendations for policing such groups.

This book is welcome at this time for a variety of reasons. There is growing recognition that offending in groups defines the modal categories of most crimes (Paoli, 2015; Schaefer, Rodriguez, & Decker, 2014; Decker & Pyrooz, 2013; 2014). It is particularly the case that crimes with an international context involve groups. This is true of street gangs, drug smuggling groups, organized crime, white collar crime, and human trafficking. The reasons for such group behavior are many and worth noting, as they illustrate many of the key themes found throughout this book. First, crime is an increasingly complex venture, particularly in an international context. Law, customs, formal structures, and

currencies (to mention only a few) all make offending considerably more difficult and require a good deal more expertise than in the days of open-sea piracy or ram-raiding. Second, offending ventures that span country borders have opportunities for enhanced profits. Having contacts in multiple countries facilitates offending across borders, particularly the transfer of both cash and goods. Third, just as globalization affects legal transactions, science, education, the arts, and employment, it affects the criminal enterprise. Fourth, and closely related to the third point, the internet and social media facilitate such group cooperation in ways not thought possible just a few years ago. In addition to facilitating offending, internet communication and social media also facilitate the cultural transmission of fads, styles, and practices. How else would Norwegian schoolchildren know to mimic the ways and styles of American rappers or would Japanese youth emulate the behavior of emo and hip hop singers? Fifth, group behavior among motorcycle gangs evokes long-standing mythic belief systems about camaraderie, brotherhood, and the open road.

But how do motorcycle gangs differ from other forms of crime committed in groups? The most logical comparison would be with street gangs, a group that motorcycle gangs are sometimes (mistakenly) compared with. Street gangs tend to have younger members, shorter tenures in the group, and engage in a diversity of crime, much of it (property and violent) non-purposive. While both groups have symbols of membership and many of their members find their way to prison, motorcycle gangs are far more organized and more heavily focused on a narrower range of criminal offenses (drug sales and intimidation) than are street gang members. To be sure, both groups display symbols of membership and this is a feature that distinguishes these groups from other forms of organized crime. Drug smuggling groups are similar in age to motorcycle gangs, but lack the long term membership and in particular the symbols that characterize membership in a motorcycle gang, such as tattoos, logos, and most importantly—a motorcycle. Human traffickers are also different; their behavior is more episodic and less focused than that of motorcycle gangs. In addition, members of human trafficking groups spend less time as a member of the group than do motorcycle gang members. Traditional organized crime groups also do not publicly display symbols of membership; indeed, secrecy is a primary feature of such groups. Perhaps this is why family ties are a much more important characteristic of such groups. While physical violence and intimidation are a part of organized crime, they are employed in the pursuit of profit, the key motivation for organized crime groups.

The study of street gangs has been advanced by focusing on several distinct processes and characteristics that apply to the study of other crime groups. These include (1) definitions of the group, (2) processes of joining, (3) key

activities—criminal and non-criminal—by members of the group, (4) group processes within the group, and (5) leaving the group. We know a good deal about operational *definitions of motorcycle gangs* and what distinguishes them from gangs and other crime groups such as Security Threat Groups (STGs), a nomenclature used by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and many states to refer to what would otherwise be known as prison gangs. In the distinction between motorcycle gangs and other gangs, it is the significance of the motorcycle and how group culture is built around the bike that is important. Unlike work in the area of street gangs, the definition of motorcycle gangs is straightforward and has not been the subject of extensive debate and disagreement between and among law enforcement, legislators, and scholars. The *process of joining* a street gang and a motorcycle gang show some similarity. For both groups joining is a process and often involves violence and proving oneself by engaging in menial tasks in service of more senior members of the gang. For motorcycle gangs, however, the rules about which symbols of membership can be worn are much stricter than in a street gang. There are major differences between key *activities in a motorcycle gang* and a street gang. For street gangs “representing”—demonstrating toughness, holding down territory on the “set”—are both key activities. While street gang members engage in high levels of crime, much of it is non-utilitarian and rarely involves the demonstration of a specific expertise. Money that is made selling drugs as a street gang member rarely goes back to the gang at large and is typically kept by the street gang member who was responsible for raising the money, through drug sales, extortion, or robbery. Activities within motorcycle gangs are far more constrained by group rules. While street gangs rarely have meaningful written rules or formally prescribed punishments, such are common among motorcycle gangs. Indeed, new clubs may not be “certified” as affiliate members of a larger motorcycle gang (Hells Angels, Vagos, Mongols, etc.) without rules and a “constitution” that reflects the principles of the larger gang. Crime among motorcycle gang members is far more tightly controlled and profits from drug sales or extortion (two of the most common forms of crime within a motorcycle gang) and profits are controlled by the gang hierarchy. Motorcycle gangs have a much more formal and effective hierarchy than do street gangs. Because of the expense involved in the purchase, alteration, and upkeep of the motorcycle, generating resources is important for motorcycle gang members. Illegal activities provide an important source of this revenue. It is in the area of *group processes* where the similarities between motorcycle and street gangs are the strongest. The “brotherhood” within each group is a key component of membership, though ties among motorcycle gang members are stronger and more persistent than for street gangs. Each group requires a high degree of in-group loyalty and

commitment and the willingness to act on behalf of the group is an important value which gets tested in practice on a regular basis. As violence is a core activity for each group and always boils just below the surface, it is important that both street gang and motorcycle gang members be prepared to “have the back” of fellow members. Such solidarity creates circumstances where threats and violence can be generalized to the entire group such that a challenge to one member is viewed as a threat against all members. Less is known about *leaving* motorcycle or street gangs than in other areas of activity. The empirical evidence is that large numbers of both groups do end their affiliation (much more so among street gang members) and move on. For motorcycle gang members this appears to be the case among those who have been “honorable” members of the club for a period of time and who move or seek to move on with their lives. For street gang members, the evidence appears to support the conclusion that there are multitude routes out of the gang. Indeed, some argue that the average length of street gang membership in the U.S. is under two years (Curry, Decker, & Pyrooz, 2014). It is important, however, to underscore that there is variation across motorcycle gangs, as one would expect from a category that includes hundreds of groups spread across more than twenty countries.

This edited volume joins two notable recent books on motorcycle gangs. The first is *Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs: A Theoretical Perspective* (written by Lauchs, Bain, & Bell, 2015) and the second *Vagos, Mongols and Outlaws* by Charles Falco (2013). The Lauchs et al. book is one of the few books in the area of organized crime groups that focuses on theory. The book explicitly contrasts motorcycle gangs with street gangs, much as I have done here. As such it is a very important book and one that should be read by all who want to understand motorcycle gangs and how they contrast with street gangs. Falco’s book is more ethnographic, based on nearly three years of membership and activities with a motorcycle club in Victorville, California. The book is full of thick description and examples.

A major contribution of the current volume is the international focus of the chapters. This promises to be a significant advance in our understanding of motorcycle gangs, their relationship to the culture and country they are located in, and comparisons between motorcycle gangs and other criminal groups. This book focuses specifically on gangs in Australia, New Zealand, the Far East, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom, and Germany, as well as South America. Such groups in the U.S. are a typical comparison point, and this book is no exception. Much has been learned in the study of street gangs by comparing them to the circumstances of the United States, though such comparisons have also posed challenges (Klein, Kerner, Maxson, & Weitekamp, 1999). Primary among the challenges of such comparative work was the be-



lief in Europe (and elsewhere) that street gangs in the U.S. were so very different from the troublesome youth groups found in Europe that there was little room for common ground. There was also a concern about stigmatizing youth with the label “gang member,” particularly as most who would be so labeled were members of ethnic or religious minorities, many of whom were recent immigrants to their new home country. What emerged from years of discussion and research was a two-fold understanding that, (1) American youth gangs were not as distinctive as believed in Europe and didn’t generally conform to the media view of them that dominated European consciousness and (2) European street groups indeed exhibited many of the characteristics found among American street gangs. What evolved was a consensus definition about what a street gang was and what its primary activities were that suited a wide variety of contexts. Getting past stereotypes of groups, especially groups involved in deviance and offending that have been the subject of massive media attention, is a key to the successful description and understanding of such groups. This Bain and Lauchs volume does us a great service in this regard and nowhere is its contribution felt more than in the area of a comparative study of motorcycle gangs. This book is evidence that the study of motorcycle gangs and gang members has moved beyond sensationalized media stereotypes and has become a serious topic of study among criminologists. While this entire volume supports this claim, the chapter by Tom Barker, which considers the critical question of whether motorcycle gangs are “clubs” or “criminal gangs,” is particularly important in this regard. Such a consideration is key to whether criminologists should compare such groups to other offending groups, and Barker’s answer is a resounding “yes” with strong empirical and *a priori* support. Blokland and his colleagues (in chapter 4) consider this question in the Dutch context as well. Their chapter traces the evolution of biker gangs in the Netherlands and their relationships with other biker groups through Northern Europe. This excellent chapter documents the adaptation of the group to Dutch norms, as well as the influence of other biker groups on their evaluation. The role of cultural transmission and social imitation is an important contribution made by this chapter. The inclusion of a chapter on the role of women in this volume is another sign that the study of motorcycle gangs has “arrived.” In too many studies of organized crime groups, women are either not dealt with or treated as appendages. In this, Davies Robinson and Bain provide an important correction to such a tendency. The comparative tone of the Crane and Silverstone chapter (United Kingdom, Germany, and Spain) is a further example of how the study of motorcycle gangs has established itself as an integral part of the discipline. Comparative criminology has suffered from “one off” comparisons between the U.S. and some superficial aspects of offenders in another country. The use of

a British framework for comparison has higher face validity than a U.S.-based schema. Similarly, the chapter on motorcycle gangs in the Americas details the spread of such groups to new locations, and builds on an understanding of how groups involved in crime can be adopted and adapted to fit new locations. The brief case study of Mexico, for example, is solid evidence of this process and how it works. One of the strengths of this chapter (and one found throughout this book) is the importance of cultural and structural context in understanding such groups. While it sounds obvious that none of these groups exist in a cultural, linguistic, or structural vacuum, one seldom finds these contexts explicated in work on the spread of new crime groups. In this context, an important chapter is Lauchs' treatment of "Nike Bikies." Such groups have a counterpoint in the study of street gangs, "wanna-bes," or groups that manifest many of the trappings of such groups but may fall short of being fully the same. This Bain and Lauchs book is a useful reminder of the importance of context. This book applies this comparative lens to Asia, New Zealand, and the Far East, expanding the focus of the comparative approach beyond "just" Europe and the U.S. Another strength of this book, one that is found in several of the chapters, is a consideration of the appropriate institutional response to motorcycle gangs. While approaches must be tailored to fit the cultural and institutional contours of their countries, much can be learned from the efforts of other countries to control or limit the harm such groups can bring to bear.

There is much to be learned from this Bain and Lauchs volume. It signals the "arrival" of a criminology of motorcycle gangs, which can now contribute further to our understanding of their nature and level of organization as well as group process in groups involved in crime. This volume is a welcome addition to the literature and a very interesting treatment of the topic.

## References

- Curry, G. D., Decker, S. H., & Pyrooz, D. C. (2014). *Confronting gangs: Crime and community*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Decker, S. H., & Pyrooz, D. C. (2010). Gang violence around the world: Context, culture and country, in McDonald, G. (Ed.). *Small Arms Survey 2010*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Decker, S. H., & Pyrooz, D. C. (2013). Gangs: Another form of organized crime? in Paoli, L., (Ed.). *Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Falco, C. (2013). *Vagos, Mongols and Outlaws*, New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Klein, M., Kerner, H. J., Maxson, C., & Weitekamp, E. (Eds.) (2001). *The Eurogang paradox: Youth groups and gangs in Europe and America*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Lauchs, M., Bain, A., & Bell, P. (2015). *Outlaw motorcycle gangs: A theoretical perspective*, London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Paoli, L., (Ed.), (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Schaefer, D., Rodriguez, N., & Decker, S. (2014). The role of neighborhood context in youth co-offending. *Criminology*, Vol. 52 (1): 117–139.



# Acknowledgments

We would like to thank our colleagues at Carolina Academic Press for giving us the opportunity of working together to develop this fantastically interesting text. In particular, to Jessica Newman, who always had a good word as we worked through to get the process moving, and to Beth Hall, patiently waiting with anticipation—I hope we did not let you down! In addition, we would like to thank each of the contributors, who brought their professional expertise, their knowledge and understanding of the field, and gave up so much of their own personal time to create the individual chapters. Your help and tireless work, and timely responses to each of the requests for clarification, is greatly appreciated and made the whole thing so much easier to bear.



# Notes on the Contributors

## Editors

### Andy Bain

Dr. Andy Bain is assistant professor of criminal justice at the University of Mount Union, Ohio. He is the co-author of *Professional Risk Taking with People: A Guide to Decision-Making in Health, Social Care & Criminal Justice* (with David Carson), and *Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs: A Theoretical Perspective* (with Mark Lauchs and Peter Bell). In addition, Andy has published in a number of leading international academic and professional journals. His professional background includes four years with the National Probation Service (England and Wales) and six years running a successful criminal justice consultancy group, providing guidance and advice to offender groups, law enforcement agencies, and correctional bodies, through which he has authored a number of local and national policing and corrections reports. He is an active member of national and international professional bodies, and his research interests include tattoos and culture; gangs and coded language; policing and social groups; social-psychology of offending and risk-taking behavior; and the (psychological) investigation of criminal behavior.

### Mark Lauchs

Dr. Mark Lauchs is an associate professor at Queensland University of Technology, in Australia. He joined the university after 17 years working in policy and research positions in the Queensland state government. He is coordinator of the policy and governance major in the School of Justice. Mark has also taught in the “International Policing” program of the bachelor of justice degree delivered to the Singapore Police. Mark has published extensively on police corruption, organized crime, and social network analysis. He is co-author of *Policing Transnational Organized Crime and Corruption: Exploring the Role of*

*Communication Interception Technology*, and the co-author of *Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs: A Theoretical Perspective* (with Andy Bain and Peter Bell).

## Authors

*All authors are presented in alphabetical order.*

### Tom Barker

Dr. Thomas Barker is a former police officer, police academy instructor, college/university instructor, and college dean. He is a past president of the Academy of Criminal Justice Studies (ACJS). He has authored or co-authored fourteen books, including six that have gone into multiple editions—and one of those into nine editions. Dr. Barker has published three books specifically dealing with adult criminal gangs—street, prison, and outlaw motorcycle gangs. Since his retirement from college teaching in 2000, he has devoted his time to full time writing and research. At the present time he is working on a book on police sexual misconduct, and one examining the biker gang massacre in Waco, Texas, in 2015. He is continuing his research on adult criminal gangs.

### Arjan Blokland

Arjan Blokland studied criminal law and social psychology and currently is professor of criminology and criminal justice at Leiden University, the Netherlands, and senior researcher at the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR), Amsterdam, the Netherlands. His research focuses on criminal careers and life-course criminology, and the effects of formal interventions on criminal behavior and life-course development. The book, *Sex Offenders: A Criminal Career Approach*, which he co-edited with Patrick Lussier of Laval University, Canada, was published by Wiley-Blackwell in 2015.

### Philip Crane

Philip Crane recently retired from Kent Police, having served 23 years. During this time he spent the majority of his service in detective roles, ranging from Special Branch to the Serious Organized Crime Directorate. He has worked both regionally and nationally, representing the English and Welsh police forces at Europol on the gangs analysis work file, specializing in outlaw



motorcycle clubs. He is currently an independent researcher with interests in organized crime, white-collar crime, gangs, emergent East European crime networks, right-wing extremism, “traveller” criminal networks, prison gangs/crime networks, intelligence-led policing, and the UK Organized Crime Group mapping process.

### **Amelia Davies Robinson**

Amelia Davies Robinson is a lecturer at the University of Mount Union, teaching in the areas of sociology, criminology, women’s studies, and criminal justice. She completed her graduate work at Auburn University, and taught in the Albany, New York, area before relocating to Ohio. Her research focus is on women’s roles and perception in society, including, but not limited to, sex work, in particular prostitution and sex trafficking.

### **Jarrold Gilbert**

Jarrold Gilbert is a lecturer at the University of Canterbury and the lead researcher at Independent Research Solutions. Dr. Gilbert conducted a six-year ethnography with gangs and wrote *Patched: The History of Gangs in New Zealand*. He is an award winning writer who has a column in the *New Zealand Herald*. Dr. Gilbert specializes in issues of crime and justice as well as research with practical applications.

### **Daniel Silverstone**

Dr. Daniel Silverstone is the head of criminology and policing at London Metropolitan University. He has a particular interest in the incidence of organized crime and its policing and he often conducts original research into this area. Recent publications are available online and in variety of textbooks and journals.

### **Melvin Soudijn**

Melvin Soudijn is a senior researcher at the Central Intelligence Division of the National Police of the Netherlands. His research focuses on organized crime, situational crime prevention, and money laundering. He has a background in sinology and did his PhD research into Chinese human smuggling at the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR).

### **Wouter van der Leest**

Wouter van der Leest studied public administration and is currently working at the Criminal Intelligence Division of the Dutch National Crime Squad. Currently, Wouter’s research focuses on organized crime, although he also has

interests in new and future types of crime. For the Dutch National Threat Assessment on Organized Crime, he studied environmental crime and extortion. For the Dutch police he currently researches the development of outlaw motorcycle gangs.