# Table of Contents

**Preface** xi

**Acknowledgments** xiii

1 Introduction 1

1.1 Governing through clubhouses: a 180-degree turn 1

1.2 Raising barriers 3

1.3 International responses to outlaw motorcycle gangs 5

1.3.1 Europe 6

1.3.2 Canada 8

1.3.3 Australia 9

1.4 A ‘risk factor’ to be prevented 11

1.5 Setting the stage: the pre-crime society 13

1.6 Research question 18

1.7 Discussing methods 20

1.7.1 Choosing sides 20

1.7.2 The government 22

1.7.3 Taking a social constructivist view 23

1.7.4 Discussing data: triangulation 24

1.7.5 Discussing analysis 36

1.8 Some early reflections and limitations 38

1.8.1 The downside of a hot topic 39

1.8.2 Reflecting on the data and analysis 40

1.9 Overview of the book 42

2 Raising barriers to crime 45

2.1 Introduction 45

2.2 The birth of prevention in the Netherlands 46

2.3 Changing criminologies 48

2.3.1 Welfarist criminology 49

2.3.2 Nothing works 50

2.3.3 Criminologies of everyday life 51

2.4 Situational crime prevention 54

2.4.1 Beyond the criminal justice system 56

2.4.2 A crime-specific approach 57
# Table of Contents

2.4.3 An amoral approach ........................................... 58
2.5 Towards the prevention of organized crime ................. 59
  2.5.1 A threat to society ............................................ 60
  2.5.2 Van Traa-Committee and the Organized Crime Monitor 61
  2.5.3 The Amsterdam project ..................................... 64
2.6 Tegenhouden ....................................................... 67
2.7 A program-based approach to organized crime .......... 69
  2.7.1 Raising barriers .............................................. 72
  2.7.2 Raising barriers to organized hemp cultivation ......... 74
2.8 Pre-crime and raising barriers ................................ 80

3 The history of the outlaw motorcycle gang ................... 83
  3.1 Introduction .................................................... 83
  3.2 From motorcycle clubs to outlaw motorcycle clubs .... 84
    3.2.1 The first motorcycle (club) .............................. 84
    3.2.2 The ‘outlawed’ motorcycle clubs ....................... 85
  3.3 From outlaw motorcycle clubs to 1%-motorcycle clubs ... 87
    3.3.1 The gypsy tour in Hollister ............................ 88
    3.3.2 The media response to the Hollister event .......... 89
    3.3.3 Threatening norms and values ......................... 92
    3.3.4 Exploiting the image of the ‘outlaw biker’ .......... 93
    3.3.5 The 1% and the 99% ..................................... 95
  3.4 From 1%-motorcycle clubs to outlaw motorcycle gangs 96
    3.4.1 The Hells Angels Motorcycle Club .................... 96
    3.4.2 The Lynch-report ......................................... 98
    3.4.3 Introducing the ‘gang’-label ............................ 100
    3.4.4 Outlaw motorcycle gangs ............................... 102

4 Facilitating the Hells Angels MC ............................... 105
  4.1 Introduction .................................................... 105
  4.2 The emergence of youth culture ............................. 106
    4.2.1 The nozems, dijkers and pleiners .................... 108
    4.2.2 The provo’s and the police ............................. 110
  4.3 The first Hells Angels in the Netherlands ................. 111
    4.3.1 ‘Terrorizing’ Amsterdam ................................ 113
    4.3.2 Disrupting youth work .................................. 115
    4.3.3 Explaining aggressive behaviour ...................... 118
  4.4 Towards a responsive approach ............................. 120
    4.4.1 The rationale behind a new clubhouse ............... 122
4.4.2 A multi-agency experiment 124
4.4.3 Avoiding media attention 128
4.4.4 Assessing complaints and weighing risks 129
4.4.5 Making exceptions 133
4.4.6 An exceptional and controversial measure 134
4.4.7 The Hells Angels as a trusted discussion partner 136
4.5 Recognized as an MC 138
4.6 Facilitating the Hells Angels MC 139

5 Towards a national priority on outlaw motorcycle gangs 143
5.1 Introduction 143
5.2 Losing grip 144
5.3 Tolerating the Hells Angels MC 146
5.4 Zooming in on the Hells Angels MC 148
5.5 Managing public order 151
5.5.1 The 20th anniversary of the Hells Angels MC 152
5.5.2 Guiding a funeral procession 155
5.6 The turning of the tide 157
5.6.1 The eyesore of a funeral 157
5.6.2 Killings, violence and weapons 162
5.6.3 Fighting a public image 163
5.7 The turn of the tide 165
5.7.1 Acroniem 165
5.7.2 Angel Place: stopping negotiations 167
5.7.3 Safe havens and reclaiming authority 169
5.8 Outlawing the Hells Angels MC 174
5.8.1 No place for the Hells Angels MC 174
5.8.2 The ‘criminal character’ of the Hells Angels MC 176
5.8.3 The verdict of the civil court 178
5.9 Disappointment and restraint 180
5.10 Towards a national priority on outlaw motorcycle gangs 182
5.10.1 Tensions in the ‘biker scene’ 183
5.10.2 Taking no risks 186
5.10.3 A national priority 187
5.10.4 From ‘1%-motorcycle club’ to ‘outlaw motorcycle gang’ 189

6 The problem of outlaw motorcycle gangs 193
6.1 Introduction 193
6.2 A multi-dimensional problem 194
Table of Contents

6.3 The risk of public disorder 195
6.4 Outlaw motorcycle gangs and (organized) crime 197
   6.4.1 From the individual member to the club 199
   6.4.2 The power of the patch 201
   6.4.3 The masking effect of the ‘outlaw motorcycle gang’-label 203
   6.4.4 Zooming in on Dutch outlaw motorcycle gangs 207
6.5 Above and beside the law 209
   6.5.1 Manifesting as an ‘outlaw’ 210
   6.5.2 A ‘different’ subculture 212
6.6 A cloak of untouchability 215
   6.6.1 The OMG in the street 216
   6.6.2 The OMG on the road 218
   6.6.3 The OMG and its clubhouse 221
   6.6.4 The ‘apparent’ untouchability 222
6.7 The societal effect of outlaw motorcycle gangs 223
   6.7.1 Undermining criminality 223
   6.7.2 The OMG: undermining Dutch society 226
6.8 An undesirable phenomenon 230
   6.8.1 The ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ 230
   6.8.2 Taking distance from the outlaw 232

7 Raising barriers to outlaw motorcycle gangs 237
   7.1 Introduction 237
   7.2 Making a clear statement 238
      7.2.1 One united offensive 239
      7.2.2 Applying the barrier model 241
   7.3 Prioritizing criminal prosecution 245
   7.4 Zooming in on the individual 248
   7.5 Informing society 251
   7.6 Raising barriers to clubhouses 254
      7.6.1 Rule enforcement 254
      7.6.2 Denying a helping hand 255
      7.6.3 Hindering by all means available 257
      7.6.4 Hindering displacement effects 262
      7.6.5 Exceptions to the rule 264
   7.7 Raising barriers to OMG-related events 265
      7.7.1 The limits of ‘not facilitating’ OMG events 269
      7.7.2 Between hindering and regulating 272
      7.7.3 Banning colours from other events 273
# Table of Contents

7.8 Raising barriers to rides 274  
7.8.1 A special treatment 275  
7.8.2 Taking away the podium 278  
7.8.3 Between hindering and regulating 280  
7.9 Stop-conversations 282  
7.9.1 Talking to OMGs 283  
7.9.2 Talking to pub owners 285  
7.10 Raising barriers to labour 287  
7.10.1 The good civil servant 287  
7.10.2 Refusing security cards 292  
7.11 The OMG as the criminal process 296  
7.12 A barrier for the long run 299  
7.12.1 The rationales for banning outlaw motorcycle gangs 300  
7.12.2 The Bandidos MC case 304  
7.12.3 Towards new legislation 306  

8 Raising Moral Barriers 311  
8.1 Introduction 311  
8.2 The first explanation 312  
8.3 Barriers, situational crime prevention and risks 313  
8.4 Towards the ‘outlaw motorcycle gang’ as an enemy deviant 315  
8.5 From inclusion to exclusion 322  
8.6 Beyond risk-thinking 327  
8.6.1 A pre-crime approach 327  
8.6.2 A moral approach 329  
8.7 Risk and morality 332  
8.8 Raising moral barriers 335  
8.9 Reflecting and raising questions 336  
8.9.1 The preventive gaze 336  
8.9.2 Guarding against an undermining government 338  
8.9.3 Reflections on a key question 341  
8.9.4 ‘The’ outlaw motorcycle gang does not exist 343  
8.9.5 The autonomous and vulnerable mayor 345  
8.10 Closing remarks 347  

References 351  
Appendix 381