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Knowledge Management in Policing MC Crime

A distinction must be made between non-criminalized and criminalized bikers. The latter outlaw bikers are typically motorcycle club members referring to themselves as “one-percenters.” Among the criminal biker clubs we find Hells Angels, Outlaws, Bandidos, Pagans and Coffin Cheaters. The most well-known is Hells Angels Motorcycle Club (HAMC), which is in charge of many criminal business enterprises all over the world.

In this chapter, we will assume that Norwegian police establishes a national intelligence project to fight the criminal MC organizations such as Hells Angels Motorcycle Club in Norway.

7.1. The Case of Hells Angels Motorcycle Club

In the case of Criminal Intelligence Service Alberta’s annual report in Canada, Hells Angels were gathering outside Calgary to celebrate the group’s 10th anniversary in Alberta. Hells Angels were identified as being involved in the street-level drug trade. The worldwide biker gang arrived in Alberta ten years ago when it took over locally based independent gangs such as the Grim Reapers in Calgary. Despite that history and three chapters in Alberta—Calgary, Edmonton and a “Nomad” chapter based in Red Deer—Criminal Intelligence Service Alberta said that the gang had failed to make significant inroads in the province’s criminal underworld [120].

“Without making light of their propensity for extreme violence—augmented by loyalty to the club’s name—members of the Hells Angels continue to lack in criminal business savvy,” the report said. “They have proven themselves to be an available source of “muscle” either for their own endeavors or for other criminal organizations. They are preoccupied

with the supremacy of their name within the criminal biker sub-culture” [120].

The Hells Angels’ Calgary chapter has suffered some highly publicized setbacks, notably having to abandon a fortified clubhouse under construction in Bowness because it violated building codes. The chapter’s then president, Ken Szczerba, was jailed in 2001 for trying to arrange a plot to bomb the homes of Ald. Dale Hodges and a community activist involved in getting construction halted. Nevertheless, police agencies underestimate the Hells Angels in this province at their peril, said the author of several books on the gang to Russel and Komarnicki [120].

In the province of Quebec, the situation is very different. Police claim that Hells Angels control most of the organized crime in the province. This view is supported by criminologists who argue that the government is to blame for the situation. This is because of the policy of fighting the Mafia resulted in Hells Angels getting the opportunity to grow dominantly in the vacuum that emerged. Until then, Hells Angels were viewed as the street boys for the Mafia. In the years after 1994, wars between street gangs in the province have caused more than 100 killings (including a randomly passing person who was killed by a car bomb). More than 84 bomb attacks have occurred, 130 cases of fires, and 9 missing persons.

In Amsterdam in the Netherlands, Hells Angels are running much of the operations in the red light district. The motorcycle club owns restaurants and gambling casinos, and they run the prostitution and drug business. Since Hells Angels have full control of the situation, there is not much public crime in the district. Therefore, Dutch police seem satisfied with the situation, although they know it is wrong. Dutch police know that many of the major drug deals for Europe are settled in the red light district, where Hells Angels are in charge.

Also, spectacular killings are ulinked to Hells Angels MC Holland. For example, the Dutch lawyer Evert Hingst was murdered in front of his house in Amsterdam. Among Hingst’s clients were many noted and alleged criminals, including John Mieremet, who was once shot in front of Hingst’s office. After the assault, Mieremet claimed that Hingst had tried to set him up. Mieremet was murdered three days after the liquidation of Hingst. The lawyer Evert Hingst could be ulinked to Hells Angels MC Holland through John Mieremet and Willem Holleeder. Willem “The Nose” Holleeder is a Dutch criminal born in 1958 in Amsterdam. He was one of the perpetrators of the kidnapping of brewery president Heineken in 1983 [93].

Holleeder came in the news when the monthly magazine *Quote* printed a photo of Holleeder accompanied by Endstra. Endstra was regarded as the banker of the Dutch underworld. Endstra laundered drug money and

invested it in real estate. Holleeder ordered the extortion of Endstra in 2004 after Endstra started to give information to the Dutch national police. Hells Angels carried out the extortion, because Holleeder enjoyed significant influence in the criminal motorcycle club (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>).

When Dutch police was informed where to find the meeting room where criminal activities were planned, they installed listening devices and interception for communication control on the Hells Angels MC Holland premises. However, the police informant in the club was soon severely punished by the club, and meetings were moved to another HA resort.

When looking back at history, it all started in 1948 (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>):

The Hells Angels club was formed in 1948 in Fontana, Calif, USA. The name "Hells Angels" was believed to have been inspired by the common historical use, in both World War I and II, to name squadrons or other fighting groups by fierce, death-defying names such as Hells Angels and Flying Tigers. The Howard Hughes film *Hell's Angels* was a major film of 1930 displaying extraordinary and dangerous feats of aviation. Several military units used the name Hells Angels prior to the founding of the motorcycle club of the same name. [...]

The Hells Angels are shrouded in a cloud of mystery and controversy, thanks to a very strict code of secrecy and what can be construed as a practice of deliberate mythologizing by some members of the club. Members don't use last names, even with one another. They just use a first name, and, more often than not, a nickname. Due to its colorful history and the confirmed ulinks of some of its members to organized crime, speculation and rumor about the club's activities is rife.

It is assumed that HAMC has more than 2000 members and trial members (prospects) in 189 local departments (chapters) in 22 countries all over the world. HAMC was the symbol of an outlaw biker anti-culture in the 1960s. FBI estimates that Hells Angels make more than one billion US dollars a year on their global trafficking in drugs and women. This is denied by spokesmen of the club, who also argue that crimes committed by members are not the responsibility of the organization. Spokesmen of the club claim that they are only a motorcycle club, and that the majority of members are regular citizens who are misrepresented in the media. Nevertheless, HAMC presents itself as a 1% club, a phrase that was introduced

because the American Motorcyclist Association claimed that 99% of all MC drivers are regular citizens.

When analyzing Hells Angels motorcycle club, it should be understood as a criminal organization. As a criminal organization, it is both similar to and different from other organized crime groups. When policing street gangs based on ethnic backgrounds, it is sometimes compared to fighting local Hells Angels chapters. Nothing could be more wrong. While street gangs have to be understood in a context of temporary and dynamically changing relationships and finances, MC groups have to be understood as more permanent structures and finances. Understanding both similarities and differences between criminal business enterprises is critical in successful policing of organized crime. As illustrated in Figure 6.3, it would not be considered a success if a closed down HA chapter in one city is revitalized in another city.

Hells Angels have both the element of identity in Harley Davidson motorcycles, as well as in trafficking, drugs, extortions, money laundering, and other criminal activities. Hells Angels carried out the extortion of Endstra, because Holleeder enjoyed significant influence in the criminal motorcycle club.

In analyzing the culture of a particular group or organization, Schein [131] finds it desirable to distinguish three fundamental levels at which culture manifests itself: (a) observable artifacts, (b) values, and (c) basic underlying assumptions. When one enters an organization one observes and feels its artifacts. This category includes everything from the physical layout, the dress code, the manner in which people address each other, to the more permanent archival manifestations such as company records, products, statements of philosophy, and remains at crime scenes. These are all observable artifacts in the organization. A typical example is artifacts found on jackets and tattoos found on bodies such as A.F.F.A. (Angel. Forever. Forever. Angel.), which are manifestations of Hells Angels MC members.

Motorcycle clubs such as HAMC are fairly consistent in their modal organization, consisting of national, regional/state, and local tiers, which emerged after a formative period. Individual bikers, cliques, and chapters answer to the national leadership which controls their right to claim membership, but they also have sufficient autonomy to accommodate their extremely independent and rebellious personalities and wide ranging local circumstances [117].

This tension between intense loyalty and hierarchical control on the one hand, and autonomous masculinity on the other is perplexing to many outsiders. Loyalty to a singular national hierarchy reinforces deeply felt

tribal solidarity and power. Autonomy permits local flexibility in promoting growth and hegemony and avoids instigating rebellion among individuals. It also functions to make their actions difficult to directly link to the group's formal leadership and keeps the relationship between the club and the actions of its members distant from each other [117].

Values at the second level at Schein [131] can be studied in terms of norms, ideologies, charters, and philosophies. Strong values in Hells Angels MC (HAMC) include respect of other members. Basic underlying assumptions at the third and final level of organizational culture are concerned with perceptions, thought processes, feelings, and behavior.

While studies have shown that people within the same legal organization have very different values, often measured in terms of deviation from the mean, we might expect members of illegal organizations to have very similar values. Their values will not only be typical for criminal organizations, they will also have much smaller deviations between members than in criminal gangs and networks that are not so well established.

Criminal business organization is an enterprise where all people in all parts of the organization are involved in criminal activity. Hells Angels MC is a legal motorcycle club in most countries (not in Canada), where the members are involved in criminal activity based on emerging internal networks. For example, when a local Hells Angels MC organization runs a chain of legal tattoo shops, members are at the same time involved in drug smuggling, human trafficking and other criminal activities. Thus, the chairman and entrepreneur in Hells Angels MC Holland, Willem van Boxtel, need to express an overall strategy for the criminal business organization.

Hells Angels MC tends to have a matrix organization, where the legal motorcycle club is along the vertical axis, while the criminal activities of HAMC are along the horizontal axis. The criminal activities are not initiated and organized from the top. Instead, one core entrepreneurial member initiates a criminal project by identifying an opportunity and recruiting fellow members to the project. Top management is informed—but not necessarily involved.

Sometimes, HAMC gets into rivalry with similar clubs. For example, tough competition characterized MC organizations in Scandinavia a decade ago, where Bandidos, Hells Angels, and Outlaws were the main competitors. Among other business areas, they were competing in the amphetamine market. This competition was labeled “MC-war,” as a variety of competitive weapons were used by the parties, including bombs.

One of the violent occasions in the history of HAMC occurred during a concert with Rolling Stones in Altamont (Calif, USA) in 1969. HAMC

members were hired in as guards for a compensation, which is claimed to include beer of a value of 500 US dollars. During the song “Under My Thumb” (and not “Sympathy for the Devil” as many believe), Alan Passaro knifed to death Meredith Hunter, who had drawn a gun. Passaro was later released because the murder was defined as self-defense. Both Hunter and Passaro were members of HAMC.

In the 1960-ies, during the Vietnam war, HAMC offered its services to American troops abroad. Although they were not allowed, this offer from HAMC was perceived as a traitor’s act by all those who idolized the biker anti-culture. The critics of HAMC argued that the biker club tried to make an alliance with the US authorities. Six members of the John Brown Brethren group, a small but violent anti-war activist group, attacked HAMC in San Francisco and killed four members.

7.2. The Case of Criminal Motorcycle Clubs in Norway

In Norway we find three known criminal MC organizations—Hells Angels, Bandidos, and Outlaws—with different organizational structure and culture. Hells Angels seems to separate most systematically between the legal motorcycle club and criminal activity. The criminal HAMC activity is often based on private and personal initiative, where one member asks another member: “Would you like to take part in this?” Organized crime is then carried out by several HAMC members, but the criminal group is set up by initiative and contact directly among members. HAMC management is seldom directly involved. The organized crime is typically in areas such as narcotics, trafficking, and torpedo activities. If crime fails and members get prosecuted, then they may be expelled from HAMC as failures.

Let us start with the beginning of Hells Angels in Norway, which was founded in 1992 (<http://www.hells-angels.com/>):

In August 1992 Norway got its first Hells Angels chapter, Hells Angels MC Trondheim In January 1995 the Club moved into a new clubhouse outside the city, the same as today.

While HAMC has recruited mainly MC interested men, Outlaws on the other hand has primarily recruited criminals as members. Therefore, there is a more visible ulink between motorcycle activities and criminal activities. Bandidos seems to be somewhere in the middle between Hells Angels and Outlaws. Some of the proceeds from organized crime in Norway is laundered and invested in Thailand by HAMC.

In the last decade, the number of criminal MC clubs has increased threefold in Norway. Hells Angels is still the largest, but is challenged by

Bandidos, Outlaws and also Coffin Cheaters is on its way [226]. In 1997, Bandidos and Hells Angels shared geographical areas and criminal markets among themselves. This mutual agreement was achieved after the bloody Scandinavian MC war that culminated with a bomb attack by Hells Angels on Bandidos head quarter in Drammen west of Oslo in Norway in 1997. Now this mutual understanding is challenged and threatened by new gangs over the whole country.

Leif Ivar Kristiansen is head of HAMC in Norway. He is located at the Hells Angels' headquarter in Trondheim, north of Oslo. He was interviewed in the Norwegian newspaper *Adresseavisen* [193] when a power fight was going on in the Hells Angels organization. Hells Angels MC Norway has chapters in Hamar, Stavanger, Skien, Oslo, Drammen, Tromsø, and Trondheim (<http://www.hells-angels.no/>). When Hells Angels decides to present themselves as clean from criminality such as bomb attacks, women trafficking, or cocaine smuggling, then typically a person from HA management without criminal record is presented.

Two thirds of all MC members in Hells Angels, Bandidos, and Outlaws have a criminal record in Norway. Some in management do as well. For example, Torkjel "The Rat" Alsaker was convicted to several years in prison because of shooting as well as participating in the bomb attack on Bandidos in Drammen in 1997. Leif Ivar Kristiansen, however, has no criminal record so far.

The headquarter building of HAMC Norway is at Trolla in Trondheim. The "chief executive officer" Leif Ivar Kristiansen has tried to become rich by establishing tattoo shops for money laundering. In 2001, he opened another outlet of his business chain called "Tattoo World" in the town of Lillehammer. According to *Aftenposten* [215], police considered Hells Angels established in Lillehammer by the presence of Kristiansen's Tattoo World.

In an interview when confronted with the question whether he was the president of Hells Angels MC Norway and hence top executive in Norway, Kristiansen replied in *Aftenposten* [215]: "I don't answer such questions. This is my secret. All my business activity occurs within my personal enterprise. It has nothing to do with HA. Such allegations build on stupidity, but it does not provoke me."

When Hells Angels MC Norway as an MC club is not directly involved in organized crime while being a criminal organization, individual members team up to carry out criminal projects. The relationship between criminal project and base organization is characterized by independence in terms of resource mobilization and management. Each criminal project enjoys freedom as long as it succeeds. Criminal projects requiring critical

resources in terms of innovative knowledge, large sums of money, and advanced technology are organized and run outside the base Hells Angels organization by participating criminal HA members moving temporarily out of chapter homes. Such criminal projects represent temporary organizations with their own goals, resources, and deadlines.

However, HAMC management decides the policy and rules to be followed both in the legal motorcycle club operations as well as in criminal activities. Global, European, Norwegian, and chapter management represent levels of authority reporting and taking orders. It is an obvious hierarchy. Global executives visit local management, and local management visits global executives. Informal communication among managers takes place during “motorcycle parties” where hundreds of executives and members from a number of countries may join to drink and talk at locations all over the world.

Similar to the situation in Canada, where Hells Angels expanded their criminal activities into areas where the Mafia had been active, because law enforcement was concerned with the Mafia, Norwegian police for a while ignored Hells Angels and other MC clubs to fight gangs that had established themselves in the capital Oslo. The gangs had shot each other at a well-known restaurant district, causing public attention and politicians’ concern. High priority was put on policing Pakistani and other gangs, while Hells Angels, Bandidos and Outlaws could develop their criminal organizations without much police attention.

In Norway, HAMC and the others are perceived by the press, politicians, and public to be criminal clubs, although the clubs as such are not defined as criminal organizations. Canada seems still to be the only country that has officially labeled HAMC a criminal organization. Therefore, being a member in Canada is being a criminal, while this is not the case in Norway.

It seems that most criminal activities are carried out by new recruits among Hells Angels in Norway. They qualify for higher positions in the organization by successfully completing human trafficking, cocaine smuggling, debt collection, and money laundering.

It came as quite a surprise to many Norwegians in 2007, a surprise that indicates that Hells Angels MC Norway is still making progress in the country. In September that year, the earlier MC club Norsmen in the town of Øvre Eiker became full and complete members of HAMC. Hells Angels MC Drammen became the new name of Norsmen and became the seventh HA chapter in Norway. The mayor of Øvre Eiker, Anders B. Werp, expressed in an interview by NRK [96] that he very much disliked having HA in his town.

Shortly after, he received the following letter from the mayor in the city of Drammen that is next to the town of Øvre Eiker [14]:

THE THREAT FROM THE MC CLUBS ARE OF CONCERN TO
THE WHOLE REGION

Open letter to the Mayor of Øvre Eiker, Anders B Werp.

In recent days, people in the Drammen Region did get confirmed what they all have feared, MC Norway Drammen has become full worthy member of Hells Angels.

Many, not at least Drammen people, do still remember the bomb in Konnerud street ten years ago very well. While it has been quite on the surface for some years now, the fact that Hells Angels establish themselves so strongly in our region now is of great concern to all of us.

An opportunity has lead to the establishment of Hells Angels in Øvre Eiker. But this does not imply that the challenge involved is only of concern to Øvre Eiker. The MC clubs are not restricted by municipality boarders. The criminality that we can assume these people bring with them, will also be felt in neighboring municipalities, not at least in Drammen as the regional center.

Therefore, it seems so important in law enforcement to prevent births of criminal organizations and pull all roots of established criminal organizations out of the earth.

Hells Angels MC Norway had chapters in Trondheim, Hamar, Oslo, Skien, Stavanger, and Drammen in 2008. Other MC clubs in Norway are Bandidos, Outlaws and also Coffin Cheaters.

The Bandidos Motorcycle Club was founded in 1966 in Tex, USA. The membership in this MC club is estimated to 2400 members in 14 countries. In Norway, Bandidos has approximately 40 members in five departments: Oslo, Fredrikstad, Drammen, Kristiansand, and Stavanger. Bandidos is involved in organized crime (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>):

In October 2006, George Wegers, then Bandidos' international president, pleaded guilty and received a two-year sentence for conspiracy to engage in racketeering. Also, in November 2006, Glenn Merrit of the Bellingham, Washington chapter was sentenced to four years in prison for drug possession and trafficking in stolen

property. A total of 32 members were indicted in the associated investigation, on charges including conspiracy, witness tampering, and various drug and gun violations. Eighteen of those plead guilty.

Outlaws was founded in McCook, (Ill, USA) in 1935. The club consists of 200 local clubs in USA, Canada, Australia, Asia, and Europe. In Norway, Outlaws has four departments in Oslo, Drammen, Fredrikstad and Romerike. Outlaws is involved in organized crime (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>):

- On June 10, 1997, US attorneys indicted 17 members of the Outlaws motorcycle club for racketeering, murder, narcotics trafficking, and bombing. Members were from Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana chapters. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms completed a two-year and a half investigation sparked by a war between the Outlaws and Hells Angels for control over areas of Chicago and Milwaukee.
- On December 19, 2000, Kevin O'Neill, president of the Wisconsin/S-tateline Outlaws chapter, received a sentence of life in prison after being convicted of racketeering charges.
- On May 31, 2001, Edward Anastas, one-time president of the Milwaukee chapter of the Outlaws motorcycle club, was arrested after being named in a sealed indictment charging him with racketeering conspiracy, cocaine conspiracy, and participating in a bombing.
- On March 14, 2003, Thomas Sienkowski, president of the Milwaukee chapter of the Outlaws motorcycle club, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for racketeering.
- On August 8, 2006, four Outlaws members were wounded, three seriously, in an ambush in Custer State Park, South Dakota among bikers gathered for the Sturgis Motorcycle Rally. A woman acquaintance was also wounded. Two men arrested and charged with attempted murder were said to be Canadian members of the Hells Angels. A statement posted on the Outlaws' web site had announced Outlaws members would attend Sturgis but not make any "display of power," and claimed that they had given prior notice to federal law enforcement of their intention to sightsee and enjoy the rally.
- Frank Rego Vital of Roberta (Ga, USA) an Outlaws MC member, was shot and killed in an early morning gunfight June 24, 2007, in the parking lot of The Crazy Horse Saloon strip club in Forest Park, Georgia by two members of the Renegades MC in what has been described as a self-defense shooting after Vital and other Outlaws members followed the

men from the club. Both Renegade members were shot several times but survived.

- On June 27, 2006, Christopher Legere of Raymond, New Hampshire, an Outlaws member, was arrested in the murder of a man who was wearing a Hells Angels shirt. The victim, John Denoncourt, 32 years old, of Manchester, New Hampshire, was shot and killed outside the 3-Cousins Pizza and Lounge in Manchester on Sunday June 25, 2006 after he was spotted hugging the bartender, who was Legere's girlfriend. Denoncourt, according to friends and family, was not a Hells Angel member himself but had friends who were. Legere had been involved in another incident in Connecticut in early 2006 when he was charged with illegal possession of body armor by a convicted felon, telling police that "tensions were high" between the Hells Angels and the Outlaws at the time and that members from outside of the state were brought in to protect Marty Warren, who claimed to be the East Coast representative for the Outlaws.
- On July 31, 2007, the FBI raided Brockton, Massachusetts outlaws. The Taunton, Massachusetts club house was raided, but due to immunity of the Brockton club house, nothing happened. Many people were arrested, including Joseph Noe, former Taunton chapter of the Outlaws.
- On the morning of August 16, 2007, Federal agents along with the Daytona Beach SWAT Team raided the Outlaws biker club's hangout on Beach Street in Daytona Beach, Fla, USA. Federal agents also raided a site in Ormond Beach and two others around the state. The search of the Jacksonville clubhouses netted federal agents 60 weapons. US Attorney General Alberto Gonzales announced a Detroit grand jury indictment of 16 of the Outlaws National Club's members. The Detroit grand jury indictment included various charges, including assault and drug distribution. Eleven Outlaws leaders and high-ranking members of the gang were arrested after a five-year investigation. The FBI said several gang members were charged with conspiracy to commit assault on members of the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club in Indiana.
- On March 5, 2008, fighting broke out at a motorcycle meeting in Germany, between Outlaws and Hells Angels members. Arrests were made.
- On March 10, 2008, a racial conflict broke out between the Outlaws and a group of African-American.
- On July 30, 2008, several facilities associated with the Outlaws in the Chicago area were raided by agents from the FBI and the ATF. The FBI brought in an SWAT team and an urban assault vehicle to the clubhouse in the west side of the city in case violence was to break out.

“Coffin Cheaters” originates from Australia, where there are ten departments with approximately 170 members. The members are involved in all kinds of criminality that generate income to the club and its members. Coffin Cheaters MC now has two full-worthy departments in Norway, one in Ringerike and the other in Stjørdal.

In Norway, an Outlaws member was shot and wounded in 1996. Six Hells Angels members were arrested, but charges were dismissed. Again in 1997, two Outlaws members were shot [204]. Then the list goes on chronologically as follows

- In 1987, members of the MC club, the Shabby Ones, were involved in a number of violent episodes.
- In June 1988, four Shabby Ones were accused of serious violence against a man. The crime occurred at a motorcycle gathering in Lyngdal. In August, three Shabby Ones were wanted after a violent episode at the cinema in Bryne. In September, narcotics and weapons were found in an apartment belonging to one of the members of The Shabby Ones.
- In 1989, two members of the Shabby Ones were arrested and suspected of drug smuggling. Two Shabby Ones were involved in insurance fraud.
- In 1991, the MC gang, the Shabby Ones from Sandnes, attacked Ålgård Motorcycle Club with bats.
- In 1992, Police had an action against the club localities of the Shabby Ones, weapons are confiscated and seven members arrested.
- In 1993, a member of MC club, the Shabby Ones, was put on trial because of violence against policeman causing serious injuries.
- In February 1995, shooting between members of the Rabies MC (now Bandidos) and Customizers (now HA) in Oslo. Rabies MC members in a car were shot at. In August, five persons were arrested after illegal import of 25 kilos of hashish from Denmark to Norway. Two of the arrested were members of an MC club. In October, a member of the Hells Angels club at Braut was arrested. The police found narcotics and weapons. In December, a man from HA, Braut, was caught by police in Trondheim, with weapons, illegal spirits and amphetamine. Also in December, shots were fired against a member of the Bronx-95 (Bandidos); three HA members prosecuted, but released.
- In January 1996, two members of Back Guard MC W. Seaside were jailed for illegal import of a kilo amphetamine to Norway. Also in January, Outlaws member was shot and wounded. Ten HA members were released after trial. In February, police found weapons in the clubhouse of Black Guard MC W. Seaside at Lomeland in Gjesdal. In March,

Bandidos member was shot and wounded at Oslo Airport. HAMC was suspected of attempted murder. In May, two women in a car outside HA premises were shot and one was hurt. In July, a Danish Bandidos member was shot and killed by Newcastle United in Bangkok. A Hells Angels member was imprisoned. In November, police found weapons, narcotics, user equipment, and stolen goods in the club house of Hells Angels at Braut. In December, seven members of HA at Braut are arrested for using drugs.

- In June 1997, two persons in the HA club at Braut were arrested by police. One of them was jailed for possession of narcotics. Also in June, a woman was killed when a powerful bomb explodes in the Bandidos headquarters in Bangkok. In November, police took an action against Black Guard MC W. Seaside. The catch consisted of weapons and narcotics. Two men in the criminal MC milieu were jailed after drug seizure.
- In January 1998, a member of the MC club Hogs Riders in Stavanger was jailed. He was indicted in connection with 11 kilograms of amphetamine seized in Oslo in December 1996. In July, after a police action against the Hells Angels in Braut, seven people reported use of drugs.
- In 2000, four people unlinked to Bandidos were arrested and indicted in a serious violence case in Østfold.

The Norwegian departments are closely unlinked to international operations. All over the world, these criminal biker clubs make money on narcotics traffic, human smuggling, prostitution, debt collection, and violence tasks. The MC gangs are dependent on personal contacts across borders. At international gatherings and parties, organized crimes are agreed and planned, and international executives from the USA and Europe give their orders to each chapter or department. MC gatherings for these gangs are more than drinking and fun. Gang members have secret meetings in hotel rooms, camping wagons and bars. An example is the international party held in the city of Kristiansand and in Norway by Bandidos in 2007. Swedes came by ferry from Strömstad to Sandefjord, while groups of fifteen members arrived by plane from the continent at Kjevik airport outside Kristiansand, and some came by ferry from Hirtshals in Denmark. A total of 200 guests took part in the Bandidos feast in Kristiansand.

Prison guards in Norwegian prisons are afraid of inmates from criminal motorcycle clubs. One guard expressed his concerns like this as follows [222]:

Every time we get in someone from HA and Bandidos, it takes only two minutes and then they have control over all the prisoners in the section. They always have some assistants who do the work for them so that we never get a case against them, and they can follow regular progression as prisoners without red tags, while they in reality regulate all activities among prisoners. They recruit new ones that they can use when they get out, for various criminal activities. Prisoners do of course not want to get in conflict with these inmates, as it can have consequences for them when they get out, and it is always useful to get a bit of protection both inside and outside, and therefore they take on the role of assistants. This is a problem, and it becomes bigger and bigger.

There are many theories about MC crime, but few empirical studies. One theory is the matrix theory, which claims that criminal projects are organized horizontally while the motorcycle club is managed vertically. This would imply that Hells Angels MC, for example, is a matrix organization. A member initiates a criminal project by involving other members (colleagues) in the same club; this is a horizontal initiative. Management is not necessarily involved. The legal part of the motorcycle club is run by the vertical axis, while the criminal part of the motorcycle club is run by the horizontal axis in the matrix. This theory seems to find support in the MC crime practice in Norway.

Another theory is the newcomer theory, which implies that newcomers need to make themselves deserve membership in the MC club through successful crime. These freshmen need to convince MC club management that they are competent in carrying out criminal activities such as drug smuggling of and debt collection. Based on successful completion of organized crimes, newcomers expect to be enrolled in the MC club. This theory seems as well to find support in MC crime practice in Norway.

Swedish police did recently carry out an intelligence-led action against Bandidos based on the newcomer theory. It was a coordinated action at ten locations in Sweden. A total of 13 persons were arrested among Bandidos members. The arrests were a result of cooperation between several government authorities. The background was intelligence and analysis carried out by Skåne police district and national criminal police in Sweden 's national task force against MC groups [127]:

Bandidos has a strictly hierarchical structure while Hells Angels has a flat organization similar to a franchising business. Deepest down in the pyramid are the criminals that apply for membership. To

qualify, they must carry out crimes and several specific activities such as cleaning, shopping, guarding chauffeuring, etc. The benefit is protection and the prospect of future climbing in ranks. Already before membership is actually achieved, prospect persons have normally become regular criminals in organized crimes.

The suspicions against those 13 Bandidos members were specifically about organized transfer of illegal labor and tax withdrawal amounting to 15 million Swedish crooners (6 million US dollars). The general impression at the National criminal police in Sweden is that MC gangs are active in most or all crime areas where there is money. The leaders are a special brand of entrepreneurs who consider the laws in society as not valid neither for themselves nor for their business activities.

There are a number of more general theories that might be applied to explain aspects of organized crime: (1) theory of criminal market forces—cartel theory, (2) theory of unstable governments—regime theory, (3) theory of rivalry—competition theory, (4) theory of dominance—monopoly theory, (5) theory of external threats—conspiracy theory, (6) theory of rational choice—decision theory, (7) theory of fear—violence theory, (8) theory of market mechanisms—market theory, (9) theory of psychological deviance—behavioral theory, (10) theory of competence—learning theories, (11) theory of social environments—environment theory, (12) theory of deviant subcultures—subculture theory, (13) theory of decentralization—organizational theory, (14) theory of social control—control theory, (15) theory of prisoner's dilemma—game theory, (16) theory of entrepreneurship—innovation theory.

7.3. Knowledge Matrix in Policing MC Crime

Police in Canada have put substantial efforts recently into fighting criminal MC clubs. For several years, they have used expert witnesses in cases related to MC crime. Expert witnesses are neutral experts who are able to explain how these clubs and their members work in terms of, for example, signs and signals used by debt collection, where threats of violence are common. These expert witnesses are independent of police intelligence and police investigations, and they explain in court the structure and culture in various MC clubs such as HA, Bandidos, and Outlaws.

Norwegian police have very limited knowledge of MC related crime. The limited knowledge available to the Norwegian police force is spread in many national police agencies and local police districts. We therefore assume that there is a need to develop knowledge in the police force about

criminal motorcycle clubs in Norway. We further assume that there will be a new department to be established in the National Criminal Police Center (Kriminalpolitisenralen, Kripos) for intelligence and analysis in the country. We might label the new department the MC Crime Department (MCCD) within Kripos. MCCD's ultimate goal is to eliminate criminal MC clubs in Norway within the year 2030 in cooperation with local police districts, national police agencies, and international police organizations such as Europol and Interpol. We assume that MCCD will have 10 knowledge workers, among them are 5 police officers, 3 data technologists, and 2 lawyers. Police officers are intelligence and investigation experts, data technologists are computer experts, with lawyers and legal experts. One of the police officers will head the department. It is assumed that the department will be in operation next year. The department's role is to contribute to more knowledge about MC crime and criminals in Norway.

The purpose of the remaining chapter is to illustrate potential preparations that need to be completed before establishing this thought department in terms of knowledge needs, information systems, work process, work dynamics, and causal relationships.

A knowledge matrix is a table that lists knowledge needs. The matrix shows knowledge categories and knowledge levels. Here we make distinctions between the following knowledge categories for policing MC crime.

- (1) *Administrative knowledge* is the knowledge about police as an organization and work place. It is knowledge about procedures, rules and regulations.
- (2) *Policing knowledge* is knowledge about work processes, and practices in police work when fighting crime. Police knowledge is based on police science, which includes all aspects of policing internally as well as externally. It includes external factors that influence the role and behavior of police in society.
- (3) *Investigative knowledge* is the knowledge based on case specific and case oriented collection of information to confirm or disconfirm whether an act or no-act is criminal. Case documents and evidence are included here in such a form that they prove useful in a court case.
- (4) *Intelligence knowledge* is knowledge based on a systematic collection of information concerned with a certain topic, a certain domain, certain persons or any other focused scope. Collected information is transformed and processed according to a transparent methodology to discover criminal capacity, dispositions, and goals. Transformation and processing generate new insights into criminality that guide the effectiveness and efficiency of policing. phenomenological knowledge

is included in intelligence knowledge, which is defined as knowledge about a phenomenon, in terms of what it is about (know-what), how it works (know-how), and why it works (know-why). Phenomenological knowledge enables intelligence officer to “see” what “something” is about, by understanding and not missing when information emerges.

- (5) *Legal knowledge* is knowledge of the law, regulations, and legal procedures. It is based on access to a variety of legal sources both nationally and internationally, including court decisions. Legal knowledge is composed of declarative, procedural, and analytical knowledge. Declarative knowledge is law and other regulations. Procedural knowledge is the practice of law. Analytical knowledge is the link between case information and laws.
- (6) *Technological knowledge* is knowledge about the development, use, exploitation, and exploration of information and communication technology. It is knowledge about applications, systems, networks and databases.
- (7) *Analytical knowledge* is knowledge about the strategies, tactics, and actions that police can implement to reach desired goals.

In addition to this classification into knowledge categories, we also make distinction between knowledge levels.

- (1) *Basic knowledge* is knowledge necessary to get work done. Basic knowledge is required for an intelligence officer as a knowledge worker to understand and interpret information, and basic knowledge is required for an intelligence unit as a knowledge organization to receive input and produce output. However, basic knowledge alone produces only elementary and basic results of little value and low quality.
- (2) *Advanced knowledge* is knowledge necessary to get good work done. Advanced knowledge is required for an intelligence officer as a knowledge worker to achieve satisfactory work performance, and advanced knowledge is required for an intelligence unit as a knowledge organization to produce intelligence reports and crime analysis that is useful in policing. When advanced knowledge is combined with basic knowledge, then we find professional knowledge workers and professional knowledge organizations in law enforcement.
- (3) *Innovative knowledge* is knowledge that makes a real difference. When intelligence officers apply innovative knowledge in intelligence and analysis of incoming and available information, then new insights are

	Basic knowledge	Advanced knowledge	Innovative knowledge
Administrative knowledge			
Policing knowledge			
Investigative knowledge			
Intelligence knowledge			
Legal knowledge			
Technological knowledge			
Analytical knowledge			

FIGURE 7.1. Knowledge matrix for knowledge needs in policing criminal business enterprises.

generated in terms of crime patterns, criminal profiles and policing strategies. When intelligence units apply innovative knowledge, then new methodologies in intelligence and analysis are introduced, that other parts of police can learn.

Based on these categories and levels, our knowledge matrix consists of 7 knowledge categories and 3 knowledge levels as illustrated in Figure 7.1. The purpose of the figure is to illustrate that there are a total of 21 knowledge needs in policing criminal business enterprises. Based on Figure 7.1, each intelligence unit has to identify and fill in the figure for knowledge needs.

Knowledge levels were here defined at basic knowledge, advanced knowledge, and innovative knowledge. An alternative is to define knowledge levels in terms of knowledge depth: know-what, know-how, and know-why. These knowledge depth levels represent the extent of insight and understanding about a phenomenon. While know-what is simple perception of what is going on, know-why is a complicated insight into cause-and-effect relationships why it is going on.

	Know-what	Know-how	Know-why
Administrative knowledge			
Policing knowledge			
Investigative knowledge			
Intelligence knowledge			
Legal knowledge			
Technological knowledge			
Analytical knowledge			

FIGURE 7.2. Alternative knowledge matrix for knowledge needs in policing criminal business enterprises.

- (1) *Know-what* is knowledge about what is happening and what is going on. A police officer perceives that something is going on, that might need his or her attention. The officer’s insight is limited to perception of something happening. The officer neither understands how it is happening nor why it is happening.
- (2) *Know-how* is knowledge about how a crime develops, how a criminal behaves or how a criminal business enterprise is organized. The officer’s insight is not limited to a perception of something that is happening; he or she also understands what it is happening or how it is.
- (3) *Know-why* is the knowledge representing the deepest form of understanding and insight into a phenomenon. The officer not only knows that it occurs but also how it occurs. He or she also has developed an understanding of why it occurs or why it is like this.

When HAMC is organized in a different way than Bandidos, an officer at the know-what level only knows that they are different. An officer at the know-how level knows how they are different, for

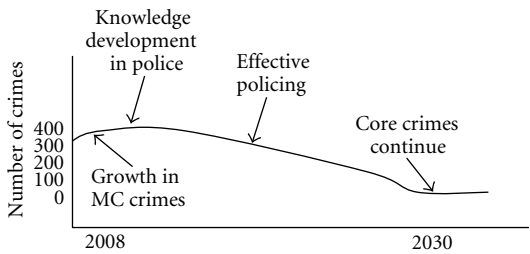


FIGURE 7.3. Possible development in crimes by criminal MC clubs.

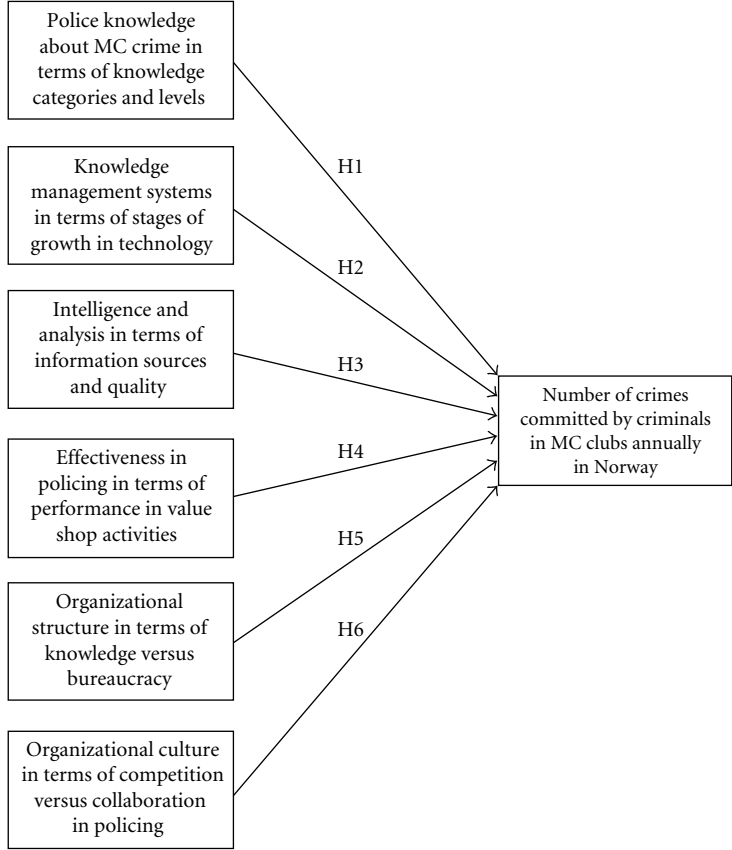


FIGURE 7.4. Research model explaining variation in number of crimes.

example in terms of recruiting new bikers with criminal experience. An officer at the know-why level knows why Bandidos has a

stronger tendency than Hells Angels to recruit bikers with criminal experience.

Based on these depth levels, our alternative knowledge matrix consists of 7 knowledge categories and 3 knowledge depth levels as illustrated in Figure 7.2. Again the purpose of the figure is to illustrate that there are a total of 21 knowledge needs in policing criminal business enterprises. Based on the figure, each intelligence unit has to identify and fill in the table shown in Figure 7.2 for knowledge needs.

7.4. Research Model for Policing MC Crime

We assume that the ambition and goal in Norway are to reduce MC crime and ultimately eliminate criminal motorcycle clubs. This is illustrated in Figure 7.3, where a time perspective is introduced. Starting in 2008, we assume that Norwegian will have to spend some years to develop knowledge. Then, more effective police can take place, thereby reducing the number of crimes. Ultimately in 2030, there might still be a core of crimes that still exist.

The reason for this positive projection into the future has to be found in causal relationships if the projection is to be trustworthy. In the research model in Figure 7.4, some potential causal relationships are illustrated. The dependent variable in the model is the number of crimes committed by criminals in MC clubs annually in Norway.

The next step in a research process is to formulate research hypotheses for each of the ulinks in the research model. These hypotheses are labeled H1 to H6 in the research model. However, in this book it is not appropriate to move beyond the stage of a research model in our presentation of policing criminal business organizations.