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***The Social Reality of Organised
Crime in Australia: Lawfare,
Security, and the Politics of
Exclusion in the Settler-Colonial
State***

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the legal, political, and social construction of *organised crime* within the Australian settler-colonial context, using *Operation Ironside* as a case study. It interrogates how the state defines, enforces, and narrates organised crime to serve broader interests of sovereignty, economic control, and racialised securitisation. While dominant legal and criminological frameworks present organised crime as an objective phenomenon, this research argues that its definition is inherently political, operating as a mechanism for legitimising state power, managing internal threats, and criminalising economic activities that fall outside state-sanctioned financial systems.

The study is structured around four key dimensions of *organised crime* as a legal and political construct: (1) the historical and contemporary formulation of organised crime laws in Australia and their colonial and imperial legacies; (2) the enforcement of these definitions through surveillance, intelligence-led policing, and preemptive legal measures; (3) the sentencing patterns and outcomes of individuals prosecuted under organised crime frameworks, with a particular focus on ethnicity and class; and (4) the media's role in constructing public perceptions of organised crime, reinforcing moral panics and justifying extraordinary state powers. Through statistical analysis of outcomes from *Operation Ironside* and critical discourse analysis of media reporting, the thesis reveals patterns of racial and class-based disparities in sentencing, as well as the alignment between media narratives and state securitisation agendas.

By drawing on critical legal studies, criminology, and postcolonial theory, this thesis

situates organised crime within the broader apparatus of the settler-colonial state. It highlights how organised crime laws function as tools of governance, enabling legal exceptions that expand state authority and consolidate economic hierarchies. The findings contribute to contemporary debates on criminalisation, surveillance, and state power, challenging the assumed neutrality of organised crime frameworks and advocating for a more critical, historically situated understanding of crime, security, and justice.

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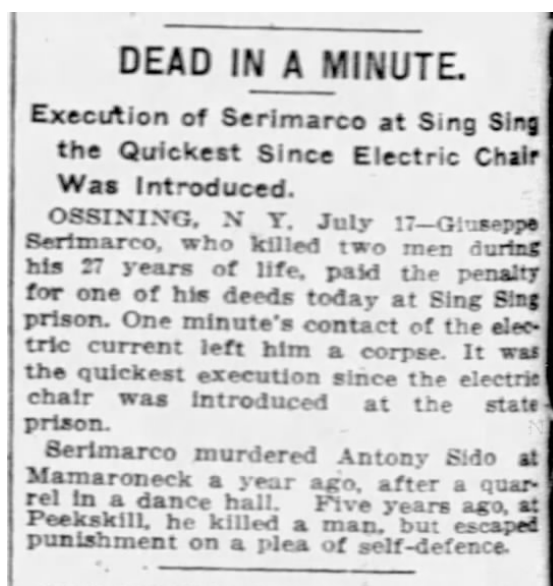


Figure 1: My great-uncle, Giuseppe Serimarco, featured in the Boston Globe.

Serimarco, 202 NY 225 (1911), which has the dubious honour of being precedent in New York State for the proposition that hesitating only makes it premeditated).

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Chapter 1

Introduction

What is organised crime? Richard Quinney (1970) considered that crime is not an objective reality, but is constructed to uphold political objectives, creating a 'social reality of crime'.¹ This thesis examines the social reality of 'organised crime' in Australia, focusing on its function and purpose as part of the settler-colonial project, in particular the effect of a shift towards a securitisation discourse framing extremely broad tools for addressing organised crime. This work adopts as an "ideal type" Operation Ironside, Australia's 'largest ever operation against organised crime' to address the following research questions:

1. How is the social reality of organised crime constructed through law, media and police narratives to serve the interests of the powerful, both in terms of internal control and external security?
2. How do narratives on organised crime reinforce identity as a settler-colonial state and justify racialised control and securitisation practices?
3. To what extent do measures addressed to organised crime target organised crime as a distinct threat as compared to ordinary crime?

¹Quinney, 1970.

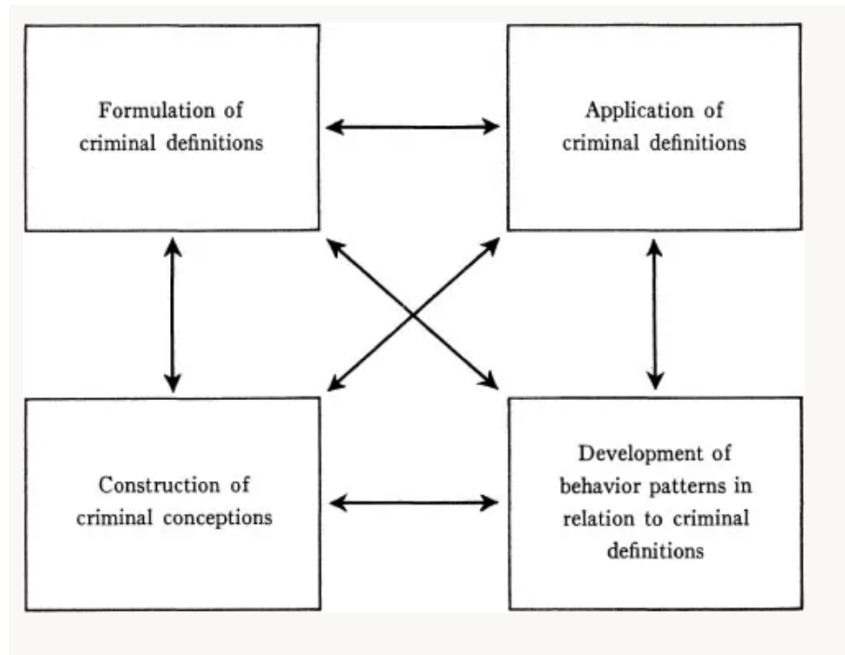


Figure 1.1: Quinney's theory of the Social Reality of Crime (1970)

The exploration of these research questions includes two empirical studies: a statistical analysis of the enforcement outcomes of Operation Ironside, and a thematic and critical discourse analysis of media reporting on Operation Ironside. The balance of the thesis adopts Quinney's theory (see 1.1 below) as its chief organisational device, with each chapter responding to its four central propositions as follows:

Chapter II addresses the formulation of the criminal definition of organised crime, with regard to Australia's legal framework on organised crime. **Chapter III** considers the application of criminal definitions, with regard to the enforcement of organised crime in Australia, focused on enforcement outcomes of Operation Ironside. **Chapter IV** examines the development of behaviour patterns in relation to criminal definitions, focused on individual sentencing outcomes in Operation Ironside. **Chapter V** examines the construction of criminal conceptions through various means of communication, through a media analysis of reporting on Operation Ironside. **Chapter VI** concludes the thesis.

1.1 Introduction

Extrication of organised crime from its political context otherwise makes it appear a function of individuals, disguising how systems are implicated in producing injustice and inequality,² like imperialism.³ This thesis argues that ‘transnational organised crime’ serves to depoliticise resistance to neocolonial rule in the form of the US-led “empire of capital”. At the global level, this ‘resistance’ can be conceived of as emerging economies increasingly vying for a larger slice of the global capitalist pie, including self-determination over their own resources. Within this framework, ‘resistance’ is deemed criminality: where ‘transnational organised crime’ represents financial flows from ‘source countries’ (colonies) to ‘destination countries’ (colonising countries/ settler-colonies), where capital circulating outside the US empire is criminalised as money laundering and counter-terrorism funding. Further, within this system, ‘money laundering’ stigmatises the perceived malady of moving bad money into good institutions, while terrorism funding stigmatises moving good money into bad institutions, where ‘good’ refers to Western liberal democracies, and ‘bad’ to states not allied with the US-led “empire of capital”.⁴ From the state perspective, action against ‘organised crime’ then can be viewed as a construct to secure the interests of the capitalist class. For this ruling class, it is not the flow of money that is problematic per se but rather:

Values are threatened because of a change in relationships among those who can establish community standards—changes that are the result of success in certain activities. The activities themselves are not the problem... but the fact that the activities make money that can be used to influence relationships and, subsequently, values is the real problem.⁵

²Horn, 2024; Arsovska, 2012.

³Agozino and Pfohl, 2003, p. 61.

⁴M. A. Young and Woodiwiss, 2021.

⁵Smith, n.d.

States express values through political systems and Western liberal democracies subscribe to individualistic capitalism. The concern of the ruling class with organised crime is not illicit activity itself, but the redistribution of economic and political power that threatens the existing hierarchies of global capital. This thesis will examine how the construct of organised crime serves as a vehicle to preserve Western capitalism, through justifying an exceptional legal framework that enables eliminates of any threats to this order.

However, it should not be implied that by examining ‘organised crime’ as a construct, this work implies that activities or individuals causing organised harm do not exist. Rather, this work adopts the assumptions of the critical perspective, namely that the legal definition: (i) should not be taken for granted as covering the phenomenon; (ii) says little about its sociological manifestation; and (iii) is deliberately designed to exculpate forms of organised crime with which the state is implicated or from which it benefits.⁶ This thesis is concerned with identifying the construct of organised crime precisely so it can be disentangled from the harm organised crime causes its victims. Identifying the the good ‘troublemakers’⁷ is complicated in contexts where the label of ‘organised crime’ can be applied, for example, both to marginalised persons and to mafia, creating confusion as to ‘whose side are we on’.⁸

This ‘confusion’ makes things especially difficult with the emergence of ‘organised crime’ in post-colonial contexts, where it becomes essential to distinguish between unfairly maligning those without other opportunities, and elites that have emerged to profit from the provision of aid or take advantage of weak governance structures.(Rawlinson, 1998) Further, this ‘confusion’ is compounded by the glorification of mafia in pop culture in the US, UK, Australia, which influences how people come to view ‘organised crime’ as the exemplification of the underdog rag-to-riches story. This influence is particularly challenging to confront in the context of the abolitionist movement in the Anglosphere

⁶Giolo, 2017.

⁷Ruggiero, 2021.

⁸H. Schwendinger and J. Schwendinger, 1970.

compared to Italy and the Global South. That is, those in the Anglosphere are typically less troubled by the existence of organised crime as a barrier to abolition, where the existence of ‘organised crime’ is associated with vilifying an oppressed ethnic or racial majority as criminal. In that context, abolition need not contend with any threat posed by organised crime, because it would ‘disappear’ as a category without law enforcement to apply the label to marginalised groups.

This absence or ‘confusion’ has several consequences, practically speaking. In Italy, radical imagination may be stifled when it comes to dealing with the mafia, largely because, to quote Scalia, *legalità* “got in there first”,⁹ linking the anti-mafia movement closely to that of the state responses. At the same time, those in the Anglosphere without the experience of predatory organised crime functioning in the shadow of the state are less likely to take organised crime into account when conceptualising a world free of police and prisons. This, in turn, risks making Italian and other audiences impacted by organised crime less receptive to radical notions of police abolition imbued in the perspectives of their trans-Atlantic colleagues, potentially viewing it as inapplicable in their context, despite recognition that law enforcement is responsible for various ills in their societies too. This is unfortunate, as the radical abolitionist perspective has much to offer to the study of organised crime, through its ‘negative perspective’ of problematising phenomena rather than seeking to solve them. As Scheerer (1986) explains:

The radical analysis of phenomena like the mafia and illegal drug trafficking can, e.g., allow propositions to abolish drug laws and substitute autonomous social controls, which would also endanger one of the main incomes of organised crime. With its radical analyses, abolitionist thinking does not offer ‘solutions’, but a variety of options for alternative approaches. More often than never its dialectic method brings into reach much wiser handlings of problems than traditional criminological thinking. While ‘normal criminology’ has a

⁹Scalia, 2016, p. 96.

difficult time with things like terrorism, mafia, and racketeering, abolitionists see these kinds of crime as a most important support of their way of thinking.

With something like racketeering, normal criminology is at a complete loss.¹⁰

Clearing up this ‘confusion’ therefore is beneficial for all parties engaged in addressing inequalities globally. This thesis, therefore, seeks to make a modest contribution towards communicating across both spheres, as well as reaching across disciplinary fields. In terms of approach, within the field of law, this work can be situated in the tradition of critical legal studies, and/or critical criminology. However, it does not limit itself in discipline, as this is the nature of the study of organised crime from the critical perspective, which necessarily has spanned “everything from political science to political economy”.¹¹ Likewise, in seeking to answer the research questions, the thesis draws from international law, post-colonial/neocolonial studies, cultural criminology. To make sense of this first requires establishing a theoretical foundation, to which this thesis now turns to address.

State sovereignty is the cornerstone of international law, the violation of which forms the basis of the UN Charter article 2(4) prohibition on the use of force by a state against another, wherein the breach of the ‘sovereignty’ of another State constitutes an internationally wrongful act. The breach of a state’s sovereignty is what gives rise to the lawful use of force by a State, in the form of the right to self-defence articulated in UN Charter art. 51. While a state has no right, at international law, to exist, it does have a right to defend itself against an existential threat manifested in the form of a violation of its sovereignty. In this way, it can be said that the exercise of force following a breach in sovereignty is how a state asserts its legitimacy. Put another way, a State is legitimised by using force in self-defence. In the absence of an aggressor, this requires an existential threat to the state to be constructed, one that can justify the use of force by the state against it.

¹⁰Scheerer, 1986, p. 13.

¹¹Swaaningen, 1999, p. 188.

This is the ‘logic’ at the heart of the so-called notion of ‘pre-emptive self-defence’, a justification often used by the United States and Israel regarding its strikes against so-called ‘terrorist’ targets. According to this ‘logic’, a state is entitled to use force against another state, or a group inside that state, in anticipation of the articulation of a specific threat. That is, according to proponents of this doctrine, having learned of impending violence, a state need not ‘wait to be attacked’. While that might seem logical, much difficulty attaches to what constitutes ‘impending violence’, in the absence of its physical manifestation. These are the same problems that plague the pre-emptive crime measures at domestic law, explored in chapter X of this thesis.

Both international law and domestic law both largely end up solving this problem in the same way: adjudicating the risk of violence against the state based on the prior behaviour of the individual/group and/or their stated goals, objectives and relationships with other ‘criminal’ actors. For example, the use of ‘signature strikes’ by the United States was based on ‘intelligence’ gathered on the known movements of so-called terrorists, their ‘signature’. Any person engaged in this behaviour therefore risked being targeted by the US as a terrorist in a ‘signature strike’. Many civilians were killed in the use of signature strikes, whose ‘crime’ was nothing other than that they used the same roads, dined at the same locations, or engaged in the same activities as someone considered to be a terrorist by the United States. Evidently, then, it is not the behaviour *per se* that is criminal, but it is made criminal ‘by association’.

This is already a questionable basis for criminalisation given the lack of *mens rea*, but even more so when the person deemed guilty ‘by association’ with a criminal party is not even aware of that association and just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. The difficulties with identifying existential threats to the state based on behaviour, which include intelligence-gathering and distinguishing between uninvolved persons, opens the space for targeting of individuals instead based on their association. For the United States and its allies, this looks like designating certain organisations as

‘terror organisations’. In the context of a so-called ‘war on terror’, argued the US, any member of a terror organisation was a combatant and could lawfully be targeted at any time, not just when they were ‘actively engaged in hostilities’, which would otherwise be the threshold for targeting a civilian.

Although the idea of a worldwide ‘war on terror’ that attracts the application of the laws of war has been debunked by international law scholars, its logic of labelling persons as threats by association and at times when they are not posing an immediate threat to life, nonetheless characterises the approach of the US and its allies to terrorism and organised crime. The end of the Cold War and globalisation has seen the rise of the threat of ‘transnational organised crime’, extending justification for US counter-terrorism logic to all corners of the globe, in the name of the war on drugs Hobbs and Antonopoulos (2013). In defending itself from this ambiguously constructed threat, the US therefore reinforces its legitimacy as global hegemony while rationalising the expansion of state surveillance, pre-emptive detention, and extraordinary prosecutorial powers.

Sovereignty is fundamentally about the state’s monopoly on legitimate violence and legal authority. While the international legal system establishes the conditions under which states may exercise violence externally, criminalisation serves as the primary mechanism through which states regulate the use of violence within their own borders. By defining what is lawful and what is criminal, the sovereign state delineates who may exercise force and under what conditions, reinforcing its exclusive authority over coercion and punishment. Sovereignty can be understood from various theoretical perspectives, each of which contributes to understanding how organised crime serves as a tool for reinforcing state legitimacy.

Schmitt (1932) argues that sovereignty is defined by ‘exception’ – that is, the power of the state to declare an exception to the usual functioning of laws and order based on an ‘exceptional’ or existential threat (Schmitt, Schwab, and Strong (2010)). Fundamental to maintaining sovereignty then is the maintenance of an ongoing threat, which necessarily

need be ambiguous, as the fight against it must never actually be won. If a specific threat was identified, it might be successfully resolved, thereby obviating the need for emergency powers. The more indeterminate the threat, the greater the scope for intervention. In this way, the rule of the sovereign necessitates the construction of perpetual crisis.

Just as terrorism has been recognised as an amorphous, evolving threat justifying the normalisation of emergency powers, organised crime can be framed as an ever present, shape-shifting threat requiring extraordinary measures. The ‘war on terror’ and the ‘war on drugs’ cannot said to have been won, but this can be considered a function, not a flaw. Modern sovereignty is maintained by the state permanently deferring the resolution of crises. The state constructs threats that can never fully be defeated, therefore providing for the normalisation of extraordinary powers. These threats are kept deliberately vague, so states can justify warfare, policing and surveillance (Mbembe (2019)). In the ‘war on drugs’ and ‘war on terror’, crime was framed as an amorphous, borderless force, perpetuating the necessity of security agencies and justifying policing and countermeasures that were flexible, discretionary and indefinite. Bigo (2001)

Likewise, we now have a ‘war on organised crime’,¹² justifying the permanent state of exception underlying the use of exceptional powers now that the previous wars on terror and drugs have become stale justifications in the public psyche. This war model allows the state to construct society as permanently at war with an undefined enemy (Neocleous (2021, p. 163)). From this perspective, the nature of the threat of ‘organised crime’ and who is an ‘organised criminal’ is not defined by clear rules on structure, activities or behaviour, but whoever the state decides to target at any time. Whoever the state decides to target in its purported ‘war’ is often racialised or foreign, reinforcing the need for permanent surveillance and state intervention (Wickham (2006)). In this way, modern approaches to addressing organised crime in Western states function like those used by colonial powers as a means of social control of the subaltern population.

¹²McGarrity, 2012.

Broadly, existing scholarship has examined how criminal law enforcement functions as a mechanism of control in colonial and postcolonial contexts. However, there has been far less attention to how the very *concept* of *organised crime* itself, and the legal frameworks designed to control it, are inherently colonial constructs. This oversight is particularly striking given that one of the most enduring symbols of organised crime—the mafia—emerged within a context of internal colonisation. In Italy, the mafia initially operated as a force to suppress peasant demands for land in the south, with its existence then used to justify a prolonged Italian military presence in the region. Yet, the colonial origins of organised crime as a legal category remain largely under explored.

Some critical criminologists have framed imperialism itself as a form of organised crime. Agozino and Pfohl (2003) argues that anti-colonial literature from across the Global South repeatedly describes colonialism as a criminal enterprise, sustained through organised crime-like activities. He highlights how thinkers like Nkrumah (n.d.) documented the fraudulent economic practices that allowed imperial powers to maintain financial dominance even after granting formal independence to former colonies. Similarly, Nkrumah’s work on the Congo (1967) frames the imperialist-backed assassination of Patrice Lumumba as a classic case of state-perpetrated organised crime. Yet, as Agozino notes, such perspectives are largely ignored in mainstream criminology.¹³ While mainstream criminology treats organised crime as an issue of law enforcement rather than *imperial power*, critical criminologists have engaged more directly with the entanglement of organised crime and colonial state-building.

Tilly (2010) identifies how organised crime may be equated to ‘war making and state making’, which Philip Gounev and Vincenzo Ruggiero (2012) identify as situated in political and historical analyses of how ruling groups establish supremacy, claim monopoly on the use of force and establish foundation of authority and law. Dickson-Gilmore and Woodiwiss (2008) examine the role of organised crime in the ‘settlement’ of the United

¹³Agozino and Pfohl, 2003, p. 61.

States, particularly in relation to predatory economic behaviours against Native American populations.¹⁴ However, while scholars have explored the colonial state's involvement in organised crime, far fewer have examined how legal frameworks in colonial, settler-colonial, and postcolonial contexts actively constructed the concept of organised crime itself to describe a series of power relations existing outside the state that threaten its ideological core. This gap is critical: rather than simply responding to organised crime, these legal systems have defined, categorised, and criminalised certain forms of collective action to serve the interests of the state. M. Brown (2014)'s study on penal power in colonial India provides an instructive case, though not explicitly framed in these terms.

Emerging securitisation discourses around organised crime cast doubt that the use of such measures will be limited to their traditional targets of outlaw motorcycle groups. There is a growing body of work on how transnational organised crime discourse reinforces US imperial power. Hobbs and Antonopoulos (2013) argue that the concept of transnational organised crime has been strategically deployed to justify US-led security interventions in the Global South. Likewise, M. A. Young and Woodiwiss (2021) examine how anti-money laundering frameworks were designed to protect US and UK financial interests, rather than to actually disrupt illicit financial flows. The construction of organised crime as a global security threat, then, is not merely a matter of law enforcement but a tool of geopolitical control, ensuring that legal mechanisms remain aligned with the economic and security priorities of former colonial powers.

To analyse this process, this thesis examines Operation Ironside as an ideal-type of organised crime lawfare. Ironside is not treated as an isolated case but as a paradigm of how the settler-colonial state constructs and governs organised crime. Its legal mechanisms, namely extraordinary surveillance powers, preemptive criminalisation, and legal exceptionalism, exemplify a broader legal logic historically used to justify state expansion, from colonial anti-association laws to contemporary counter-terrorism measures. By

¹⁴Dickson-Gilmore and Woodiwiss, 2008.

situating Ironside as an ideal type, this thesis facilitates a comparative and structural analysis, revealing the recurring function of organised crime law as a key instrument of lawfare.

Chapter 2

Criminal definitions

Having theorised crime as a definition of behaviour applied by authorised agents of the state, Quinney's (1977) second proposition is that criminal definitions describe behaviours that conflict with the interests of the segments of society that have the power to shape public policy. Quinney draws on conflict theory in stating that criminal definitions exist because some segments of society conflict with others. Therefore, by formulating criminal definitions, the segments in power can control the behaviour of persons in other segments. Relevantly, Quinney specifically addresses criminal law in the colonies as an example of how the law represents the interests of the powerful, identifying that "the social interests of the laws imposed, supervised or inspired by imperial nations are related to the political and economic order of the imperial nation".

It will be recalled from the introductory chapter that Cesare Lombroso's theories, which portrayed certain groups as inherently criminal, served the interests of the Italian ruling class by legitimising the repression of the South. Lombroso's positive determinism assisted in constructing Southern resistance as innate criminality, conceptualising that criminality as mafia, justifying further repression, while the real *mafiosi* eluded attention as they assisted the state in this endeavour.

Lombroso's logic was applied by colonial governments throughout the 19th and 20th

centuries to justify the suppression of Indigenous populations resisting colonial rule. By framing resistance as a manifestation of ‘atavistic’ criminality, shrouded in the occult, both the Italian state and colonial administrations were able to transform political dissent into a law-and-order problem the fault of fantastical beasts, thereby justifying extraordinary measures of control. Rather than disappear with the formal end of colonialism, the measures used to address them can be traced through to the present day, in the form of organised crime laws.

This chapter considers how the definition of organised crime has been formulated to reflect the interests of the powerful in settler-colonial society, looking specifically at Australia. The chapter begins by setting out the historical context for the emergence of organised crime, starting first in southern Italy, specifically Sicily, to understand how mafia, criminality and fictitious race science came together to create a tool of repression against economic demands of the peasantry. It looks at mafia as the ideal-type of organised crime, and specifically considers Sicily because Cosa Nostra has served as the main impetus for anti-organised crime law in the United States, which has been influential upon the entire Anglosphere through US hegemonic influence, including over media representations. Then, more relevantly to Australian history, it will move to examine key examples of how organised crime emerged as a label in British colonial contexts, specifically in India and Kenya, and the legal mechanisms of repression that it justified. Finally, it will move to consider how organised crime has been defined under Australian law, drawing connections to the colonial history traced, to understand how it reflects colonial power today.

2.1 Colonial and imperial legacies of organised crime laws

By the end of the 19th century, feudalism was ending, ushering in an era of private property rights that would depend on the legal system, which was backed by the state’s forces.

For this societal order to function landowners new and old alike had to be confident that they could rely on the legal system to resolve disputes over property and crime against property. At the same time, Italy was unifying; Garibaldi's army landed in Marsala in western Sicily on 11 February 1861, promising liberation from Bourbon colonial rule, republicanism to the middle classes subordinated to aristocratic privileges, and redistribution of Bourbon-held land estates to the peasantry.¹ This resonated with the proud, largely agrarian population of Sicily, stirring a powerful rebellion.²

After having helpfully liberated the South from Bourbon rule, Garibaldi had served his worth to his financiers, the Savoy family. Aspiring to rule over a unified Italy from its base in Turin, the Savoy family ousted Garibaldi and refused to honour his promises of republicanism and redistribution of land to the South. Faced with a huge debt incurred from the war of unification, King Vittorio Emmanuel imposed taxes on newborns and grain. These taxes were especially difficult for the Southern economy, which relied heavily on bread to feed large families who worked in the fields to support the largely agrarian economy. The uniquely Sicilian saying, *it's better to be a pig than a soldier* emerged around this time, reflecting the Sicilian antipathy towards conscription: young men were needed as labour in the fields to support their families.³ Rebellion against taxation and conscription swept through the south, particularly among the peasant class,⁴ who had only their bread and their labour to their names and did not particularly want to sacrifice it to a State that had backed out of the promise of land re-distribution.

This, of course, did not go unnoticed by the King and the new government, who saw to it that notices be posted in newspapers and main squares of Southern towns and villages, announcing that anyone who refused to pay tax or be conscripted would be deemed an outlaw.⁵ The notices had little effect; most Sicilians were only semi-literate, and entirely

¹Clark, 2015; Dainotto, 2015, Clark chap. 9, Dainotto chap. 1.

²Scirocco, 2007.

³Dainotto, 2015.

⁴Beales and Biagini, 2013; Clark, 2015, Beales chap. 9, Clark chap. 9.

⁵Dainotto, 2015, chap. 1.

stubborn. For the first time, but certainly not the last, the central government made the ill-advised decision to declare a state of emergency and war on a noun, in this case, brigandage and banditry in the South. In 1863, two-thirds of the Italian army deployed to the South to maintain order.⁶ It was, for all intents and purposes, a military occupation of an internal territory. Reasserting its legitimacy, the new state tossed aside civil liberties aside: without due process, the houses of suspected outlaws were burned to the ground and their families imprisoned, while deserters were tortured and hanged in public squares and pictures of their bodies were published in national newspapers.⁷ Yet, like most wars on nouns and declared states of emergency in recent history, repressive action had little impact on the situation. The Southern peasants continued to desert and evade taxes at the same rate as before; the only difference now was that they and their families, who were most of the population, were considered outlaws.

This untamed, rebellious South began to capture the Northern imagination, with newspapers publishing letters from soldiers fighting in the South describing "the barbarity of the Southern man" (⁸). Southerners it seemed, had all the responsibilities of being Italian citizens, but none of the rights. The legal system was effectively non-existent; the national government was more concerned in extracting tax and military service from southerners in any way possible than it was to install and uphold the rule of law, the protection of which the rest of Italy enjoyed. Accordingly, this meant that southerners were left to their own devices to resolve disputes. This was particularly concerning for absentee landlords seeking to maintain ownership of their vast agricultural lands in Western Sicily. They had to contend with a largely peasant populace promised land redistribution in a now-lawless land, and land managers, the *gabelloti*, whose emerging middle-class status was also inextricably tied to the maintenance of their estates.

It was within the context of the Southern Question that Cesare Lombroso would

⁶Clark, 2015; Dainotto, 2015, Clark chap. 9, Dainotto chap. 1.

⁷Dainotto, 2015, chap. 1.

⁸Dainotto, 2015, p. 20.

develop his theories of crime. Writing in 1876 in the first edition of his text *Criminal Man*, Lombroso considered that man's behaviour, and therefore crime, was caused by internal and external influences operating upon them.⁹ This 'positivist' approach departed from those of Beccaria and the classist school which viewed man as a rational actor who acts in his own self-interest.¹⁰ Positivists considered that societal progress consisted of a shift from a military society to an industrial society, from a socially stratified society controlled by priests to a society of free competition between the classes regulated by scientific knowledge.¹¹ Accordingly, Lombroso conducted a 'scientific' study of the 'criminal man' by comparing the appearances of Italian prisoners with Italian soldiers. Lombroso concluded that there was a criminal 'type' who could be identified by his physical appearance: "thick and crispy hair, dark skin, pointed skulls, oblique eyes, small craniums, overdeveloped jaws, receding forehead, large ears".¹²

Lombroso was describing the appearance of many Southern Italians, who comprised most of the prison population at the time. Other scholars have noted the significant methodological issues with Lombroso's work but suffice for the purposes of this study to note that much of the southern Italian population was imprisoned for rebellion against taxation and conscription. Moreover, Sicilian peasants were contending with the emergence of a 'mob of the middle class', what would become known as the mafia, that smashed peasant demands for land so ferociously that it would come to seem "as if the Mafia's very purpose was to batter the organized working class in the countryside into submission".¹³

Lombroso did not distinguish between banditry and brigandage, on the one hand, and mafia, on the other hand. To explain both, he pointed to a genetic factor: race. He wrote that brigandage "provokes neither horror nor revulsion" in the south, as it would in areas populated by groups with a "greater proportion of Aryan blood".¹⁴ He maintained

⁹Lombroso, Gibson, and Rafter, 2006.

¹⁰Bobbio and Cochrane, 2014.

¹¹Bobbio and Cochrane, 2014.

¹²J. Schneider and P. Schneider, 2008, pp. 351–373.

¹³Dickie, 2004, p. 136.

¹⁴Lombroso, Gibson, and Rafter, 2006, p. 118.

that “race shapes criminal organisations”,¹⁵ arguing that there are ‘races of criminals’, which included southern Italians. “Savage races” were said to “regard homicide as a mere incident, and as glorious in case it is the outcome of revenge”.¹⁶ Lombroso considered that his theory:

explains why in a given village there may be more criminals than in another. All it takes is the survival of one family descended from a wicked progenitor, and the whole place will be corrupted. Up to a certain point, this justifies the barbarous practice of the ancients and savages who punished the innocent relatives of guilty criminals.¹⁷

Lombroso need not have looked to the ‘ancients and savages’ to find those who punished innocent relatives of guilty criminals, or who made guilty criminals of the innocent: contemporary colonial power was doing just that, justified by his theories. In 1870, British authorities in India circulated draft legislation to local governments to address the “apparently rampant and lawless tribes in Punjab and Northern Western provinces”.¹⁸ The British were seeking to transform India’s agrarian economy into a revenue-generating endeavour, much like Italian ruling class sought to do with the South after unification. However, nomadic tribes, with their fluid movements, non-agrarian economies presented an obstacle to the realisation of this goal, much like Sicilian peasants and their demands for land posed to the economic interests of the North. The resistance of these tribes to colonial rule was labelled ‘banditry’, just as the rebellion of peasants against high taxation and conscription had been so labelled in Sicily. In describing this criminality, the influence of Lombrosian logic is evident, with colonial authorities indicating that for some tribes “crime is their trade and they are born to it and must commit it”.¹⁹

¹⁵Lombroso, Gibson, and Rafter, 2006, p. 87.

¹⁶**anthony_critical_2008-1.**

¹⁷Lombroso, Gibson, and Rafter, 2006, p. 90.

¹⁸M. Brown, 2014, p. 119.

¹⁹R. Brown, 2023, p. 107.

The colonial authorities lamented that “English lawyers and law courts had a most exaggerated estimate of the power of the ordinary criminal law to cope with organised crime”. Passed shortly thereafter, under the *Criminal Tribes Act of 1871*, provincial governments could apply to have a group declared a criminal tribe if it could be shown they were “addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences”²⁰. After being listed, the freedom of movement of members of these otherwise nomadic tribes was limited by a permit system and their alternative livelihoods criminalised. As M. Brown (2014) notes, the Criminal Tribes Act became so normalised, routinised, and expanded again that by 1947 when Britain quit India, approximately 2 million people had been labelled as members of a “criminal tribe”.

2.1.1 The permanent state of exception of colonialism

In applying his work to the colonial context, scholars have problematised one of the key assumptions of Agamben’s ‘state of exception’, namely that there is a just legal order that has been departed from in normalising the state of exception. As Mbembe (2019, p. 23) puts it, ‘the colony represents the site where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of a power outside the law’. Consider, for example, that Israel has had a declared state of emergency since the inception of that state. Linda S. Bishai (2020)

The frequent rejoinder from Zionists in response to criticism of the use of force by Israel that ‘Israel has a right to exist’ is often accompanied by the assertion that ‘Israel has a right to defend itself’ is a curious exercise in redundancy for scholars of international law, as the former is not true of any state at international law, and the latter statement is true of all states at international law. These assertions might be better understood from the perspective that a state is only legitimate in its use of force in self-defence, thereby requiring Israel to construct a threat against which it constantly needs to ‘defend’ itself, even in circumstances where it is clearly the aggressor. Despite being an occupying entity

²⁰M. Brown, 2014, p. 93.

at international law and engaging in acts condemned as aggression against other states, the 'Israeli Defence Force' is so named not because defence describes its actions, but because the state must be cast in a defensive posture to legitimate its existence. In other words, states do not engage in defence to protect their sovereignty, but rather, defence itself defines their sovereignty.

Therefore, when faced with clear acts of aggression inexplicably qualified by Israeli or US officials as 'self-defence', international law scholars are perhaps remiss to trouble themselves with identifying how the act in question does not meet the legal definition of self-defence. 'Defence' here is not literal: it is a construct applied to the use of force by a state regardless of whether it meets the legal definition of self-defence under international law. Whether or not it is legally engaged in self-defence is less relevant to the state qualifying its actions as defensive as the belief that it is engaged in an existential battle for existence, which it necessarily is in the absence of a threat against which to assert its sovereignty. In this way, the 'threat' does not challenge the existence of the settler-colonial state so much as it defines it; this is why the threat can never disappear, for it is only juxtaposed against it that the settler-colony has any form at all. Essentially, the settler-colonial state exists only in relation to 'the native repressed' (Wolfe, 2016).

This is also why the program for the mass killing of Indigenous peoples will never be entirely 'complete', for the repression of the native continues to order settler-colonial society. Césaire (1955) reminds us that this 'suspension of the rule of law under the cover of legality' in the colonies eventually comes back to the home country, in a form of 'imperial recoil'. In exception serving as a permanent feature of governance, the line between democracy and dictatorship becomes blurred. In this sense, sovereignty is not just about making an occasional legal exception, but redefining what is legal entirely, by absorbing emergency powers into the legal framework.

2.2 Understanding enemy criminal law in the settler-colonial context

A useful framework for understanding Australia's approach to organised crime is as enemy criminal law. Jakobs (1985) identifies that in current Western legal systems there are provisions not aimed at law-abiding persons ("citizens") but 'potentially dangerous' individuals ("enemies").(Jakobs, n.d.). Jakobs identifies three key features of enemy criminal law: first, the punishment comes well before an actual harm; second, it contains disproportionate (i.e.: extremely high) sanctions of imprisonment; and third, it suppresses procedural rights. Díez (2008) identifies that every Western legal system with criminal provisions regarding organised crime and drug trafficking, illegal drug trafficking and terrorism uses enemy criminal law.(Díez, 2008, p. 534). The importance of Jakobs' theory as a concept lies in the fact that it provides an explanation for why enemy criminal law exists and why it will continue to exist: people ("citizens") have to believe others will comply with the law or they will not, seeking "cognitive reassurance". This can be situated within Gramsci's theory of hegemony which provides that the state is able to rule not just by coercion but by consent through the promulgation of norms to which people adhere. In order to rule through consent, however, the state must use coercion against persons who do not recognise the legal system.

Because of their disregard for a system of laws, the legal system does not recognise them as people, but as sources of danger. They present an existential threat to the state in that through their actions they risk destroying the cognitive mental disposition required to comply with the law and therefore, the rule of law itself.(Díez, 2008, p. 546) Jakobs highlights the excluding effect of enemy criminal law, identifying that:

[w]hen a past act is punished, the accusation is raised that "You have culpably harmed us (and therefore we are forcibly compensating ourselves)"; one is still

communicating with the criminal. When it comes to the prevention of future acts, however, it is more a question of isolation: “He, cognitively speaking, is a dubious figure against whom we are securing ourselves.”

Assuming that enemy criminal law is based in this attempt to secure the cognitive requirements for the legal system to exist, Diez considers that it is not true that it can actually secure them. Jakobs identifies that when large parts of enemy criminal law intermingle with citizen criminal law, the result is unnecessarily harsh criminal law that lacks justification and is harmful to the rule of law. Jakobs suggests that we must separate as clearly as possible the provisions pertaining to enemy criminal law and those belonging to citizen criminal law – to avoid "pollution" or "contamination" of citizen criminal law by enemy criminal law. Enemy criminal law has not been popular, doctrinally, in the Anglosphere, largely confined to academic debate in continental Europe. Whether this is because of the difference in legal traditions, approaches to codification of the criminal law, or a lack of human rights tradition that might problematise such body of laws is unclear. However, what can be said is that like Agamben's state of exception, transferring the doctrine into the settler-colonial or post-colonial context requires some adjustment.

The first is that "enemy criminal law" has always existed as the legal system of the settler-colony, which systematically and as a matter of law, created a nation from which Indigenous peoples are excluded. In that way, Indigenous peoples are marked as "the enemy" from the inception of the legal tradition of those nations. It is not simply the criminal law that marks Indigenous people as the enemy in the settler-colony, though the over-representation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system of settler-colonial states does that too. More so, it is the entire system of laws premised upon sovereignty denied to Indigenous peoples by virtue of legal doctrines like *terra nullius* which deemed the land legally "empty" on account of it not being used in the European fashion. Since then, all manner of genocidal practices have been "justified" by colonial authorities in the names of securing the nation against this enemy, which continue to this day. As such, it

is not possible to separate provisions of the enemy criminal law from citizen criminal law, as it comprises the entirety of the legal system.

The second is that, acknowledging the status of the nation as a settler-colonial also requires recognition of its formation as a penal colony. The first "Australians" were convicts removed from the English legal system and exiled to the ends of the earth, as if the criminal element could be excised entirely from society. The third is that, as a settler-colonial project, Australia has necessarily required immigrant labour to sustain itself, while at the same time, attempting to maintain a cohesive national identity to avoid social fracture. This has typically resulted in exclusionary policies based on fear of the Other, like the White Australia policy, which was in place until 1967, or the internment of 'enemy aliens' even when they were Australian citizens, or Australian-born children thereof, during world wars. The combination of these factors has led to the development of enemy criminal law that treats organised crime as something affiliated with immigrant groups, something that can be exported or extracted from the main body polity, and in creating laws to do so, are neutral on their face but end up being disproportionately used against First Nations people.

Although frequently touted in the media, legally speaking, ethnic organised crime has taken a back seat to the so-called threat posed by outlaw motorcycle groups (henceforth, 'OMCGs' or 'bikies'), the legislation and case law around which has shaped Australia's approach to organised crime. In terms of their significance, Ayling (2021) notes, "bikies have been presented as a serious problem, often as the most serious problem relating to organised crime" Ayling (2011). This is despite the fact they account for a very small proportion of the overall reported crime rate. However, this targeting can be understood when regard is had to the nature of bikies, who promulgate an 'outlaw' image. They represent a 'dangerous person' consistent with Jakobs (n.d.) description, of someone who has disregarded the legal system:

to a not merely incidental extent in his attitude . . . or his occupational life.

. . . or. . . by his inclusion in an organization . . . has at any rate presumably permanently turned away from the law and in this respect does not guarantee the minimum cognitive security of personal behavior and demonstrates this deficit by his behavior.

Jakobs' enemy criminal law helps make sense of why the "visibility" and "togetherness" of bikies poses such a threat (see Sergi (2017)): through visibly displaying their outlaw status *en masse*, they actively undermine the cognitive reassurance required to believe that others are following the law. Accordingly, bikies find themselves targeted by laws criminalising those behaviours that are visible (such as displaying their colours) and/or that support an existence outside the official systems of the state. It is to those laws that we now turn.

2.2.1 Punishment comes well before the actual harm: anti-association laws

State and Territory laws, largely, adopt an anti-association approach that focuses on disrupting members of deemed criminal organisations from associating with one another, regardless of whether or not the purpose for which they associate is criminal. There are three main types of anti-association laws: consorting laws, control orders and preventative detention orders, and gathering in public places laws. Importantly, although these have been traditionally targeted at OMCGs, there is nothing in the legislative provisions that restricts their use to this type of association.

Consorting laws have a long history in Australia, rooted in vagrancy and other measures criminalising poverty and other 'disorderly activities', to deal with former convicts or convicts who had escaped and become 'bushmen' Ayling (2011). A person was deemed vagrant for the purpose of those laws if they had no visible or lawful means of support. Australian jurisdictions introduced laws in the late 1800s to help police "break up gangs

and coteries of swindlers, thieves and people living on immorality" Dick (2023). These laws can be traced back to the UK, namely the *Vagrancy Act 1824* (UK) which provided for the imprisonment of homeless people, the logic of the time being that their idleness and 'unwillingness to work' led to crime and that imprisonment would discipline them. Nearly fifty years later, the same logic would be applied by British authorities to 'encourage' nomadic tribes India to work the agrarian project.

When the South Australian government legislated to introduce laws to target bikies, it repealed its by-then rarely used consorting provisions and introduced new provisions, criminalising consorting, six or more times within a 12 month period with a person who is a member of a declared organisation or subject to a control order with certain convictions. Consorting laws, which prohibit certain individuals from associating with one another, are often classified as pre-crime measures (Ayling (2011)). These laws construct a pre-crime space by criminalising association based on the past convictions of the individuals involved, rather than on any imminent or unlawful act (Loughnan (n.d.)). However, characterising such laws as pre-crime is misleading. The term pre-crime implies a deterministic link between intervention and the prevention of an inevitable offence—an assumption that is entirely speculative. The pre-crime space is temporally undefined: it does not correspond to a specific crime, timeframe, or actionable plan, and in many cases, it may never culminate in an offence at all. Consequently, the very notion of a pre-crime space is conceptually unstable.

Unlike inchoate offences—such as conspiracy, attempt, or preparation—which require demonstrable steps towards a specific crime, pre-crime measures are not tied to any particular anticipated offence. Instead, they infer a general predisposition to criminality based on an individual's prior conduct or associations. In Queensland, for example, consorting laws leverage past convictions to justify ongoing restrictions on an individual's associations. This shifts the focus from preventing crime to policing an individual's social connections, raising concerns about punishment beyond formal sentencing. Rather than

viewing these laws as pre-crime interventions, it is more accurate to conceptualise them as post-conviction punishment—whereby individuals continue to be penalised for past offences under the guise of crime prevention. The instability of the pre-crime classification becomes even clearer when considering what is actually being criminalised. The offence of consorting does not require any inherently criminal behaviour. As Mason J observed in *Johannsen v Dixon*:

“The Crown need not prove the defendant has consorted for an unlawful or criminal purpose. . . . What is proscribed is habitual association with persons. . . . being undesirable or discreditable persons.”

Thus, the subject of criminalisation is not conduct but relationships themselves. Consorting laws criminalise collective modes of being, positioning mere association as a criminal act. If these laws are to be framed as pre-crime measures, this classification necessarily assumes that proximity to “undesirable” individuals inherently predisposes one to criminality. However, the very determination of who is deemed “undesirable” is deeply entangled with social constructs of class and race. Historically, consorting laws in Britain criminalised individuals without a discernible income, operating on the assumption that punishment would instil discipline and incentivise employment. In colonial India, similar laws targeted nomadic tribes, whose way of life was deemed incompatible with the agrarian economy that benefited British imperial interests (M. Brown (2014)).

While contemporary consorting laws ostensibly rely on prior convictions rather than social status, the over-representation of racialised individuals, unhoused populations, and those experiencing poverty within the criminal justice system suggests that these laws continue to function as a tool of exclusion and control. By criminalising association for any purpose—rather than limiting their scope to association for a criminal purpose—these laws reveal a deeper colonial logic. They reflect a fundamental distrust by the state of certain groups, presupposing that their very existence in proximity to one another constitutes a conspiracy against state authority. This logic is not new. It is an extension

of the colonial governance model, which has historically sought to fragment and disrupt marginalised communities through legal mechanisms of surveillance, control, and exclusion. Viewed through this lens, anti-association laws might be viewed as displacing collectivist forms of being with Western modes of individualist political subjectivity.

2.2.2 Exceptional measures normalised: control orders

In 2009, after four bikies were shot in an Adelaide nightclub, South Australia introduced 'tough new laws' to deal with outlaw motorcycle gangs, who then-Premier Mike Rann called "terrorists in our community". Not for no reason, either, as South Australia's control order regime was modelled directly on control orders that existed in relation to terrorism offences (Redmond, 2008; Loughnan, 2009). Those terror offences, upon their introduction, were touted as temporary and exceptional measures for the times. Evidently, those measures have become permanent.

The control order regime involves a two-part process: first, the Attorney-General could declare an organisation to be a "serious criminal organisation" for the purposes of the SOCCA. Under the the regime governing terror organisations, their existence of and association with which becomes illegal upon declaration as a terror organisation. However, differently to terror provisions, the declaration of a serious criminal organisation did not of itself criminalise the organisation or members of the organisation.

Rather, it gave rise to a second step, which was to make its members eligible for the issue against them of a control order, which set certain restrictions on association between members, occupation, communication and access to technology. Essentially, as Ayling (2011) observes, "the laws aimed to prevent members from planning and engaging in criminal activities through enabling state control over their associations and communications".

2.2.3 Abrogating due process: criminal organisation declarations and unexplained wealth orders

As part of efforts to target the wealth of organised criminals, Australia introduced unexplained wealth orders. Differently to proceeds of crime legislation, which enables for the post-conviction seizure of wealth related to criminal activity, unexplained wealth orders provide for the forfeiting of wealth where it cannot be shown to be referable to the person's income, based on their annual tax returns. It need not be shown that the wealth was accrued from criminal activity, just that it could not have been accrued legally. In doing so, the laws reverse the burden of proof, placing the burden on the person in receipt of an unexplained wealth order to justify that the wealth was obtained legally.

Until this point, Australia's anti-organised crime laws have been primarily directed towards bikies. However, as noted above, there is nothing in the laws that restrict them to use in that way. The pivot of Australian anti-organised crime policy towards securitisation, blurring the line between organised crime and terrorism, presents opportunities for the expanded and racialised use of these powers.

2.3 Pivoting towards the securitisation of organised crime

According to Quinney's (1970) theory on the social reality of crime, law changes according to changes in society, namely when interests that underline a criminal law are no longer relevant to groups in power, then the law will be interpreted or altered to incorporate the dominant interests. The possibility that criminal definitions will be formulated is increased by factors such as changing social conditions, emerging interests, increasing demands that political, economic and religious interests be protected and changing conceptions of public interest. The social interest of law, according to Quinney, reflects changes in the interest

structure of society.

Relevant for the purposes of this work then is that across Western countries, there has been a pivot towards the characterisation of organised crime as a national security threat (Carrapico (2014)). Lavorgna and Sergi (2016) note that since 2010, organised crime appears in the UK as a national security threat, dealt with through an enhanced national strategy centered on criminal intelligence. As with many policy and legal approaches, the Australian approach has followed the UK. This includes the formation of a 'super-ministry' dealing with both immigration and law enforcement, the Department of Home Affairs, established in Australia in December 2017. With the creation of this department, organised crime as investigated by the Australian Federal Police was shifted away from the Attorney-General's Department to the Department of Home Affairs. The shifting of primary responsibility at the Commonwealth level into the Department of Home Affairs is reflected in the *National Strategy on Transnational, Serious and Organised Crime 2018*.

Again, like the UK, the conceptualisation of organised crime at the national level has "pivoted around a broad and undefined notion of seriousness" (Lavorgna and Sergi (2016)) which has been used to justify the allocation of increased resources and broader powers. The *National Strategy on Transnational, Serious and Organised Crime 2018* (National Strategy) adopted in 2018 replaced the *National Action Plan on Serious and Organised Crime 2015-2018* (National Action Plan).

While both refer to 'serious' crime, the shift towards a securitisation discourse is evident immediately from how the National Strategy adds 'transnational' as an adjective to describing the organised crime within its ambit. The National Action Plan was largely directed towards the impacts of organised crime domestically, focused on addressing the threat posed by methamphetamine to the community, gun violence, addressing financial crime, cyber crime, improving intelligence sharing, and proceeds of crime. Although it mentioned transnational organised crime, it was mentioned as almost an afterthought, identified as an additional dimension of certain types of organised crime.

By contrast, the National Strategy is entirely centered around the transnational nature of organised crime. To illustrate the sheer magnitude of this paradigm shift, regard can be had to the basic metric of how many times transnational organised crime is mentioned in the document: the National Action Plan mentions it 12 times in 40 pages, while the National Strategy mentions it 42 times in 20 pages, or four times as often in half as many pages. Given that the National Action Plan expired in 2018 and the National Strategy was adopted that same year, it seems less likely that the shift in focus is as a result of an evidence-based shift in the nature of the organised crime threat (see Hobbs, 2013; Campbell, 2014) and more reflective of international trends in framing and changing government priorities, consistent with Quinney's observations about how legal definitions shift to accommodate the changing interests of the power segments of society.

In addition to being adopted by the Commonwealth government, the National Strategy was also adopted by State and Territory governments, who together formed the Australian *Transnational, Serious and Organised Crime Committee* (ATSOCC). ATSOCC is responsible for overseeing implementation of the strategy, improving coordination between the state/federal level and ensuring a whole-of-government approach to the issue of organised crime. Although the Australian Federal Police and its responsibility for organised crime was shifted back to portfolio of Attorney-General in 2023, it appears the 2018 National Strategy remains in force. While the characterisation of organised crime as a national security threat in the UK and in Europe has been explored in the literature (Sergi, 2016; Sergi and Lavorgna, 2016; Carrapico, 2014), its characterisation as such in Australia does not appear to have received as much attention. Given the broader trend towards securitisation internationally, particularly among Five Eyes countries, it is worth considering in more detail how Australia's national strategy constructs organised crime as a national security threat.

2.3.1 National Strategy on Organised Crime, 2018

According to the National Strategy (Department of Home Affairs, 2018), organised crime poses a “significant challenge” to Australia’s national security that:

threatens the safety, security and trust of our citizens, the prosperity of our businesses and economy, the integrity of our institutions, and ultimately our Australian way of life.

The National Strategy is instrumental in framing “organised crime” as a national security issue, particularly through its focus on developing “offensive and defensive” capabilities and those of partners to “attack offshore” and achieve a “greater disruptive effect”. The reference to attack, offensive and defence are typical hallmarks of the war rhetoric that marks the securitisation discourse. However, it is argued that in the context of the national strategy, the use of word "offshore" can be viewed as an example of securitisation of organised crime. "Offshore" is "shorthand for the construction of security" (McDonald, 2008, p. 566, cited in Sergi & Lavorgna, 2016), by evoking immigration narratives associated with Australia’s controversial policy of processing and detaining asylum seekers in offshore prison camps. The placing of the Australian Federal Police under the portfolio of Home Affairs appears to explain why the approach parallels how Australia approaches immigration, as every institution has articulated ways of knowing (Woodiwiss and Hobbs (2009)) that shape how it views threats. Further, the nexus between crime, immigration and national security is reinforced through the use of the word "offshore", underlining Commonwealth law enforcement and border security agencies as the appropriate actors to be engaged in addressing organised crime.

There is a tension between positioning the state as uniquely positioned to address organised crime, while making it seem that they are outmatched by a threat that requires stronger powers and more resources. Statements like “we have a world class approach to addressing organised crime, but more can be done” simultaneously affirm the capability

of the state while holding space for increased power and resources. Describing organised crime as a “challenge” rather than a “threat” implies law enforcement capacity to overcome it with sufficient resources and powers. Consistent with this law-and-order approach to crime, the adjectives used to describe the type of response required, such as “strong border management” and “hardened response” imply a secured border and tough penalties as tools of choice. Each of these establish a Tom-and-Jerry type dynamic in which law enforcement is capable of “winning” against organised criminals but will never actually do so, justifying the continued existence of national security measures.

Likewise, the strategy’s portrayal of organised criminals as nameless, faceless villains who deliberately target Australians to cause as much harm as possible and make as much profit as possible obscures the complex systemic factors that sustain organised crime which law enforcement is typically ill-equipped to address (Kelly (2023)). There is no acknowledgement, for example, of the tension between fighting organised crime and how Australians create a demand for illicit trade, nor how highly secured borders, distant from source markets, contribute to the high price of drugs and therefore profits for organised crime groups. Nor is there any engagement with how law enforcement contributes to making Australia an attractive destination market for drugs (e.g.: law enforcement busts during Operation Ironside that caused the coke price to skyrocket) or requiring them to adapt to new technologies (e.g.: because law enforcement was reading their messages on supposedly encrypted phones). The reference to creating “resilient” victims also suggests an individualistic approach to addressing harm suffered by individual victims once caused, rather than addressing the systemic factors creating victimisation.

In addition, law enforcement “taking the fight offshore” against organised criminals “infiltrating” Australia positions the threat externally, consistent with the Alien Conspiracy Theory’s “importation” model of organised crime, where crime in the host society is the product of corrupting foreign influences. The ambiguous, foreign nature of the threat is reinforced through treatment of organised criminals as an amorphous blob, able

to shape-shift across activity type, a sort of Ken-like figure whose job is crime. In addition, the Strategy casts these criminals as deliberately targeting Australians, seeking to cause as much harm as possible, to make as much money as possible. While organised crime groups are much more complex in their motivations and purposes than the Strategy implies (Alach (2011)), it this caricature of the organised criminal serves to construct the threat as "serious", based on intention (deliberate targeting), harm (as much as possible) and value (as much money as possible), and therefore within the scope of Commonwealth law enforcement agencies. Playing on well-established "Asian invasion" anxieties, the characterisation of the threat as foreign with caricature-like villains at its helm creates the impression an overwhelming tide of organised crime would crash on Australian shores if not for the "thin blue line" holding it back from the "offshore" realm.

Characterising the threat of organised crime as something that happens "offshore" also distracts from the government's failure to deal with organised crime within its borders (A. B. K. Young and Allum (2012)). It is important to consider that at the same time in this shift towards characterising the threat of organised crime as offshore, the Australian government was grappling with the Banking Royal Commission (2017-2018) revealing how Australia's banks were essentially engaged in defrauding customers as business practice. In that context, it is difficult to see how the strategy's reference to the threat posed by "criminals who systematically harm us to make a profit" does not also describe the banks. The offshore framing deflects attention from Australia's corporate sector as organised criminals, by characterising the threat as foreign.

The strategy's focus on the threat posed to "the Australian way of life" introduces a moralistic dimension to the fight against organised crime. It functions to imply Australia is engaged in an existential battle with a foreign, racialised Other, in the form of organised crime offshore. Framing the harm of organised crime in terms of the estimated \$47 billion that could be made to improve "our quality of life" serves to construct a conflict over scarce resources in which the domestic and foreign Other are engaged. The Strategy suggests

Australia is targeted for being a “wealthy, prosperous society” recalling the same rhetoric of a foreign, jealous Other seeking to destroy society, akin to President George W. Bush’s “they hate us for our freedoms” declaration of the USA’s enemies in the war on terror. In both cases, focus is deflected to the ill-intentions of the so-called enemy, rather than the systemic factors that implicate Western countries in their creation of both organised crime and terrorism. This rhetoric reinforces a siege mentality and constructs a threat paradigm in which extraordinary state measures are always necessary and untethered from considerations of proportionality because the threat is existential. The frequent invoking of our partners in the fight against organised crime also suggests that all Five Eyes (i.e.: Global North) countries share a common threat; not crime per se, but to our way of life, that is, Western values.

Finally, not only does the reference to offshore characterise the threat as foreign, it strategically places it outside the usual sphere of concern for those who might otherwise be concerned with civil liberties or due process. Australia’s long legacy of banishing immigrants to offshore detention centres had made ‘offshore’ not just a spatial dimension, but epistemological, serving as an ‘out of sight, out of mind’ outpost “where the rule of law is suspended to preserve the rule of law” (Agamben, 2003). Placed beyond scrutiny physically and metaphorically, ‘offshore’ functions as a sort of clearing house for threats democracy cannot dispose of without dulling the lustre of its liberties and guarantees. Akin to how Australia’s response to asylum seekers is to imprison or resettle them offshore, so too does Australia seek to displace organised crime elsewhere. Despite describing organised crime as “transnational” it does not appear concerned or even conscious of the effect of displacing organised crime elsewhere, nor with any other country, except for partners who can help Australia better detect organised crime.

Five Eyes is watching you: the central role of intelligence

It is said that using an intelligence-informed and evidence-based approach will enable Australia to “analyse, assess and respond” to current and potential threats. This is consistent with the UK approach that deals with organised crime through a national strategy centered on criminal intelligence (Sergi (2016)). In particular, the characterisation of organised crime as a national security threat by the UK, USA, Canada and New Zealand justifies and facilitates the mutual intelligence-sharing function of the Five Eyes alliance.

There is an inherent tension with the claim that that 70% of Australia’s organised crime threat is based off-shore and ‘infiltration’ – how, then, other than cybercrime, are they ‘infiltrating’ Australia? Either they have helpers in Australia (which almost certainly include people in agencies responsible for addressing organised crime) and/or the offshore nature of the threat is exaggerated consistent with the justifying the securitisation and immigration narratives framing the strategy.

In either or both cases, the ambiguity supports fear of a foreign threat that is both There and Here, thereby justifying the involvement of both Federal and State/Territory Agencies and intelligence-sharing agreements internationally. Noting that Operation Ironside was launched the same year that the strategy was adopted, it also justifies involvement in that operation, particularly as an example of can be achieved through the joint sharing of intelligence and coordination. The assertion that “we are more effective when we work together” is a narrative that can be directly identified in remarks of AFP Chief Reece Kershaw to Five Eyes in 2022 regarding the success of Operation Ironside and the need to tackle transnational organised crime.

Likewise, there is a direct parallel between statements like “organised criminals are adapting through new methodologies and advanced technologies” and the mission of law enforcement to disrupt the industry of hardened encrypted devices like they did with Operation Ironside. In addition to reflecting shifting priorities rather than an empirically

justified change in the nature of the threat posed by organised crime, the National Strategy also frames the threat posed in ways that correspond to the tools available to law enforcement to fight it.

The gap between strategy and reality

Because organised crime is portrayed as amorphous (without clear boundaries or distinct form), anonymised (lacking clear identification of actors), and contradictory (with inconsistent criteria about who or what qualifies as a threat), it is always susceptible to reinterpretation. This instability has significant consequences. First, it allows authorities to continually reconstruct the threat in ways that justify their immediate policy objectives. If organised crime is unstable and amorphous, law enforcement and governments can readily expand their powers, implement intrusive surveillance measures, or criminalise entire communities or behaviours by labelling them as “organised crime” whenever politically expedient. Second, because the threat lacks stable definition, it resists meaningful public accountability, scrutiny, or clear limits to state action. Such flexibility encourages a law enforcement and legislative approach that prioritises broad, punitive measures over targeted, evidence-based policy. Ultimately, the instability of organised crime as a concept results in erosion of due process, increased opportunities for abuse of authority, systemic bias or discrimination against targeted groups, and diminished public trust in the fairness and transparency of the criminal justice system itself.

2.3.2 Data interception and surveillance laws

The Telecommunications (Access and Assistance) Bill 2018 sought to amend the *Telecommunications (Interception and Access) Act 1979* (TIA) – which governs the use of wire-taps by law enforcement in Australia – to allow law enforcement to furnish industry with notices to prepare certain anti-encryption capabilities.

Despite assurances it did not seek to replace warranted access to telecommunications, no specific explanation was provided for why the power to issue notices was required, with

the explanatory memorandum citing only the need to fight the encryption that enables organised crime, terrorism and paedophilia. The government attempted to push through the legislation quickly, with one Senator pointing out that the government's approach was that:

If we didn't pass the bill immediately, as drafted, with no interrogation and no thought, then somehow we were all friends of paedophiles and friends of terrorists.

The government's rush to pass the Bill was precipitated by a constitutional crisis that forced the resignation of several parliamentarians, with more potentially to fall pending the resolution of a High Court determination, in which case the balance of power would be held by independents. This was an unusual circumstance threatening passage of the legislation that might otherwise have been assured. As observed by one independent Senator:

...when it comes to issues of national security... far too often, in fact almost always, whoever's in opposition... will just say, 'Yes, where's the blank cheque? We'll sign it for you.' Far too often, it's out of a fear of being wedged.

The ambiguity of the Bill, together with its proposed amendments to a panoply of intelligence-related legislation, rapidly saw the proposed "anti-encryption laws" become controversial.

The Bill was ultimately passed in December 2018, becoming the *Access and Assistance Act 2018* (Cth).

The controversy surrounding the *Assistance and Access Act 2018* (Cth) persisted even after its passage, with the Department of Home Affairs took the unusual step to dedicate a page on its website to "correcting" what it called "common myths and misconceptions" about the Act. On its website, the Department of Home Affairs asserted that:

The Assistance and Access Act creates a pathway for industry to deliver assistance to law enforcement and intelligence agencies where necessary. It does not allow for mass surveillance, the creation of decryption capabilities, the implementation of so-called ‘backdoors’ or the issuing of ‘secret notices’ on employees of communications providers. The Assistance and Access Act is focused on seeking help from corporate entities that are critical to the supply of communications services and devices in Australia. It does not discriminate between foreign and Australian companies conducting business offshore or place obligations on persons by virtue of their Australian citizenship.(emphasis added)

AFP Police Commissioner Reece Kershaw claimed that Operation Ironside was enabled by the *Access and Assistance Act 2018* (Cth), however, it was not enacted until two months after the operation commenced. It is unclear of the precise relationship between the operation and the Act. However, given that the operation involved the AFP building a technical capability, and the Act enabled the issuing of such notices to third party providers, it seems likely the operational needs of Ironside inspired the legislation. In any case, given the context of Ironside is now known, a closer analysis of the so-called “misconceptions and myths” in context is now possible. Five of the most relevant are analysed below.

The law will create backdoors and undermine information security

The DHA claims the Act has an express prohibition against building or implementing any weakness or vulnerability in software of physical devices that would jeopardize the security of “innocent users”. Here, it is worth highlighting two matters. The first is that ANOM was a specialty-built app, loaded onto a handset purchased by the user specifically for the purposes of communicating via the app, which they believed to be immune to penetration from law enforcement. In reality, it contained a “backdoor” that enabled law

enforcement to read all messages sent on the app. Therefore, based on DHA's explanation, it appears ANOM gets around the requirements of the Act because: (i) the operation involved producing a specialized app (ANOM) with an access point for law enforcement integrated into the design from the outset, meaning that a company was not be required to build in any backdoor into existing software or hardware; and (ii) because those who had access to the device could only have received it from an 'underworld figure' and only used it to discuss criminal activity, then they would not qualify as an "innocent user".

This second point goes to the core of Australia's legal framework and strategy on organised crime, namely, *guilt by association*. The logic that if someone has a device, then they must be a criminal, since they were distributed through criminal networks, does not necessarily hold up, and demonstrates one of the weaknesses of the criminal law approach to addressing organised crime as a national security threat. As the pager attack in Lebanon showed, those who in possession of a telephonic device may not be the original nor intended recipient. In the case of the exploding pagers distributed to alleged Hezbollah operatives, some of which were responsible for killing innocent children, there was a question to be answered as to whether the proliferation of the devices violated the prohibition under international humanitarian law on booby traps.

However, Operation Ironside, which despite being a war against bikies, is not an armed conflict and therefore does not attract the application of international humanitarian law. This raises questions about the gap in protection therefore afforded to persons who are caught up in law enforcement operations targeting organised criminals, particularly bikies. The assumption that any person with a handset is therefore a criminal – and not just any criminal, but habitually or seriously criminal enough to justify paying for a specially encrypted device – is a weighted one, given that possession of an ANOM device was considered in assessing culpability and seriousness for the purpose of making bail determinations and sentencing offenders.

Police may use these laws to prosecute minor offences

In responding to the “myth” that the powers would be use for minor offences, the DHA pointed out that “there is an express requirement that the industry assistance powers can only be used by police to enforce the criminal law for serious offences, being offences that involve a penalty of at least three years imprisonment”. Here it is worth making at least three observations. First, there is a difference between going after “the worst of the worst” (invoking terrorists, paedophiles, arms dealers) compared to persons charged with “serious” offences punishable by a minimum of three years (which includes, for example, mention), a level of offending that would not even meet the threshold for seriousness under UNTOC, which sets it at a minimum of four years. In fairness, given a three years’ imprisonment minimum is the minimum required to invoke usage of the powers, this does not mean it will be used at the lower end of the range in practice.

It is therefore useful to have regard to the outcomes of Operation Ironside (discussed in more detail in the next three chapters), to determine whether police used the powers to “prosecute minor offences”. While this did include among them persons convicted of serious crimes based on the weight and value of drug found in their possession (e.g.: 10kg meth worth \$17.5 million, 18 kg of cocaine worth \$20 million), or damage caused (e.g.: \$350,000 damage to a property following arson), it also included offenders found with extremely small, trace, or even no drugs in their possession. In those circumstances, it is difficult to dispel the suggestion that the powers will be used to go after minor crimes. Largely, those against whom police were able to secure a conviction at this stage were convicted of relatively low-level offending.

Availability of these powers may expand due to scope creep

While the framing of Act was that the powers were targeted towards these ‘worst of the worst’, once enacted, it contained no legal requirements constrained to be used only

against those offenders. Accordingly, this raised questions about creating a ‘slippery slope’ where rights-restrictive measures come to encompass and apply to broader ranges of people than originally claimed to pass those measures. This propensity was identified in relation to the TOLA Bill by an independent member of Parliament, who observed in his second reading speech:

... The government’s saying it’s only to assist in the fight against terrorism and the most serious of crimes, like child exploitation, paedophilia and so on. And, yes, they are heinous crimes. But next year it will also be for this and that, and the year after it will be for that and that and that... for example... [w]hat we were promised, only several years ago now, was that [metadata] would be used only to go after terrorists and that the list of agencies that would be allowed to use that information would be very small... We were having, I think, a healthy debate about who should access this sort of stuff and we were absolutely promised that it would only be used to go after terrorists. Then, after a while, the debate morphed into: ‘Oh, yes, but also paedophiles and other things.’

The Department of Home Affairs sought to “correct” this misconception by identifying that the list of agencies who have access to this power is proscribed by legislation, requiring amendment if it is to change.

The Five Eyes alliance may take advantage of this law

The provisions of the *Assistance and Access Act 2018* (Cth) enable Australian law enforcement to employ its tools for “assisting the enforcement of the criminal laws of a foreign country so far as those laws relate to serious foreign offences”. As Mann, Daly and Molnar (2020) identify, its extraterritorial reach makes the Act is exceptional among Five Eyes countries, each of which have a human rights framework in place that may

provide recourse to individuals the privacy of whom is violated. The authors suggest the provision for foreign assistance in the Act may lead to a form of “regulatory arbitrage” through which foreign law enforcement agencies circumvent their own legal system’s safeguards to capitalise on Australia’s lack of a human rights framework. They note foreign law enforcement engaged in “jurisdiction shopping” in this way in relation to a previous operation, which was re-located to servers in Australian servers so police could engage in a controlled operation that involved the commission of criminal offences without criminal penalty.

The DHA claims that the *Assistance and Access Act* is “an Australian solution to an Australian problem” and “it was not requested by, or designed for, Australia’s Five Eyes partner countries”. This does not engage with the substance of the critique, which is that the legislation creates a ‘loophole’ for foreign intelligence agencies to exploit, rather than that it was introduced at the behest of, or designed for, Australia’s Five Eyes partner countries. Further, it is somewhat misleading in the sense that the Act was passed to enable Operation Ironside’s development of the ANOM app, which was created for – or at the very least, in conjunction with – an operation by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The connection between Operation Ironside and its Five Eyes partners is one that both Australian law enforcement and the media seek to downplay, particularly the influence of the US, by framing it as a “partnership” and emphasising Australia’s autonomy.

The DHA claims that “while Five Eyes share intelligence for security purposes, foreign assistance in connection with information obtained under this legislation will be undertaken consistent within the established mutual legal assistance process or through existing, bounded channels of cooperation”. This does not negate the possibility of misuse as indicated above, particularly when regard is had to the content of those existing processes and channels of cooperation. US law already enables its law enforcement agencies to engage in warrantless access to the communications of non-citizens outside the US ,

which permits that information to be used outside the purposes of the investigation for which it was acquired when it is deemed evidence of a crime and relevant to understanding foreign intelligence information.

Therefore, within this framework, it is entirely possible that by citing “the need to fight organised crime” would enable a US agency to legally spy on any Australian citizen, in Australia, on the basis that they are adjacent to an existing target of an investigation in the United States. Moreover, it would allow the US to indirectly collect information about its own citizens where they are not the target of the investigation but are adjacent in some way to Australia or connected to an Australian citizen, who may be legally spied upon by the US. Daskal (2020) identifies this enables law enforcement to benefit from different and more lax foreign intelligence gathering rules to gather information on terrorism and other criminal suspects. Analysing the legislative regimes in all Five Eyes jurisdictions,²¹ assesses Australia as the “weak link” in terms of lacking human rights protections for privacy violations, encouraging “jurisdiction shopping” in intelligence operations. Although Australia now has in place a new statutory right to privacy, it did not at the time of Operation Ironside, which may have facilitated its beta testing of the ANOM app.

When coupled with the provisions of the Australian *Access and Assistance Act*, the Australia-US CLOUD Act Agreement, and taking into account joint terror listings between the countries, this creates a worrying situation in which the US could directly spy on any person in Australia, and indirectly spy on its own citizens, in the name of fighting terrorism or organised crime. Precedent already shows that Australia and the US’ approach to enforcement of “pre-crime restraints” measures against individuals suspected of involvement with criminalised organisations is over-inclusive.

The lack of clarity regarding the criteria for association with terrorist or organised crime groups—both in terms of defining such groups and specifying what constitutes

²¹Mann, Daly, and Molnar, 2020.

“involvement”—enables states to pressure individuals into cooperating or collaborating with authorities under the threat of sanction, including extradition to the US.

This law will lead to mass surveillance

The Department of Home Affairs claims that the Assistance and Access Act does not authorise mass surveillance, expressly prohibiting the Government from requiring a company to build an interception capability or a data retention capability. Further, it highlights that “all requirements must be reasonable, proportionate, practicable and technically feasible” and are subject to independent oversight and judicial review.

The *Surveillance Legislation Amendment (Identify and Disrupt) Act 2021* introduced three new powers for the Australian Federal Police (AFP), and the Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission to “identify and disrupt serious online criminal activity”. The Department of Home Affairs claimed that criminals were using the dark web to buy and sell stolen identities, trade illicit commodities, deal in child abuse material, organise and engage in other activities. The powers introduced included three types of warrants. Data disruption warrants, to allow the disruption of data through modification and deletion of data to “frustrate the commission of serious offences, such as the distribution of child sex abuse material”. Network activity warrants would allow the collection of intelligence on serious criminal activity carried out by criminal networks operating online. Finally, account takeover warrants would allow officers to obtain control of a person’s online account to gather evidence about criminal activity to further a criminal investigation.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the legal construction of “organised crime” in Australia reflects the dominant interests of the state, consistent with Quinney’s second proposition: that criminal definitions are formulated and applied against individuals and groups

whose behaviour threatens the interests of powerful segments of society. Far from neutrally identifying harm, the concept of organised crime has been strategically shaped through legislation to allow the state to define and target emerging “enemies” of the social and political order—first through figures like the outlaw bikie, and increasingly, through a more diffuse, amorphous threat imagined as transnational and technologically evasive.

Through the progressive expansion of anti-association laws, pre-emptive control orders, and data access frameworks such as the *Telecommunications and Other Legislation Amendment (Assistance and Access) Act*, organised crime has been defined in terms that facilitate broad discretion for law enforcement and national security agencies. These legal mechanisms do not merely respond to criminal behaviour, but rather function to pre-emptively construct certain subjects as threats based on perceived associations, encrypted communications, or imagined links to offshore networks. As Jakobs’ theory of “enemy criminal law” helps illuminate, the “organised criminal” is less a legal subject and more a symbol: an actor outside the social contract whose rights may be curtailed because they are imagined to embody a fundamental threat to the state and its moral order.

The evolution from domestic “bikie” threats to transnational enemies reflects a deeper process of securitisation in which criminal law increasingly mirrors counter-terrorism logics. The “organised criminal” is rendered an indistinct but ever-present Other, necessitating exceptional legal responses that expand the scope of state power while eroding traditional safeguards. In this context, organised crime laws function not merely as instruments of justice, but as tools of governance—defining who belongs, who threatens, and who can be acted upon without due process.

By revealing the political contingency and instrumental function of criminal definitions, this chapter lays the groundwork for the next stage of analysis: how these laws are enforced. In line with Quinney’s framework, if criminal definitions are created to protect dominant interests, then enforcement patterns should reflect this alignment. The follow-

ing chapter thus turns to examine the empirical enforcement of these legal constructions through Operation Ironside, assessing who is targeted, how, and with what outcomes.

Chapter 3

ENFORCEMENT OF DEFINITIONS

According to Quinney (1970), definitions are applied by the segments of society that have the power to shape the enforcement and the administration of the criminal law. Interests cannot be protected simply by articulating a definition, they must be enforced, and the interests of the powerful, therefore, operate in enforcing criminal definitions. Those whose interests conflict with the interests represented in law must either change their behaviour or find them deemed criminal.

3.1 Introduction

This thesis presents Operation Ironside as the ideal type of the approach of Western settler-colonies to addressing transnational organised crime and will be referred to throughout this work. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to provide background on the operation, its outcomes and identify aspects relevant to further discussion throughout this thesis.

Operation Ironside serves as a compelling focus for multiple reasons. The operation

being nominated as relevant to “organised crime” sidesteps difficult definitional questions as to what constitutes “organised crime” for the purposes of studying its construction. This is ordinarily a fraught endeavour, given the difficulties in defining organised crime.¹ The nomination of the operation as such shortcuts any such issues, at least insofar as this study is concerned with the construction of organised crime by law enforcement and media.

From a legal perspective, it provides a rare opportunity to compare the scope and purpose of national security legislation against a secret operation it authorised, within a contemporaneous context where it remains relevant. Namely, the reveal of Operation Ironside facilitates a re-visiting of the *Access and Assistance Act 2018* (Cth), which was said to have enabled law enforcement to mandate that telecommunication providers decrypt metadata. Relevantly, it provides a context in which to analyse concerns about potential scope creep, and infringement of civil liberties, raised by civil society, and oversight bodies, at the time. Likewise, for the same purpose, from an international perspective, Ironside provides context for analysing the US CLOUD Act and its associated agreements.

Further, the content generated by the operation, given its size, forms a repository of data for analysis, both quantitative and qualitative. Relevant to quantitative analysis, the operational outcomes (such as arrests, seizures, etc.) numbered in the hundreds, potentially creating a data set large enough for the identification of statistical trends. Thorough and extensive media reporting on the operation regarding accused persons (e.g.: individuals arrested, their suburbs, charges filed, bail status, and any sentences imposed) facilitated the creation of a repository of data without the need to consult directly with state law enforcement to obtain information, which in this case was prohibitively complicated.

Examining Operation Ironside provides for analysis of both federal and State/Territory dimensions, as it involved both Commonwealth and State/Territory offences and agencies.

¹the article you just found about defining organised crime

Further, as a nationwide operation, it enables for the comparison of outcomes between states. Notably, the highest number of arrests occurred in South Australia, where this research had access to sources in media and the courts system enabling the potential provision of any missing information and interviews, where relevant, to facilitate a more in-depth analysis of the actors and circumstances involved.

In addition, the extensive media coverage provided an opportunity to analyse media portrayals of organised crime by offering a data set sufficiently large to discern statistical trends. By comparison, almost as many articles were published on Operation Ironside (approximately 1300) within a single year (2021-2022) as were published over a decade (2000-2010) in the study by Leiva and Bright (2015) on media coverage of organised crime in Australia, who identified approximately 1700 articles. Further, as the operation obtained copies of messages on devices used by those labelled organised criminals, it provided an insight directly into those networks that otherwise would not be available. From a critical perspective, access to this primary source material also facilitates an assessment of those communications against corresponding law enforcement and media narratives, providing insight into how those narratives are constructed from the source material.

There are of course some limitations to this case study approach. Although studying Operation Ironside allows for depth, a limitation is that it does not allow for breadth. That is, the study of the media construction of organised crime is necessarily limited to this particular iteration of it – and its offenders and crime types – rather than spanning the breadth of possible conceptions. The label “organised crime” is a wide one and it may be the case that there are peculiarities in this data that do not apply to media reporting on organised crime generally. Further, by focusing on a police operation, the issue of organised crime is necessarily around enforcement, which may differ from organised crime stories that may originate from other sources, like civil society or academia, which may look at, for example, prevention or its impact on victims.

However, given the relative dearth of reporting on organised crime in Australian media,

and the general trend for crime news to adopt law enforcement as primary narrator in any case, this limitation was not considered prohibitive for the research design. In terms of ethical issues, two were identified: protection of the source that provided the charge sheet information for analysis, and the representation of individuals in the data who had their identity suppressed by courts. To address these issues, the source has been left unnamed to protect their identity, and each of the individuals represented in the list of accused with an active suppression order has been assigned an alias, in contexts where it was otherwise necessary to name them. No individual is named in this study whose name has not otherwise already been reported.

3.2 Background and Context

3.2.1 Legislative and policy framework

Australia has a *National Strategy to Address Transnational, Serious and Organised Crime* (discussed at ??), adopted in 2018, the same year as Operation Ironside.

Relevant context from the National Strategy are claims that “transnational, serious and organised criminals” are “resilient, sophisticated and networked” with the ability to “take advantage of political, economic, legal, technological and social changes in the world” who can “adapt and diversify across multiple crime types” requiring a national response that is adaptive. The threat environment is said to be constantly changing, and “organised criminals are adapting through new methodologies and advanced technologies”.

The Strategy claims that leveraging offshore partnerships will allow Australia to dismantle the organised criminal business model before it hits our borders. At the borders, the approach is “strong management” to detect, deter, disrupt and dismantle maritime and people smuggling threats, and the illicit movement of prohibited goods and commodities, to make it harder for “criminals to infiltrate our borders and target Australians” including through technology and by using domestic and international partnerships. It is

said that using an intelligence-informed and evidence-based approach will enable Australia to “analyse, assess and respond” to current and potential threats.

Clarifying Lawful Overseas Use of Data Act 2018

In March 2018, the US Congress passed the *Clarifying Lawful Overseas Use of Data Act*, or “CLOUD Act” to improve procedures for both foreign and US investigators to obtain access to electronic information held by service providers. The CLOUD Act permits the US to enter into agreements with foreign partners that allow their authorities to obtain critical electronic data from communications providers in the other country.

According to the Department of Justice, the CLOUD Act was required to assist its foreign partners in obtaining information from US-based companies, as there had traditionally been difficulties with applying the mutual legal assistance process to electronic data, including long wait times and companies claiming that they were not required to comply with US court processes to produce data stored in another country. In October 2019, the US concluded an agreement under the CLOUD Act with the United Kingdom.

Access and Assistance Act 2018

In late 2018, the *Access and Assistance Act 2018* (Cth) came into law in Australia. The legislation was controversial because it allowed law enforcement to furnish notices to industry to build capabilities to enable decryption of meta data, without court order.² Ordinarily, Australia’s *Surveillance Devices Act 2004* (Cth) allows for the interception of communications by law enforcement in relation to devices in or with a clear nexus to Australia, where so authorised by a Court.

²noauthor_afp_2021.

3.3 Key facts about the operation

3.3.1 Background

In 2017, FBI San Diego began investigating a company called Phantom Secure, which sold hardened encrypted devices to criminal organisations, primarily drug traffickers.³ According to the FBI:

A “hardened encrypted device” is a communication device that (1) sends and receives encrypted electronic communications, and/or (2) encrypts the data stored on the device. Like other competitor brands of hardened encrypted devices, Phantom Secure’s devices had limited functionality: a user could not make a normal phone call or browse the internet. Phantom Secure provided encryption service plans lasting from two to six months, and devices cost \$1,500 to \$2,000 each for a six month service plan. Devices could not be purchased in a regular store or online; would-be users needed to have a connection to a known distributor to even begin the initial conversation to obtain a device. Users of Phantom Secure devices operated in a closed loop system; that is, device-to-device communication was limited to a self-selected closed group of individuals using only other Phantom Secure devices.⁴

According to the FBI, there is ‘significant’ demand for these devices in the criminal underworld, which is:

... primarily driven by the requirements for organized crime, and especially TCOs [transnational organized crime organizations], to have a trusted method of communications they regard as secure and immune from law enforcement surveillance and interception techniques. TCOs are the target market for

³Chevron, 2021, p. 9.

⁴Chevron, 2021, p. 9.

this technology because the entire success of their illicit activity is premised on avoiding law enforcement detection. Drug trafficking in particular relies on international, real time coordination by multiple actors. The huge illicit profits in the international drug trade mean they are both willing and able to pay \$2000 for a device which has a singular function.

In addition to being favoured by organised crime groups, the FBI claims that "hardened encrypted devices are not known to be used by privacy minded individuals because of the devices' limited functionality and the high cost of a single device".⁵ Phantom Secure was shut down by the FBI in 2018, and Vincent Ramos, the operator of the network, and four other principals were convicted of racketeering offences under the *Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act* (RICO) and sentenced to nine years' prison.¹⁰ An Australian distributor of the handsets, Domenico Catanzariti, had 761 Blackberry devices loaded with Phantom Secure seized from him, but he was never charged.⁶

After Phantom Secure was shut down, the FBI recruited an informant who was a veteran in the "criminal" use of secure devices, having previously distributed Phantom Secure and Sky Global handsets and had invested heavily in the development of a new hardened encrypted device, AN0M. Facing charges, he gave AN0M to the FBI to use as their own and received a reduced sentence for participation. The informant also agreed to distribute AN0M devices to some of their existing network of distributors of hardened encrypted devices. This was necessary, notes the FBI:

Because encrypted communications devices exist to eschew law enforcement, the distribution of these devices is predicated on trust. This shadowy distribution system is designed, in part, to impede law enforcement's ability to obtain the content from these devices. To prevent law enforcement from obtaining devices, the Phantom Secure investigation revealed that oftentimes, a

⁵Chevron, 2021, para. 11.

¹⁰Chevron, 2021, p. 10

⁶Hunt, 2021.

distributor must vet would-be purchasers of these devices.⁷

The FBI opened an investigation, Operation Trojan Shield, which was centered on inserting ANOM into criminal networks and working with its international partners such as the Australian Federal Police (AFP) to monitor the communications. The FBI indicated that "a goal of the Trojan Shield investigation is to shake the confidence in this entire industry [hard-coded encrypted devices] because the FBI is willing and able to enter this space and monitor messages". Cheviron (2021, para. 21)

The role of the AFP was to build a master key into the existing encryption system which surreptitiously attaches to each message and enables law enforcement to decrypt and store the message as it is transmitted, unbeknown to the user. At the back end, the design of the ANOM app was such that for devices located outside of the United States, an encrypted version of every message was routed to a server located outside the United States, where it was decrypted, and then immediately re-encrypted with FBI encryption code. That newly encrypted message then passed to a second FBI-owned server, where it was decrypted and available for viewing in the first instance, though not by the FBI.

This complex arrangement was said to be precipitated by a lack of certainty as to the legality of the operation under the United States' wiretapping laws and possible infringements of the fourth amendment (protection from unreasonable search and seizure),⁸. Therefore, the FBI itself would not be reviewing the messages, but rather the AFP. In addition, ANOM devices located in the United States were "geofenced" meaning that any devices in the US would not communicate with the FBI server (i.e.: the messages could not be read by the FBI).⁹

At the front end, ANOM was accessed through a mobile device that had almost all of its functionality otherwise disabled. However, the app could be accessed through the calculator app, where if users put in a password and pressed the equals sign, they could

⁷Cheviron, 2021, para. 12.

⁸Davis, 2021.

⁹Cheviron, 2021, p. 17.

enter the app.¹⁰ The app included a feature that allowed for the creation of a wallpaper that had Facebook and Instagram apps to make it look like a real phone to anyone questioned by law enforcement. It also had a function for sending a minute long voice memo that would alter the user's voice.¹¹

The FBI concocted a plan with the AFP to spread the device into criminal networks through underworld "influencers," including those who had previously distributed hard-coded devices, primarily in Australia.¹² To do so, they set up a website for the app that looked like it was based outside the United States, and could be access only with a referral code obtained from a reseller.¹³

3.3.2 Launching ANOM

In October 2018, for Beta testing, the Australian Federal Police obtained a court order to legally monitor the ANOM devices of those in Australia or with a clear nexus to Australia, under the *Surveillance Devices Act 2004* (Cth).¹⁴ Devices were offered to three former Phantom Secure distributors: Domenico Catanzariti, Joseph Hakan Ayik, and Maximilian Rivkin, who became administrations of the secure network. The initial test consisted of 50 devices.

According to the FBI, the court order obtained by Australia did not permit for the sharing of the content with foreign partners. However, the AFP shared generally the contents of the communications. According to the AFP, 100% of ANOM users in the test phase were said to use ANOM to engage in criminal activity and the AFP was said to have penetrated two of the most 'sophisticated' criminal networks in Australia.¹⁵

By mid-2019, ANOM was gaining traction beyond Australia.¹⁶ At this stage, the FBI

¹⁰Europol, 2025, p. 4.

¹¹Europol, 2025, p. 5.

¹²Chevron, 2021, para. 15.

¹³Europol, 2025, p. 4.

¹⁴*Senate Estimates Brief* 2022, p. 110.

¹⁵Chevron, 2021, p. 15.

¹⁶Chevron, 2021, p. 15.

claims that it engaged representatives from a "third country" to receive a server of its own and obtain the contents of communications occurring between ANOM users. Negotiations about the logistics and legal framework in the third country were said to progress into late 2019.¹⁷ Although the FBI does not reveal the identity of the third country, it has since been revealed by independent journalists online as Lithuania.¹⁸ The 'third country' then obtained a court order to copy messages from a server located there and provide a copy to the FBI via a mutual legal assistance treaty, without reviewing the messages themselves. The third country then provided server data to the FBI every Monday, Wednesday, Friday until the expiration of its court order on June 7, 2021.¹⁹

It is also relevant to note that during the operation, two major hardened encrypted networks were taken down. EncroChat was one of the largest providers of encrypted digital communication. In 2020, French and Dutch law enforcement together with Europol and Eurojust took the platform down.²⁰ After EncroChat, many users moved to a similar platform called Sky Global. Sky Global offered subscription-based encrypted communications, with up to 150 000 Sky devices said to be in circulation at one point.²¹ In March 2020, Sky Global's CEO was indicted in the United States, which was said to lead clients to scramble to join ANOM. ANOM went from 3000 users before Sky Global was taken down, to 9000 users afterwards.²²

At its peak, there were 12,000 ANOM devices,²³ 27 million messages through 100 countries in 25 languages. The fee for a six-month subscription to ANOM varied depending on region: in Australia and Canada it cost approximately \$1700 in local currency, while in Europe it was between 1000 - 1500 Euro.²⁴ The top five countries for use were Germany,

¹⁷Chevron, 2021, p. 17.

¹⁸Cox · , 2023.

¹⁹Chevron, 2021, p. 17.

²⁰Europol, 2025, pp. 1–2.

²¹Europol, 2025, p. 2.

²²Chevron, 2021, p. 21.

²³Europol, 2025, p. 5.

²⁴Chevron, 2021, p. 6.

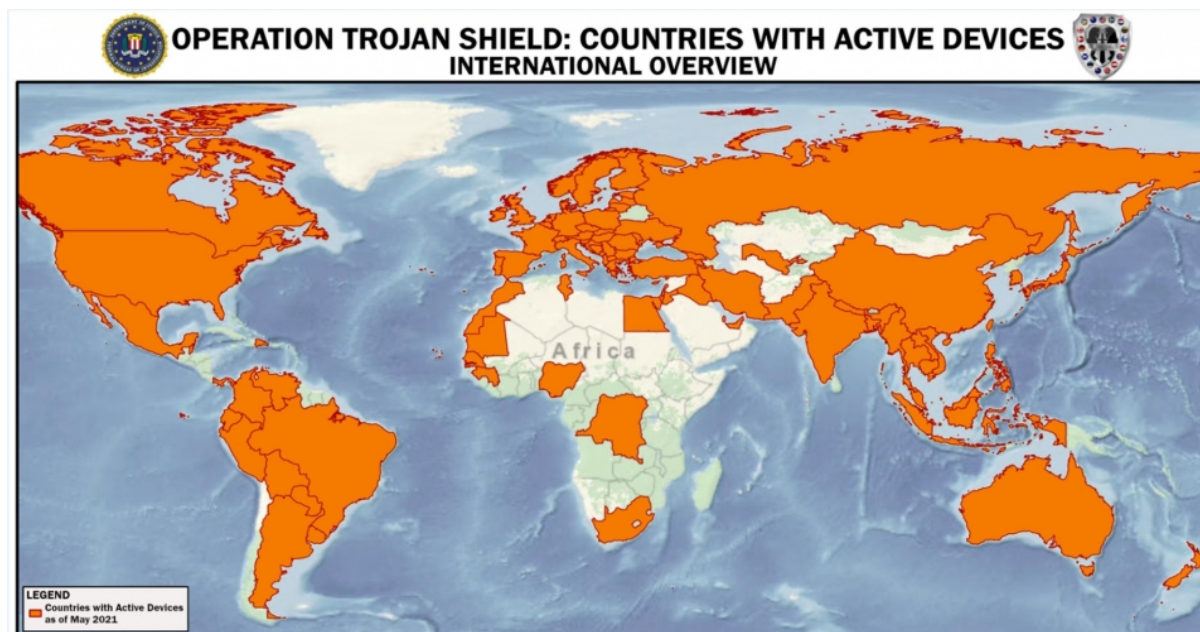


Figure 3.1: Countries in which ANOM was active *Source: US Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2021*

Netherlands, Spain, Australia, and Serbia (see ??).²⁵ grossman_indictment₂₀₂₁

3.3.3 Agencies involved

The FBI controlled and owned ANOM, while the AFP provided "ingenuity" to read encrypted messages in real-time. The FBI called the project "Operation Trojan Shield," while the AFP referred to it as "Operation Ironside".

When a phone entered a new country, the FBI would attempt to work with the government of that country to coordinate intelligence sharing. FBI prepared intelligence packages to be shared with the police forces of other countries, providing information on cases relevant to violent crime, drug trafficking and political corruption. The FBI claims that their law enforcement partners were able to build cases against some of their most significant targets for which they previously hadn't been able to gather significant evidence to bring a prosecution.²⁶

²⁵Chevron, 2021, p. 19.

²⁶Europol, 2025, p. 6.

In order not to reveal that ANOM had been compromised, Europol coordinated a "day of action" between European countries who had received ANOM intelligence.²⁷ At least 16 countries were ultimately involved in Operation Trojan Shield/Ironside, as indicated in the table at 3.1.²⁸ According to the AFP, not all countries involved in the operation could be disclosed "for legal reasons".²⁹ Absent from the below list include Spain and Serbia, notable in that both were in the top 5 countries of use for ANOM handsets.

| No | Country | Agency |
|----|-------------|--|
| 1 | AUSTRIA | Criminal Intelligence Services Austria (Bundeskriminalamt) |
| 2 | AUSTRALIA | Australian Federal Police |
| 3 | GERMANY | Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt) |
| 4 | DENMARK | National Police of Denmark |
| 5 | ESTONIA | Estonian Police and Border Guard Bord |
| 6 | FINLAND | National Bureau of Investigation Finland |
| 7 | HUNGARY | Hungarian National Bureau of Investigation (HNBI) |
| 8 | LITHUANIA | Lithuanian Criminal Police Bureau |
| 9 | NETHERLANDS | National Police of the Netherlands |
| 10 | NORWAY | National Criminal Investigation Services (NCIS) |
| 11 | NEW ZEALAND | New Zealand Police |
| 12 | SWEDEN | Polisen, Swedish Police Authority & Swedish Customs |
| 13 | UK | National Crime Agency (NCA) |
| 14 | SCOTLAND | Scotland Police |
| 15 | USA | FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) |
| 16 | CANADA | Royal Canadian Mounted Police |

Table 3.1: Countries and agencies involved in Operation Ironside. *Source: Australian Federal Police*

²⁷Esplund, Sweden, and Raskos, n.d.

²⁸noauthor_afp_nodate.

²⁹noauthor_afp_nodate.

3.4 Outcomes of the operations

3.4.1 Scope of arrests and charges

The operation was revealed globally on June 7-8, 2021.³⁰ The AFP Commissioner claimed this was due to legal authorities expiring on June 7, 2021.

Operation Ironside led to arrests in 18 countries including across Australia, Asia, South America, and the Middle East. According to the AFP, it shut down six clandestine laboratories, stopped 21 death threats, and prevented mass shootings in suburbs. In Australia, police arrested 224 people, seized 104 firearms, 4 tonnes of drugs, and \$35 million in an operation going back to 2018. Australian police laid 525 charges, while NZ police laid 900 charges against 35 individuals.

The Europol Action Day included 700 house searches and over 800 arrests. There was seizure of at least 8 tonnes of cocaine, 22 tonnes of cannabis and cannabis resin, 2 tonnes of amphetamine and methamphetamine, 6 tonnes of synthetic drug precursors, 250 firearms, 55 luxury vehicles and over \$48 million.³¹

Intelligence from ANOM revealed at least six law enforcement officials working with members of criminalised organisations. Humphreys (2021)

3.4.2 Public and media response

Operation Ironside was announced to the public in Australia via a media conference on June 8, 2021, hosted by the Prime Minister, the Minister for Home Affairs, and the AFP Commissioner. Then-Prime Minister Scott Morrison called Ironside "a watershed moment in Australian police history". The story also ran on the front page of all News Corp papers throughout Australia, with follow-up coverage persisting especially over the next year.

³⁰cite the articles

³¹cite Europol

3.4.3 Court outcomes of arrests and charges in Australia

As at 15 February 2023, offences charged included trafficking in drugs (including cannabis, methamphetamine, cocaine, fantasy, GBL and ecstasy), money laundering, arson, conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to arson, possession of firearm. Charges were laid in respect of both Commonwealth and State/Territory offences. Queensland was the state with the highest number of Commonwealth offences.

In terms of organisations impacted, this included Comanchero bikies and alleged Italian mafia operatives. In the case of bikies, it was also said to include several murder plots, an arson and an attempt to cause grievous bodily harm. The Comanchero OMCG were particularly impacted.

3.4.4 RICO indictment in the United States

On May 28, 2021, the FBI on behalf of the United States filed an indictment in the United States District Court, Southern District of California, under seal (since unsealed on 7 June 2021) under the Racketeering Conspiracy to Conduct Enterprise Affairs (RICO Conspiracy) and Criminal Forfeiture provisions against 17 defendants in connection with 'the AN0M enterprise'. The indictment indicated that being part of 'the AN0M enterprise' had generated the defendants "millions of dollars in profit by facilitating criminal activity of transnational criminal organizations and protecting these organizations from law enforcement". Grossman (2021, para. 1) Accused mentioned in the indictment were designated different roles in the 'enterprise', having been nominated as either Administrators of the AN0M network, Distributors of the AN0M handset, or "Influencers" encouraging other criminalised persons to buy and use AN0M (see 3.2).³²

The indictment indicates that the "AN0M enterprise" administrators, distributors, agents and clients were anonymous even to each other, as they did not request, track

³²Grossman, 2021, paras. 2-24.

| Name | Role | Citizenship | Location |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Joseph Hakan AYIK | Administrator; Influencer | Turkiye | Turkiye |
| Domenico CATANZARITI | Administrator | Australia | Turkiye |
| Maximilian RIVKIN | Administrator; Influencer | Sweden | Turkiye |
| Abdelhakim AHARCHAOU | Distributor | Netherlands | Netherlands |
| Seyyed Hossein HOSSEINI | Distributor | Netherlands | Netherlands |
| Alexander DMITRIENKO | Distributor | Finland | Spain |
| Baris TUKEL | Distributor; Influencer | Australia | Turkiye |
| Erkan Yusef DOGAN | Distributor; Influencer | Australia | Turkiye |
| Shane Geoffrey MAY | Distributor | Australia | Indonesia |
| Aurangzeb AYUB | Distributor | UK/ Netherlands | Netherlands |
| James Thomas FLOOD | Distributor | UK | Spain |
| Srdjan TODOROVIC | Distributor | Serbia (believed) | Colombia |
| Shane NGAKURU | Distributor | New Zealand | Thailand |
| Edwin Harmendra KUMAR | Distributor | Australia | Australia |
| Omar MALIK | Distributor | Netherlands | Netherlands |
| Miwand ZAKHIMI | Distributor | Netherlands | Netherlands |
| Osemeh ELHASSEN | Distributor | Australia | Colombia |

Table 3.2: ANOM participants indicted under RICO

or record their clients' real names and interacted only via username, email handles or nicknames.³³

3.5 Discussion and analysis

3.5.1 Grey areas and the state as an organised crime actor

Italian sociologist Rocco Sciarrone has been instrumental in developing the concept of the *zone grigie*, or “grey areas,” to explain the interstitial spaces between legality and criminality that enable the persistence and success of mafia-type organisations. According to Sciarrone, organised crime does not operate in isolation from formal institutions; rather, it is embedded within a complex web of relationships with political, economic, and administrative actors who operate at the threshold of legality. These grey areas are not merely zones of deviance or corruption but are constitutive of the broader system of

³³Grossman, 2021, p. 27.

power, marked by mutual dependency and blurred boundaries between the underworld and the legitimate economy.

This framing is especially relevant in understanding the ANOM operation, where law enforcement agencies themselves operated within a legal grey zone. The operation—run by the FBI and facilitated by the AFP—involved deception, covert surveillance, jurisdictional evasion, and the strategic use of ambiguous legal authority across multiple territories. In doing so, law enforcement actors assumed roles analogous to those of criminal enterprises, managing a global communications network, manipulating transnational flows of capital and information, and targeting adversaries through extrajudicial means. Like mafia networks that leverage the zone grigie to consolidate influence and avoid prosecution, the ANOM operation reveals how state actors may exploit legal indeterminacy and transnational complexity to evade oversight.

Sciarrone’s insights therefore illuminate how organized crime and state authority can converge within the same structural logic—where what is considered “criminal” or “lawful” is not determined by objective norms but by the power to define and enforce legal categories, as per Quinney’s theory of the social reality of crime. In this light, the ANOM operation is not just an anti-crime measure; it is a performance of sovereignty through lawfare, carried out within the very grey areas that organized crime is said to exploit.

3.5.2 Digital entrapment and state-created criminality

From a legal standpoint, the operation raises entrapment questions, both under Australian and U.S. law. In *Ridgeway v R* (1995) 184 CLR 19, the High Court held that where law enforcement themselves created the opportunity for the offence — particularly where it would not otherwise have occurred — there may be grounds to exclude evidence or even to stay the proceedings. In *Swaffield v R* (1998) 192 CLR 159, the Court recognised that covert surveillance without appropriate judicial oversight could breach individual rights, particularly when it targets the communication of suspected persons, rather than overt

criminal conduct.

In the U.S., entrapment law hinges on two criteria: (1) whether the government induced the individual to commit a crime, and (2) whether the defendant was predisposed to commit it. Courts often side with law enforcement, especially where the defendant has a prior criminal history. But the line becomes blurred when the government manufactures the crime itself. By geofencing ANOM to exclude U.S. users, the FBI avoided exposing American citizens to what may have otherwise constituted unlawful surveillance under the Fourth Amendment, which protects against unreasonable searches and seizures. Instead, the operation was legally justified under Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which allows the U.S. government to surveil non-U.S. citizens located outside of the U.S. without a warrant (Daskal, 2000).

Yet, this selective geofencing also had strategic prosecutorial effects: it excluded U.S. citizens by design, ensuring that the eventual RICO indictment would apply only to foreign citizens. This approach reproduces the “alien conspiracy” theory of organised crime—that crime is something imported into otherwise law-abiding nations. That framing is not simply discursive; it is codified in law, reinforcing the construction of foreignness as criminal. The United States is therefore prosecuting foreign nationals for acts that occurred wholly outside U.S. territory, in systems designed by the U.S. government, with the data obtained through extraterritorial surveillance made possible only through the cooperation of other states—primarily, Australia.

This gives rise to a second concern: the extraterritorial reach of U.S. law enforcement power, enabled by the complicity of allied settler-colonial states. Australia’s participation enabled the U.S. to obtain surveillance and jurisdiction over foreign nationals who would otherwise fall beyond its legal grasp. These individuals are now facing charges under RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act), despite never setting foot in the U.S. This reflects a broader trend of the U.S. asserting not just economic and military dominance, but jurisdictional sovereignty—a kind of global policing power legitimised by

alliances and intelligence-sharing frameworks such as the Five Eyes.

3.5.3 Converging interests? The state as organised crime

Indeed, the ANOM application was geofenced to exclude US users from its service, meaning the surveillance apparatus captured no data from within US borders. This selective targeting is not incidental — it was a deliberate design decision by the FBI to sidestep constitutional restrictions, namely the Fourth Amendment’s protections against unreasonable searches and seizures. Placing the ANOM servers in Lithuania (and another undisclosed jurisdiction) allowed US authorities to argue that the communications data they were collecting fell outside US legal protections, because the surveillance took place on foreign soil and involved non-US persons. This is consistent with Section 702 of the *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act* (FISA), which permits warrantless surveillance of non-US citizens abroad. While not explicitly litigated yet in ANOM, this strategy mirrors constitutional concerns raised in *United States v. Chatrnie*, an ongoing case about the legality of geofence warrants, highlighting growing judicial concern over the reach and ethics of dragnet digital surveillance.

Thus, what we see in ANOM is not merely law enforcement action, but an elaborate lawfare strategy designed to maximise operational impunity while expanding extraterritorial reach. The construction of organised crime as foreign — and as a threat external to the liberal democratic order — is both a narrative and a design architecture in this case. That the RICO indictment only applies to foreign nationals is a logical consequence of that geofencing: the US was never looking inward, but outward — toward the periphery, the foreign, the racialised ‘Other’. This is a textbook example of the Alien Conspiracy Theory in action: the myth that organised crime is always imported, never homegrown — a myth whose perpetuation allows the US to project moral superiority and justify extraterritorial interventions.

But why would the US undertake such an operation if it results in no domestic arrests?

The answer lies in a convergence of strategic, financial, and geopolitical incentives:

1. **Financial gain:** By bringing RICO proceedings, the US can pursue criminal forfeiture of proceeds derived from ANOM — including any revenue, bitcoin, or assets tied to the app’s use. This turns the app into a profit-generating honeypot, with the FBI positioned to reap financial rewards from the very criminal ecosystem it sustained.

2. **Market manipulation:** ANOM enabled the US and its partners to disrupt the global market for encrypted communication devices, a market traditionally dominated by non-US actors like EncroChat and SkyGlobal (both of which were taken down by law enforcement just before ANOM’s release). In effect, law enforcement eliminated competitors and promoted an environment where the only “secure” options are those already compromised or surveilled — often by US intelligence. This has echoes in the US government’s campaign to force the sale of TikTok to a US entity, under the logic that non-US control over digital infrastructure constitutes a national security threat.

3. **Intelligence gathering:** Even without prosecuting US citizens, the ANOM app still offered US agencies a wealth of metadata and content from foreign targets, including those in contact with US-based individuals. In this way, ANOM created an indirect surveillance network for monitoring US persons without directly targeting them — thus exploiting a legal grey area.

Further, the coercive tactics used post-operation also mirror the logic of organised crime groups. The 17 individuals named in the US indictment are not low-level actors; they are well-connected, high-value targets with influence over vast criminal networks. Naming them publicly creates dangerous pressure within their own circles — marking them as potential liabilities, thereby increasing the risk of retaliatory violence. In this sense, the state offers “protection” in exchange for cooperation — much like a mafia organisation offers protection from violence it itself orchestrates.

This is not simply legal prosecution — it is a form of witness intimidation in reverse, where fear of death, betrayal or incarceration are deployed to compel cooperation. The

state's strategy closely mirrors the tactics of organised criminal enterprises: it took over a business by coercing its founder, knocked out rival players, monopolised the communications ecosystem, and then used intimidation and strategic leaks to manipulate actors into compliance — all while evading the laws of its own jurisdiction.

Here, Quinney's theory of the social reality of crime is instructive: the criminal label is constructed by those in power to serve their interests, not because of intrinsic moral failings or harms. The conduct of law enforcement in ANOM — deception, surveillance, jurisdictional manipulation, profit motives, violence or threats thereof — mirrors the very behaviours it claims to target. Yet these behaviours are not criminalised, because the definition of crime is imposed by the state. Under Quinney's third and fourth propositions, those without power are the ones most likely to be criminalised — and in this case, the 'criminal' is foreign, racialised, and always outside the state, even when the state orchestrates the entire affair.

Finally, Foucault's panopticon looms large. ANOM exemplifies the modern surveillance state: users believed they were operating in total privacy, while in reality they were subject to constant, invisible observation. The panoptic power lies not just in surveillance itself, but in the internalisation of surveillance, the possibility that all communications could be monitored at any time. The state, in this model, becomes not just an enforcer, but a god-like observer — present everywhere and nowhere — reinforcing its authority by constructing a threat it then "discovers" and defeats.

In this light, ANOM is not just a policing success; it is a demonstration of the state's sovereign power over information, space, and legality. It is an operation that exists at the nexus of colonialism, capital, surveillance, and control — and one that reveals how the global war on organised crime functions less as a fight against harm than a reassertion of imperial dominance through legal and technological means.

3.5.4 Sovereignty, surveillance capitalism and data colonialism

The ANØM operation ultimately reflects the broader dynamics of surveillance capitalism and its colonial underpinnings, whereby digital infrastructures function as extensions of imperial power. As Zuboff (2019) has argued, surveillance capitalism operates by expropriating behavioural data for profit and control, increasingly without democratic oversight. However, what becomes apparent in ANØM is that surveillance is not merely commercial, but deeply enmeshed in global legal hierarchies. Couldry and Mejias (2019) frame this phenomenon as “data colonialism”: the extraction of data from subjects in the Global South or peripheral zones of empire, to serve the interests of dominant powers. In the ANØM operation, this manifests in the US setting up servers offshore to avoid Fourth Amendment protections, while surveilling non-US persons in jurisdictions with weaker or more permissive surveillance laws, such as Lithuania.

This strategic legal design (geofencing the app to exclude US users while funnelling communications of non-citizens into US-controlled infrastructure) exemplifies the way in which extraterritorial surveillance has been normalised through legal fictions. These fictions are sustained by regimes like Section 702 of the *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act* (FISA), which explicitly permits warrantless surveillance of non-US persons located abroad. The ANØM case thereby reveals how law becomes a vehicle through which the US consolidates control over global digital flows, a digital extension of the state’s monopoly on coercion and information.

Yet this is not a one-way process. The complicity of partner states, such as Australia, in facilitating access to their citizens’ communications, even enabling US criminal proceedings against their nationals under the RICO statute, reveals the vertical alignment of national legal systems under imperial influence. The extraterritorial application of RICO to individuals who have never stepped foot in the United States further erodes the coherence of traditional sovereignty and reveals a troubling reconfiguration of jurisdiction in

the digital age.

3.6 The Aftermath and Future Implications

3.6.1 Impact and effectiveness of Operation Ironside

Assessing the impact of the operation is difficult in terms of the effect that it has on organised crime due to the hidden nature of the phenomenon, law enforcement perspective dominating narratives and lack of empirical evidence. However, rational choice analysis provides a tool to assess the effectiveness of the operation (Friedman, 2000; cf Philip Gounev and Vincenzo Ruggiero (2012)). This framework is premised on the idea that offenders are self-interested individuals who make rational decisions based on a calculation of incentives and disincentives. It is an underlying assumption of this framework that not only that criminals behave as 'rational actors' but that they will respond to changes in their environment, including changes in probability of apprehension and the severity of punishment (Dollery and Wallis (1996)).

Without suggesting rational choice analysis is the best or preferable way to assess the effectiveness of anti-organised crime interventions, it is at least relevant, given that "legal systems and their enforcement mechanisms are mostly or even exclusively based on [rational choice] reasoning, since formal punishment is only applicable to individuals" (Arsovska, 2008). For example, the Queensland *Review of Serious and Organised Crime Legislation*, was specifically charged with determining the extent to which aggravated sentencing regimes had contributed to "the disruption of criminal organisations by way of disincentivising involvement". (Dick (2023)).

For a rational actor assessing the consequences for engaging in crime, relevant is not only the nature of any potential sanction, but the likelihood of detection and enforcement. The likelihood of detection varies between crimes depending on enforcement priorities. To attract the attention of the Commonwealth and intelligence sharing with international

partners, organised crime needs to be serious enough. ‘Seriousness’ is already a vague notion (see Sergi and Lavorgna, 2016; Sergi, 2016) not lending itself to the formulation of a concrete idea as to whether offending is likely to be detected. Further, the complexity and expense involved with investigating organised crime means law enforcement action may be more likely to focus on investigation of crimes that, due to the amounts of cash involved, provide a high return on investment, like drug trafficking.

However, the high profits involved mean that organised crime groups engaged in this type of action also have money to spend on avoiding detection. ANOM was designed precisely because of the difficulties of law enforcement with penetrating these hard encrypted networks. Users of the ANOM platform paid up to USD2000 every six months for access to a speciality phone network that (to their knowledge) could not be accessed by the police. Since it has been taken down, other apps have popped up in its place. Further, the announcement of the ANOM operation may also have caused organised crime groups to go (further) underground, as "organised crime groups could revert to face-to-face meetings after Operation Ironside". This would make it increasingly more difficult for law enforcement to intercede in their operations.

It was a key objective of Operation Trojan Shield to signal to criminalised persons that using a hardened encrypted device believed to be immune to penetration from law enforcement, would not ensure safety from detection. In that way, it sought to increase the perceived probability of detection among the criminalised to deter them from usage of these networks and presumably, from engaging in crime.

The difficulty with that logic is that a) while using the ANOM, criminalised persons assumed law enforcement did not have access to it, therefore did not adequately account for the probability of detection when determining whether to engage in the behaviour; b) given the popularity and profit gained from these apps, it is likely that in future, other apps to which law enforcement does not have access will pop up (and in fact, already have); and c) to the extent that paranoia about law enforcement access creates general deterrence

even in the absence of actual access by law enforcement, alternatives are available (such as meeting face-to-face, using code, or using other means of communications).

In addition, there is also corruption with which to contend. Operation Trojan Shield revealed at least six officials implicated in revealing law enforcement operations to the criminalised participants in the ANOM network. This further decreases the probability of detection, in the absence of a direct line into criminal operations like ANOM. Finally, in terms of deterrence for organised crime generally, it is important to remember that ANOM captured only a very specific type of organised crime activity, namely drug trafficking and related offences, which met the appropriate threshold for seriousness and potential return on investment to justify an international law enforcement operation. Other types of organised crime not meeting that threshold are unlikely therefore to be detected in the same way.

3.6.2 Same old brand new targets

Despite repeated claims that Operation Ironside was a major blow to transnational organised crime, the operation largely focused on localised criminal networks. The transnational element was present only insofar as some offenders were charged with Commonwealth offences relating to the importation of drugs from foreign jurisdictions. This disconnect between the rhetoric of global disruption and the local reality of enforcement was echoed in media reports expressing law enforcement “surprise” at the discovery of cooperation between mafia groups and outlaw motorcycle gangs. Such surprise appears unwarranted, given that these connections were already revealed in an earlier operation as far back as 2010. As Sergi (2021) has observed, this pattern reflects a broader tendency in the Australian approach to the ‘ndrangheta: a “flurry of activity, then collective forgetting.” The cyclical rediscovery of well-established criminal linkages reinforces the notion that policing organised crime is as much about symbolic action and discursive management as it is about substantive disruption.

3.6.3 From back doors to booby traps?

The true success of Operation Ironside was not merely the interception of encrypted messages but rather the strategic infiltration of supply chains used by international criminal networks. Through Operation Trojan Shield, the FBI demonstrated its capacity to distribute hard-coded encrypted devices within these networks, embedding surveillance capabilities at their core.

In 2024, a strikingly similar operation unfolded in Beirut, Lebanon, where hard-coded encrypted pagers used by Hezbollah operatives and some civilians were remotely detonated. Israel has publicly claimed responsibility for the attack but the parallels between this operation and Ironside are difficult to ignore. Both involved the deployment of compromised encrypted devices to penetrate the communication infrastructure of targeted groups.

At the conclusion of Operation Ironside, the Australian Federal Police's deputy commissioner presented Europol with a commemorative plaque featuring an ANOM phone, symbolizing international collaboration.³⁴ Similarly, in the aftermath of the Beirut incident, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu awarded then-U.S. President Donald Trump a plaque adorned with a golden pager, acknowledging U.S. cooperation.³⁵

Could these operations be connected through their shared nexus to the United States? Given the secrecy surrounding intelligence operations of this scale, definitive answers are unlikely to emerge. However, the striking similarities between the two cases suggest a broader pattern in which compromised communication devices serve as tools not only for law enforcement but also for geopolitical and military objectives.

³⁴cite Europol

³⁵cite news article

3.7 Conclusion

The ANØM operation cannot be understood simply as a policing tactic or a counter-crime initiative. It is a paradigmatic example of how surveillance, legal exceptionalism, and digital coloniality intersect. In framing non-citizens as threats outside the scope of constitutional protections, while reaping both intelligence and economic benefit, the US reaffirms itself as both global police and market hegemon. The legal apparatus used to justify this, whether through entrapment standards, extraterritorial statutes, or international cooperation, serves to obscure the extent to which law enforcement now mirrors the very dynamics of transnational organised crime it purports to suppress.

ANØM exemplifies the modern surveillance state: users believed they were operating in total privacy, while in reality they were subject to constant, invisible observation. The panoptic power lies not just in surveillance itself, but in the internalisation of surveillance, the possibility that all communications could be monitored at any time. In this light, ANØM is not just a policing success; it is a demonstration of the state's sovereign power over information, space, and legality. It is an operation that exists at the nexus of colonialism, capital, surveillance, and control. It reveals how the global war on organised crime functions less as a fight against harm than a reassertion of imperial dominance through legal and technological means.

Chapter 4

Probability of behaviours judged as criminal

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines Quinney's fourth proposition that "behaviour patterns are structured in segmentally organised society in relation to criminal definitions, and within this context persons engage in actions that have relative probabilities of being defined as criminal". To determine the relative probability that a behaviour will be defined as criminal, it examines the enforcement outcomes of Operation Ironside. Specifically, it focuses on offenders who have been sentenced, given their behaviours have been adjudicated as criminal by the justice system, while the status of those who have been arrested and awaiting trial is still uncertain. In relation to the cohort of offenders who have been sentenced, it seeks to determine what factors impact the probability and extent to which their behaviour will be judged as criminal, by reference to sentence length, using statistical analysis techniques.

4.2 Theoretical Framework

All people, says Quinney, act according to normative systems learning in relative social and cultural systems, consistent with Sutherland's theory of *differential association*. According to Quinney, it is not the quality of the behaviour, but the action taken against it that makes it criminal, and that which is defined as criminal is defined relative to the behaviour patterns of the power segments of society. That means, "persons in the segments of society whose behaviour patterns are not represented in formulating and applying criminal definitions are more likely to act in ways that will be defined as criminal than those in segments that formulate and apply criminal definitions".

According to Quinney, the probability a person will develop action patterns that have a high potential of being defined as criminal depends on: (1) structured opportunities; (2) learning experiences; (3) interpersonal associations, and (4) self-conceptions. Consistent with labelling theory, Quinney states that those who are criminal begin to conceive of themselves as criminal, and therefore, learn to play the role of criminal. The development of behaviour patterns is related to the self and the behaviour systems in which a person finds themselves situated. These patterns have varying probabilities of being branded as criminal. Quinney states that public branding tends to lead a person to new situation and activities, which, in turn, increases the probability of further criminal definition.

Critical criminologists have revealed a number of insights about how behaviour of groups who are not represented in formulating and applying criminal definitions is more likely to be stigmatised as criminal.

In his seminal text, *The Rich get Richer and the Poor Get Prison*, Reiner identifies the influence of class in sentencing outcomes. He identifies that in studies of individuals accused of similar offence, with similar prior records, show poor defendant likely to be judged guilty compared to the wealthier one. In this respect, he identifies two factors in particular that appear to impact guilty verdicts: whether the accused was free on bail

prior to trial, and the ability of their lawyer to devote adequate time and energy to the case.

Those who are not granted bail cannot assist their case by seeking out witnesses and evidence, therefore are more likely to be convicted than those released. Surveying studies indicating increased conviction rates for those who did not receive bail and who could not afford private counsel, Reiner concludes that "one's chances of beating a rap increases as one's income increases". Research consistently finds discrimination in sentencing based on the offender's class, with the harshest penalties reserved for lower class clients.

4.3 Research Questions

1. To what extent do ethnicity and socio-economic status impact the sentencing of organised crime offenders?
2. What factors (i.e. not relevant to the individual's circumstances, but the offence itself or other circumstances) impact sentence duration?
3. To what extent does sentencing vary between States and Territories, and State/Territory and Commonwealth offences?

4.4 Methodology

A list of offenders, sentence, jurisdiction, suburb, offending details (e.g.: for drug offending, the drug, amount and value) was compiled based on media reports of Operation Ironside. This resulted in a list of 102 offenders with corresponding data. The suburb data was matched with data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics about indicators of economic disadvantage in the suburb or area in which the person was resident (where 1= most indicators of disadvantage and 5= fewest indicators of disadvantage).

Each offender's ethnicity was coded as *ethnic* = *E* or *anglo* = *A*, based on their surname. There were *x* persons included in the dataset that did not have a name (e.g.: 'Sydney man') which were excluded from the data as n/a. The data was imported into a database program in order to facilitate analysis of numerical and alphanumeric data. Based on their charges, each offender was assigned one of the following codes:

Individual offenders were assigned to role categories, coded as follows:

- DI= Drug importer
- DL= Drug logistics, which included anyone involved in the transport of drugs, such as couriers, dealers and traffickers
- POC= Individuals who had an order against them for proceeds of crime
- PO= Possession
- L= Leader of a criminal organisation
- Misc= other roles, such as extortion, kidnapping, assault, driving under the influence, manufacturer
- U = unknown

Where a person had a drug seizure associated with their arrest, they were coded by the type of drug. In the case of more than one drug, the larger amount of drug (by kilograms) was selected. However, for value of drugs seized, the value of all drugs present was determined and assigned to the relevant arrest, and added to any cash amount to determine the total value of the seizure. Value of the drug was calculated by reference to the street value cited. Relevant figures are available in the spreadsheets at **Appendix C (National accused)**.

4.4.1 Methods of statistical analysis

Descriptive statistics were developed to assess the impact of IRSD, state, ethnicity, whether it was a Commonwealth offence or not, whether the offender was sentenced to jail or not, and the average duration of jail times, in months.

An ANOVA analysis supported by a series of two sample t-tests was used to determine whether or not there was a statistically significant relationship between IRSD rank and sentence duration. Two sample f-tests were used to determine whether there were statistically significant differences in the variability of sentences for offenders across IRSD codes.

A one-sided ANOVA supported by 2-sample t-tests were used to assess whether there were statistically significant differences in sentence durations between states/territories. Two sample f-tests were used to determine whether there were statistically significant differences in the variability of sentences between states.

A one-sided ANOVA supported by a 2-sample t-test was used to determine whether there was statistically significant difference in sentence duration by ethnicity. A 2-sample f-test was used to determine if there was a statistically significant difference in variability by ethnicity.

The difference factors presented in the offender dataset were analysed to determine which, if any factors, correlated with sentence duration, using a Pearson correlation test.

The results of the Pearson correlation led to the decision to isolate the offender records in which the amounts of drugs and cash seized was listed as a separate dataset for further examination. This dataset included 27 records. Multiple regression analysis was applied to this dataset to determine whether any factors had a statistically significant influence on sentence duration.

For the sentences, the non-parole period was adopted as the sentence duration.

4.5 Results

4.5.1 Descriptive statistics on ethnicity, IRSD, type of sentence (custodial or otherwise) and State/Territory offence or Commonwealth offence

Results of the descriptive analysis suggest that with the exception of IRSD categories 3 and 4, all other offenders received a jail sentence. The average duration of jail sentence was the longest for offenders in category 1 (average sentence duration = 48 months), for categories 2, 3 and 4, average sentence duration = 42 months, and for category 5, the average was 32 months.

The analysis by state showed that 100% of offenders were jailed in Victoria and South Australia for average durations of 83 months and 69 months respectively. In New South Wales, which had the largest number of sentenced offenders, only 44% were jailed, and 58% of Queensland offenders received jail terms.

The analysis by ethnicity showed that 63% of Anglo offenders were jailed compared to 55% of ethnic offenders, for average durations of 37 and 36 months, respectively.

Queensland had the most Commonwealth offences. An analysis of federal offences nationwide showed that 88% were jailed for an average of 51 months (ranging from 4 months to 192 months, or 16 years). 3 offenders charged with Commonwealth offences did not get sentenced to jail terms. For State level offences, 37% received a jail sentence with average duration of 21 months (ranging from 2 months to 203 months, or 16 years 11 months).

4.5.2 Factors influencing sentence by IRSD rank

The initial one-sided ANOVA analysis of all the data suggested there was no statistically significant difference in average sentence durations for different levels of IRSD. This was confirmed by carrying out a series of 2-sample t-tests comparing two sets of data corresponding to the different IRSD codes. The smallest p-value was found when comparing IRSD 1 to 5, as $p\text{-value} = 0.385$. The largest p-value was found when comparing IRSD code 3 to IRSD code 4, at 0.992. These values are considered large and no statistically significant difference between the groups, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis.

A series of two-sample f-tests were conducted to examine if there were any statistically significant differences in the variability of sentences across the various IRSD codes. The two-sample f-tests suggest that rank 3 has the smallest variability in sentence durations and groups 2, 4 and 5 have higher variability by an amount that is statistically significant.

From the analysis of the total data set we can conclude that there is no statistically significant difference in average duration of sentence between ranks, but there is a statistically significant difference in the variability within ranks. A one-sided ANOVA supported by a series of two-sample t-tests was conducted to assess if there was any statistically significant difference in average sentence durations between states.

4.5.3 Sentence duration, average and variability between states

This showed that there are no statistically significant differences in sentence durations between South Australia and Victoria, but there are statistically significant differences between SA/Vic and NSW, SA/Vic and Queensland, and NSW (average = 32 months) and Queensland, with SA (average = 69 months)/Victoria (average = 83 months) giving the longest average sentences, and Queensland giving the shortest average sentences (average sentence = 6 months).

A series of two-sample f-tests were conducted to assess the difference in variability

in sentencing between states. The results show that there are statistically significant differences in variability between states/territories, namely, as between SA and Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, NSW and Queensland. Queensland (SD = 14 months) exhibited much lower variability than every other state. South Australia (SD = 44 months) and Victoria (SD = 80 months) exhibited much higher variability than the other states.

4.5.4 Sentence duration, average and variability by ethnicity

A one-sided ANOVA analysis was conducted on the data by ethnicity, supported by a two-sample t-test. No statistically significant difference in average sentence duration was found to be applicable to ethnicity. A two-sample f-test was carried out to assess the variability in sentencing and again, no statistically significant difference was found attributable to ethnicity.

IRSD rank = 5 shows the highest count of people with jail time, but also the highest category of people without jail time, with a relatively even balance between them. However, in IRSD rank 1 and 2, and to a lesser extent rank 4, the data shows extreme skewing towards jail time, with almost all offenders in categories 1 or 2 receiving jail time.

A correlation analysis was conducted to determine if there was a statistically significant relationship between any factor or factors in the data and sentence duration. The two factors that appeared to be statistically significant as a result of this analysis were *amount of drugs seized (in kgs)* and *total value of drugs and cash seized*.

The results of the correlation analysis (Pearson coefficient of 0.531 for the amount and 0.533 for value) suggested a strong correlation. On the basis of this result, the records with the amount and value listed against the individual were extracted and examined as a separate dataset, initially using multiple regression, with duration as the dependent variable, and amount and value of seizure as the independent variables.

The regression analysis showed that value alone was the stronger predictor of sentence

duration, with an (adjusted) r-squared value of 48.9%. That is, approximately 49% of the variability in sentence duration can be explained by the value of the seizure. This value could be considered a moderately significant value given the nature of the data (qualitative data coded for analysis).

The IRSD rank was included as an independent variable together with value of the seizure to determine whether its influence on sentence was statistically significant. The resulting multiple regression equation had an (adjusted) r-squared value 58.7%, an increase in almost 10% from value of the seizure, suggesting that the IRSD rank is indeed statistically significant as a factor in developing sentence duration. The p-values for value and IRSD were 0.000 and 0.015 respectively, indicators of strong statistical significance. In addition, an overall adjusted r-squared value of 58.7% would be considered a relatively strong r-squared value for this type of data.

$$\text{Duration} = 107.1 + 0.000001 \times \text{value} - 15.83 \times \text{IRSD rank} \quad (4.1)$$

What is significant about this equation is the negative coefficient in front of the 15.83 suggests that the IRSD rank has a suppressing effect on the sentence. That is, a sentence decreased on average by 15.83 months for every 1-point increase in IRSD rank. It is hypothesised that the reason the IRSD rank did not appear to be statistically significant when assessing the entire database was because the majority of the records did not have an amount or value seized recorded against them. The presence of so many records with a nul amount seized would have had a diluting effect on the IRSD code in a manner to make it appear not statistically significant. The fact that even when considering the entire database, the amount and value seized showed a statistically significant correlation with sentence length, attests to the strength of that variable as predictive of sentence duration.

4.5.5 Impact of role on sentence duration

Impact of role on sentence duration was then examined, with the various individuals bundled into the pre-defined categories in order to facilitate meaningful analysis. When examining the data set where value of seizure was recorded, the impact of role on sentence duration was not found to be statistically significant. However, when examining the remaining part of the overall database where no value or amount is recorded against the seizure, the impact of role was found to be statistically significant.

An attempt at multiple regression using the role code as a categorical variable resulted in a series of regression equations for each role, with an adjusted r-squared value of 46.5% which for this type of data is considered acceptable. The attempted multiple regression analysis on the part of the data with no value recorded resulted in a series of equations, one for each role, showing that the durations are, in the absence of seizure value information, going to be influenced by the role and the IRSD rank. While the accuracy of the equations to predict actual sentence duration given the r-square value, they highlight that the offender's role and the IRSD rank are statistically significant influences in determining sentence duration.

The result obtained with the regression analysis was confirmed by using a one-sided ANOVA analysis which showed that role indeed plays a part in determining sentence duration, for entries where no value of seizure was recorded. For each role, the average sentence was as follows: DI (1.33 months), DL (21.2 months), L (12 months), M (5 months), Miscellaneous (12 months) and for possession (3 months).

4.5.6 Limitations

Limitations in the data was that the majority of the records in the aggregate database had no value of seizure information recorded against offenders. The subset of the data that did have this information showed a strong degree of statistical significance with respect

to the value of the seizure and the IRSD rank being predictive of sentence durations. One may speculate that if most of the records had a value of seizure allocated to them, that this finding would have been reinforced across the total database, in contrast to the initial finding that the IRSD rank was not statistically significant. Overall, an analysis of role revealed that Drug Importers were given the longest sentences. Although sentence duration and IRSD rank was known for all offenders, 20 of the records had Unknown listed for offence, State or Commonwealth.

4.6 Discussion and Analysis

The empirical findings presented here offer critical insights into how the criminal justice system operationalises punishment in the context of organised crime, revealing both patterns of enforcement and deeper structural logics. These patterns must be understood not as neutral outcomes of objective judicial processes, but as products of a broader political economy of criminalisation. Drawing on Quinney's (1970) theory of the social reality of crime, this analysis supports the contention that criminal laws — and their enforcement — do not respond to crime as an objective harm, but serve the interests of dominant social and political groups. The data suggest that sentencing outcomes in Operation Ironside reflect and reinforce existing hierarchies of socio-economic power, territorial sovereignty, and capitalist rationality.

The most robust predictors of sentence severity were the financial value of the drug or cash seizure and the offender's socio-economic status as measured by IRSD. This finding affirms that punishment is closely tethered to perceived economic harm — a key concern of the state under capitalist legal regimes. The stronger the financial scale of the offence, the longer the sentence. Yet this logic reveals the hollowness of rational choice theory as a comprehensive framework: rather than acting as a neutral calculus applied equally to all offenders, rational choice is selectively applied, reflecting classed assumptions about

deterrence and culpability. If rational actors are meant to weigh risks and rewards, then one might expect sentencing to serve as a consistent deterrent mechanism. However, the wide disparities in sentencing between states — particularly between Victoria/South Australia and New South Wales/Queensland — undermine any such coherence, exposing instead a system highly susceptible to discretionary, localised, and political influences.

Moreover, while ethnicity was not found to be a statistically significant predictor of sentencing severity, this does not negate its importance. Critical race theorists remind us that systemic bias often operates upstream of the courtroom — in policing, arrest patterns, and charging decisions — domains not captured in this data. The empirical analysis here can only speak to outcomes post-conviction, and should not be interpreted to suggest racial neutrality within the broader system.

The finding that IRSD rank becomes a significant predictor of sentence length when combined with seizure value — but not when assessed in isolation — is particularly illuminating. It suggests that class-based disparities are not merely a background feature but are activated in relation to the economic scale of the crime. That is, individuals from more disadvantaged communities (lower IRSD rank) who are associated with high-value drug operations are punished more severely than similarly situated offenders from more advantaged suburbs. This supports Quinney’s fourth proposition — that criminal law is enforced most harshly against those whose conduct threatens the interests of dominant segments of society.

The significance of offender “role” in the absence of monetary seizure data further illustrates the way sentencing relies on constructed narratives of culpability and hierarchy. Where quantifiable harm is unavailable, courts default to symbolic hierarchies: importers, dealers, and those occupying central logistical roles are treated as more deserving of punishment than possessors or minor actors, regardless of context. This reinforces the idea that crime is not punished in proportion to actual harm, but according to a constructed image of dangerousness — one that aligns with state narratives of control and moral order.

Taken together, the data supports the thesis that anti-organised crime enforcement is less about preventing harm or dismantling criminal networks than it is about reproducing a particular social order. Sentencing becomes a means through which the state reaffirms its own moral and economic boundaries, penalising those whose actions — or whose identities — challenge its prevailing logics. By examining how sentencing varies by geography, class, and the constructed seriousness of the offence, this chapter contributes empirical support to the argument that the legal definition and enforcement of organised crime is a political and ideological project, not a merely legal or criminological one.

Chapter 5

Dissemination of criminal conceptions by various means of communication

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have considered how organised crime has been defined and enforced in relation to the behaviours that conflict with the interests of the power segments of society, addressing Quinney's second, third and fourth propositions. To address Quinney's fifth proposition, and complete the social reality of organised crime in Australia, this part examines how these criminal conceptions are disseminated through various means of communication, through a media analysis of reporting on Operation Ironside.

Following the narrative turn in legal studies and criminology, this part chapter examines how lawfare operates through storytelling, myth-making, and the strategic deployment of fear. The idea of "organised crime" is not merely a legal category but a narrative construct, shaped by state discourse, media portrayals, and colonial anxieties about threats to social order. As scholars of narrative criminology argue, law is not simply

a system of rules but a mechanism for structuring meaning, determining whose stories are legitimised, whose fears are codified into law, and whose existence is criminalised. Organised crime lawfare functions through this process, reinforcing the settler-colonial state's monopoly on legitimacy by criminalising collective ways of being that challenge assimilationist frameworks.

5.2 Theoretical framework

Crime is more than a legal category—it is a socially constructed phenomenon, shaped by power, ideology, and media narratives (Quinney, 1977). The media captures and frames the broader cultural story about criminal justice. This contributes to the social construction of crime and deviance, that is, to people's beliefs about what is deviant, who is criminal, and how to control crime. In shaping these beliefs, mainstream media depictions of crime and justice generally present messages that conform to and promote the dominant ideology about “the crime problem” and how to manage it (Altheide, 1997), namely through established channels of reactive policing and punitive punishments.

5.2.1 Content analysis

Content analysis is a research method that aims to demonstrate and understand how crime, deviance, and social control are represented in the media, by appraising the meaning and messages within the media sources themselves. Essentially, content analysis aims to reveal a culture's story about crime, providing evidence that allows for a more critical appraisal of how crime and justice are socially constructed. The primary purpose of content analysis in the study of crime and justice has evolved from identifying the prevalence of the topic or terms under study into revealing the cultural frames. Narrative criminology focuses on the form of narratives rather than their content.

There are two primary approaches to conducting content analysis. In quantitative

forms of content analysis, researchers code and count the occurrence of elements designated by the researcher prior to the study. In qualitative forms of content analysis, the researchers focus on the narrative, using an open-ended protocol to record information. The approaches are complementary, as each reveals unique yet overlapping concepts crucial to understanding how the media and popular culture produce and reproduce ideas about crime. The following sections will explore tools for conducting both quantitative analysis (using frame theory) and qualitative analysis (using critical discourse analysis), in the context of organised crime.

5.2.2 Framing theory and organised crime

Media coverage of crime is necessarily selective. Journalists must decide what aspects to highlight, what to downplay, and what to exclude entirely—a process known as framing (Entman, 1993). Frames help audiences make sense of complex social phenomena like organised crime, by assigning causation, blame, and moral significance to events (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). In criminology, these functions have been widely studied in relation to crime framing, where media narratives do not simply report criminal activity but actively shape public perceptions of criminal behaviour, criminal actors, and the appropriate responses of the state (Chermak, 1997; Surette, 2015). Applying Quinney's theory of the social reality of crime, it becomes evident that media framing of crime aligns with dominant power structures, reinforcing state interests and legitimising existing hierarchies (Quinney, 1970). Rather than offering a neutral account of crime, media discourse selectively constructs crime problems in ways that justify increased policing, harsher sentencing, or political interventions, depending on the dominant agenda.

Frames shape how organised crime is understood, who is blamed, and what policy responses are considered necessary. This analysis will consider, in particular, the national security frame, a discourse that has emerged around framing organised crime in the discourse.

The national security frame, is a media framing technique that constructs crime as an existential threat to the nation, often linking it to terrorism, transnational crime, or foreign infiltration (Entman, 1993; McLeod & Detenber, 1999). This frame operates within broader securitization discourses (Buzan et al., 1998), which shift crime from a social issue to a national security crisis, demanding extraordinary state interventions.

Media employ specific rhetorical and discursive techniques to construct crime as a national security issue. War metaphors are particularly common, framing crime-fighting through the lens of conflict (e.g., “war on cartels”) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), where law enforcement is the last line of defence against an invading force. Additionally, crisis language amplifies public fear, portraying crime as an urgent and escalating threat requiring immediate action (Altheide, 2006).

The national security frame links organised crime to foreign criminal organisations, ethnic gangs, and terrorist networks (Hall et al., 1978; Welch, 2006). As Woodiwiss and Hobbs note, “the activities of ‘aliens’, newcomers and immigrants are particularly susceptible to moral panics related to untestable concepts such as organised crime” (Balcaen et al. 2006). This moral panic has its roots in Alien Conspiracy Theory.

Even when ethnicity of the offender is not explicitly mentioned, organised crime is often framed as an imported, external problem (Young and Allum, 2012; Pruss, 2018; Sarno, 2014), rather than caused by systemic failures in the relevant country (Pruss, 2018; Young & Allum, 2012). Critical theorists highlight the dangerous consequences of the national security frame, particularly its role criminalising entire communities (Lyon, 2007; Zedner, 2009), reinforcing an “us vs. them” binary (Said, 1978; Pickering, 2001), and expanding state surveillance.

This frame cultivates a climate of fear that can be strategically exploited for political purposes, legitimising extraordinary law enforcement measures and expansions of state surveillance (Altheide, 2017).

5.2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) examines how dominant language structures reinforce power dynamics, shaping both the perception of reality and reality itself (Foucault, 1977). By analysing discourse, CDA seeks to uncover how dominant groups construct versions of reality that serve their interests, legitimising existing power relations while marginalising alternative perspectives (van Dijk, 1993). Through linguistic choices, media and other institutions make unequal power relations appear natural, common-sense, and inevitable, even when they are rooted in prejudice, injustice, and structural inequities (Fairclough, 2000).

CDA is grounded in the idea that discourse is shaped and constrained by social structures such as class, status, ethnicity, gender, and culture (Fairclough, 2000). Language does not merely reflect reality but plays an active role in constructing and reinforcing social hierarchies. Newspaper discourse, for example, is not a neutral transmission of facts but a curated representation shaped by editorial choices, ideological positions, and institutional interests (Richardson, 2007). As Fairclough argues, “every aspect of textual content is the result of a choice”—meaning that the way issues are framed in media is not simply a response to public demand but an active construction that reflects broader power structures.

To analyse these choices, CDA focuses on the strategic use of linguistic and rhetorical tools that manipulate reader perceptions. Huckin (2007) identifies key techniques used in media discourse, including:

- Headlines and keyword choices that establish the dominant frame of an issue.
- Omissions and unstated assumptions that subtly shape meaning by excluding alternative perspectives.
- Selective sourcing and quotation practices that privilege certain voices and marginalise

others, reinforcing hegemonic viewpoints.

- Register and modality (tone of certainty and authority) that influence how information is received and interpreted.
- Agency and capitalisation, which determine how responsibility is assigned or obscured in reporting.
- Insinuation and connotation, which introduce subjective bias while maintaining an appearance of objectivity.

By exposing these discursive strategies, CDA reveals how media and other institutions construct social meaning in ways that reinforce dominant ideologies while silencing alternative narratives. This analytical approach is particularly relevant in studying crime discourse, where the framing of criminality, law enforcement, and justice can shape public perception and policy in ways that serve state and elite interests. Critical discourse analysis asks, who is framed as criminal? How are they portrayed? Who is decriminalised?

Critical scholars have noted certain trends regarding the depiction of race, class and gender in the discourse on organised crime. The media overemphasize race when covering street-level organized crime while downplaying elite white criminal networks (Hall, 1978). The recent literature reveals that organized crime in general is overwhelmingly portrayed by Western (other than Italian) media as a foreign phenomenon (Pruss, 2018; Levia and Bright, 2015; Sarno, 2014; Young and Allum, 2012). Lower-class offenders are depicted as inherently dangerous, middle-class offenders are depicted as strategic and rational businesspeople (Di Ronco & Lavorgna, 2016), while elite and corporate offenders are not described as criminals nor their actions described as crimes at all, but “accidents” and “scandals” (Horn, 2024; Burns and Orrick, 2002).

5.3 Literature Review

Anxieties around crime and immigration in Western countries have assured the pervasiveness of the ‘alien conspiracy theory’ framing of organised in news media¹²

In a comparative study, Young and Allum (2014) found that the German and British press both construed organised crime as a foreign threat, but in different ways. In Germany, press focused on threat posed by foreign offenders *within* Germany, consistent with xenophobic narratives about ethnic enclaves forming in some parts of the country. By comparison, British press focused on organised crime *abroad*, deflecting from organised crime and government failure in the UK. It is clear that although organised crime is framed as a foreign threat, it is shaped by local anxieties.

However, in territories in which organised crime is a ‘homegrown’ phenomena, alternative frames for ‘making sense’ of organised crime must be employed. In Mexico, Ramirez & Muniz (2018) found press reported on cartel violence against business owners less than their international counterparts,³ but in cases where violence couldn’t be ignored, Schedler (2022) found Mexican press framed it as the cost of doing business in a context inhabited by rational perpetrators, suspicious victims and subordinate politicians.⁴ Likewise, viewing organised crime activity as the inevitable outcome of an interplay between ‘rational actors’ was a frame which Di Ronco & Lavorgna (2016) identified in Italian media to explain mafia activities.

Although Mexico, Italy and Germany each have different experiences of organised crime, the appearance of the ‘rational actor’ frame across contexts is likely a result of pervasiveness of the ‘transnational organised crime’ concept that views organised crime as both a local and global phenomenon. Sheptycki (2007) has identified identified how

¹[pruss_german_nodate](#); Eski and Sergi, 2024; Leiva and Bright, 2015; A. B. K. Young and Allum, 2012.

²Morgan, Dagistanli, and Martin, 2010.

³Ramirez and Muñiz, 2018.

⁴Schedler, 2022.

media depictions of 'transnational organised crime' serve the interests of law enforcement by providing the justification for intelligence-led policing and international cooperation. Likewise, Rawlinson (1998) identified how 'Red Scare' rhetoric and Cold War tropes present in reporting on Russian organised crime reinforced a simplistic ideas about the ill-effects of communism compared to capitalism,⁵ justifying the existence of the latter, even though both systems can produce deleterious effects.

As dominant interests change over time, so too do media representations. While in Italy mafiosi have typically been depicted by media in a negative light, Renga (2020) identified how Italian media have begun to 'glamorise' the mafia.⁶ To explain this about face, Saviano (2017) points to the influence of Hollywood,⁷ while Braude (2016) highlights how rehabilitated notions of an old, noble Italian mafia support fears of a so-called new Nigerian mafia said to be operating in Sicily,⁸ the folk devil of a moral panic around immigration in Italy. Social anxieties shape not just the nature of media depictions but also their volume. In explaining a lack of media coverage on organised crime, Leiva & Bright (2015) and Sarno (2014) suggested it could be explained by a popular preoccupation with terrorism at that time, instead.⁹ It is unclear whether a waning interest in terrorism since the end of the disastrous 'war on terror' has impact coverage of organised crime.

'Mafiacation' is a recent trend in media depictions of organised crime identified by Eski & Sergi (2024),¹⁰ who describe the tendency of media and law enforcement to refer to the inherent Italianness of organised crime. They identify the 'mafia-cation' of organised crime in a purposive sample of Dutch media news articles, suggesting this trend reflects a broader xenophobic narratives in Dutch society that sees colonial tools of repression used against the ethnic Other. In an inexplicably defensive response, Soudijin & Kruisbergen (2024) challenge Eski & Sergi's (2024) identification of the 'mafia-cation' of organised

⁵Rawlinson, 1998.

⁶Renga, 2020.

⁷Saviano, 2017.

⁸Braude, n.d.

⁹Leiva and Bright, 2015; Sarno, 2014.

¹⁰Eski and Sergi, 2024.

crime in Dutch media, from a methodological point of view.¹¹ Without impugning the theory of 'mafiafication', they consider that a purposive sample of newspaper articles is not sufficient to test the theory, countering with their own review of Dutch media to arrive at the opposite conclusion. Both Soudijn & Kruisbergen and Eski & Sergi call on further research to establish or dispute the theory of 'mafiafication' in other countries.

Examining ethnic stereotypes in reporting on organised crime in Australia more generally, Leiva & Bright (2015) did not find evidence of bias in the reporting on ethnic organised crime.¹² It is unclear if this would still be the case, considering how the media generated a moral panic around African gangs in Victoria in 2016,¹³ and since the decline in broadsheet journalism in Australia towards pay-walled, tabloid style online articles. However, since then, no studies could be identified about the depiction of organised crime as a phenomenon in Australian media. This is despite the flurry of media activity about Operation Ironside over the past three years, which appeared as much a media event as it did a police operation.

This chapter will address the gaps identified in the literature by examining the content, consequences and causes of representations of organised crime in relation to reporting on Operation Ironside by mainstream media in Australia. In doing so, it seeks to respond to the following research questions:

1. What frames does the Australian media adopt to 'make sense' of organised crime in relation to Operation Ironside?
2. To what extent does Australian media coverage evidence the 'mafiafication' of organised crime and what function does this serve in Australian society?
3. What role is played by ethnicity, class and gender in relation to causes and culpability for organised crime?

¹¹Soudijn and Kruisbergen, 2024.

¹²Leiva and Bright, 2015.

¹³Kemp, 2016; "Victoria Police warn against linking carjackings to Apex gang" 2016.

4. How does the conception of organised crime constructed by the mainstream media interact with its legislative definition and enforcement priorities in Australia to create the social reality of crime?

5.4 Methodology

In addition to the benefits of adopting Operation Ironside as a case study, there are some specific advantages for the purposes of a media analysis. Adopting a case study approach allows more in-depth study of the themes and characters that arise and trends to be identified over time. It also allows for a comparison of media coverage with the actual charges laid and accused apprehended, to determine how and to what extent this reality is selectively presented. A downside is that it defines organised crime by reference to a law enforcement operation, rather than the outlet's definition of what constitutes organised crime, which risks omitting different perspectives. However, given the well-documented framing of crime news according to the law enforcement perspective in any case, this was not considered to be a significant disadvantage. That is, the lack of other perspectives is likely to be a feature of any reporting on organised crime, rather than Operation Ironside in particular.

5.4.1 Conducting the search for articles

Newspaper articles were selected as the object of study. While traditional print newspapers are in decline, each of the major papers in Australia maintain an online presence, with articles able to be linked and shared on social media. At the very least, this typically allows an article title and preview to be read for free by a non-subscriber. While many people receive their news from other sources these days, like individual journalists on social media, this study was interested in understanding what the mainstream media was reporting on Operation Ironside. Further, the high concentration of newspaper ownership

in Australia, where 84 per cent of newspapers are owned by four conglomerates, results in a small number of entities wielding significant influence over the public discourse. This presents a unique opportunity to analyse how dominant narratives are constructed and reinforced, offering insight into the ways in which hegemonic perspectives shape public understanding of organised crime.

To cover all major newspaper outlets, a search was run for the following terms “Operation Ironside” with the filters “Only Australia/New Zealand” on the following databases on ProQuest and NexisUni.

This search was run across the period of study, namely in 2022, 2023 and 2024. Search results and related details (including title, date, publication outlet in which it appeared) were exported and combined into a spreadsheet, with duplicate articles by the same outlet eliminated.

To analyse the articles for relevant frames, both quantitative and qualitative content analysis was used. Given a previous study on depiction of organised crime in Australia yielded 1700 results over a ten-year period (Leiva & Bright, 2015), it was expected that the cohort of articles that would be returned from searching for Operation Ironside would yield results in the low hundreds, allowing for full text review of the population of articles. However, given the number of results exceeded this estimate, with 1595 results returned for the three year period. Therefore, it was decided that, for the purposes of the thematic analysis, only titles would be reviewed, consistent with what the public would see of the article.

To facilitate a deeper analysis of media depictions of these themes, ethnicity, class and gender, South Australia was selected for focus, so that media depictions could be compared against the ‘reality’ of offenders and charges.

5.4.2 Coding the data

For the quantitative analysis, codes were developed based on the literature, to capture the type of offending was associated with ‘organised crime’ (“violence”, “drugs”, “money laundering”), law enforcement as narrator (“copaganda”), criminal organisations (“OMCG” and “mafia”), as well as codes for the frames of “national security” and “moral panic”, and concepts associated with those frames, namely “ethnic organised crime” and “transnational organised crime”. After an initial review of the articles, additional codes were developed as part of an iterative process to capture unique themes that arose in the reporting, regarding the offender (“individual mentioned”), related legal processes (“bail”, “jail”, “asset freezing/confiscation”) and further developments related to Ironside (“powers”), to facilitate later critical discourse analysis. While most of the articles were straightforward to code because they mentioned the code word in the title, there were other keywords specific to the reporting that were identified and used to code articles, as indicated in the table below.

| Code | Keywords (other than category name) |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Violence | Assault; Bash |
| Drugs | Meth; dope; coke; cocaine; ice; pills; fantasy |
| OMCG | Bikies; Comancheros; OMCG; Rebels; Hells Angels; Finks; Buddle |
| Copaganda | AFP; cop; police |
| Mafia | Gangster; mob; ‘Ndrangheta; Godfather; clan; Italian families |
| Transnational organized crime | International; mention of another country; transnational organized crime; global; border |
| Individual mentioned | Person’s name; [suburb] man/woman; occupation |
| National security | Border; international |

Table 5.1: Coding Categories and Associated Keywords

Articles were coded with all relevant themes that applied, rather than with one code exclusively. This approach inhibited certain types of statistical analysis, given the categories are not discrete, but provided for a more fulsome picture of the themes in the

reporting and their interrelationships to be formed. The articles and their codes are available at **Appendix A (ProQuest)** and **B (NexisUni)**

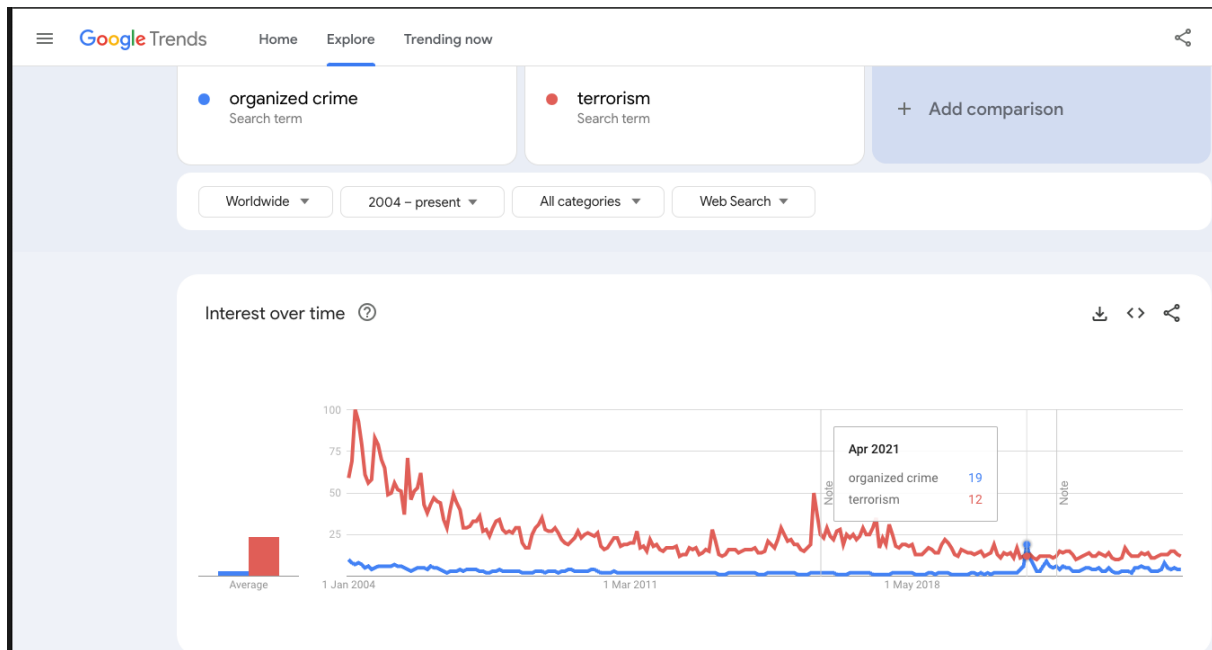


Figure 6.2: Interest over time, terrorism versus organised crime, as measured by Google Trends. Increased interest in organised crime overtook declining interest in terrorism in April 2021.

indicate that Operation Ironside has increased appearance of the term ‘organised crime’ in Australian media. Note, as per 6.2, how this coincides with a decline in interest in terrorism and a spike in interest in organised crime (likely due in part to the debut of *Law & Order: Organized Crime* on April 1, 2021). This piqued interest in organised crime was the context two months prior to the announcement of Ironside.

6.1 Overview of themes employed in coverage

Overall, the following themes emerged from reporting on Operation Ironside:

1. **Operation Ironside as the ‘largest ever’ with a corresponding huge impact on the underworld:** reports emphasise the size of the operation, referring to it as the "*STING OF THE CENTURY*" and "*the ‘most significant’ police operation in Australian history*" the corresponding huge impact on criminal networks is taken as given, with headlines reporting "*how global sting led to huge drug seizures and*

1000 arrests" and the "eye-watering amount in money, assets seized by the AFP". The sting was said to have caused "upheaval in the underworld" with some reports claiming "sting put a giant hole in bikie gangs" according to law enforcement.

2. **Organised crime means bikies, mafia, dealers, engaged in large-scale drug operations:** who constitutes 'organised crime' is made explicit through headlines like 'mafia, bikies and dealers beware', with bikies receiving the most attention (X amount of articles), followed by mafia (X amount of articles). Drugs dominate the reporting (X amount of articles), with the large sizes of seizures emphasised ("*\$1B drug bust leaves a mark*", "*largest ever drug bust*", "*SA's biggest cocaine bust*").
3. **Law enforcement as public protectors:** reporting highlights how police "*kept billions of dollars of drugs off our streets*" or prevented violence in the form of a "*murder plot foiled*".
4. **Bikies as violent:** is headlined in the form of admissions of violence from bikies who "*admit shooting house*" and "*admit bashing stranger*", linking bikies with violent crimes, like the "*bikie arrested for Hindmarsh shooting*" or the "*bikie guilty of brutal assault*".
5. **Crime doesn't pay:** another theme of reporting was indicating the consequences of engaging in crime, specifically the loss of assets by bikies, like "*waterfront mansion among assets to be seized by police*", "*\$1m watch and Ferrari coupe seized*", "*luxury cars, gold bullion found in raid*". Other headlines focused on the wealth possessed by the accused, like "*IRONSIDE ASSET FREEZE TOPS \$30M*" or "*eye-watering amount in money, assets seized by the AFP*".
6. **Criminal responses to the operation are inevitable and law enforcement is not blameworthy:** articles observed that there may be a "*possible Sydney underworld war after ANOM sting*" as if it is describing an uncontrollable event

like the weather, rather than one precipitated by law enforcement action. Likewise, articles note that the "*op has coke price fizzing*" without engaging with how the operation has therefore increased the profits of organised crime. Nor does the fact criminal networks are "*ready to replace arrested dealers*" occasion engagement with any futility of the operation in dismantling criminal networks.

7. **Rockin' the suburbs:** moral panic framing around how the threat posed by organised crime is everywhere yet invisible, highlighting that "*suburban meth labs hide in plain sight*" and that anyone could be "*living next door to the mob*". This included interactive maps that implored the reader to discover if "*a 'super' meth lab [has] been busted in your suburb*".
8. **One bad apple... doesn't fall far from the tree:** reporting emphasised familial relationships between offenders, with five relationships (uncle/nephew, brothers, etc.) between ten of the offenders highlighted.
9. **Organised crime is hierarchical:** implied vertical configurations of organised crime groups through references to "*kingpins*" and "*middle rung offenders*". Offenders with minimal contact with the underworld were typically said to be manipulated, tricked or duped into committing crime.
10. **The 'underworld' versus the legitimate economy:** The implied existence of parallel economies was clear in references to "*Telstra shop of the underworld*" as if separate sites exist for the underworld and "*home flipper or coke capo?*" as if it occupation was either one or the other.
11. **Ethnic organised crime:** organised crime groups and phenomena were referred to by their ethnic characteristics, like "*Italian mafia*", "*CHEAP AFGHAN METH THREAT*", "*Albanian crime syndicate*".
12. **No honour among thieves:** implication that criminal groups have a grudge

against or are at war with each other, by casting working relationships between them as a form of disloyalty, like "enemies for show, mates for dough". Organised crime is said to be facilitated by 'trusted insiders' in the transportation industry, at airports, ride-sharing companies that provide the nexus between the criminal underworld and the legitimate economy. In later reports the implied disloyalty of these actors would become more explicit through a change in vernacular from 'trusted insider' to 'double dealer' who 'plays both sides'.

6.2 Crime type and offender type

The focus of reporting on Operation Ironside was on *drug offending*, mentioned in a nearly a quarter of all article titles (26%), followed by violence and money laundering. This is broadly consistent with the theme of articles identified in the literature review.

In terms of the offenders identified as organised criminals, this was most commonly bikies (13%), who were mentioned three times as often as the next most common organised crime group, *mafia* (4%). Transnational organised crime was mentioned about as often as ethnic organised crime (4%) which is a departure from Leiva & Bright's finding that 11% of articles mentioned ethnic organised crime. This may be explained by the fact that *mafia* was a separate tag, and most of the references to ethnic organised crime were to Italian mafia, although Mexican meth, Taiwanese meth rings and Albanian organised crime groups were also specifically mentioned.

Police were the primary narrators in just over a quarter of article titles (26%), which is a conservative figure, as it was only applied to article titles that explicitly mentioned police operations or quotes from police directly. In terms of related enforcement processes, articles about seizures were most common (10%), followed by those about bail (4%) and custodial sentences (4%).

6.3 Law enforcement as primary definer

Perhaps the most dominant feature of the reporting on Operation Ironside is the law enforcement frame. This aligns with research on police-media relations, which suggests that law enforcement agencies act as “primary definers” of crime (Hall et al., 1978), setting the terms of public debate while sidelining alternative perspectives from civil rights groups, criminologists, or legal scholars. This might be unsurprising considering that Operation Ironside was a police operation, therefore law enforcement holds most of the information about Operation Ironside. However, what is interesting to consider is what the reporting says about the relationship between the media and law enforcement, and the respective role of each in Australian society in terms of constructing the social reality of organised crime.

6.3.1 Structural determinants of media narratives on crime: the media as ‘trusted insiders’ of police

The coverage of Operation Ironside begins on June 7, 2022, with its announcement splashed across the front pages of newspapers in every capital city. This was supported in many states with a listing of every person apprehended in the raids and their suburb. Coverage of the operation continued in several media outlets over the next three years, with syndicated articles appearing in multiple outlets owned by the same consortium, with titles adjusted depending on the outlet. The symbiotic relationship between media and police is clear from the outset, as despite the secret nature of the operation, members of the press were invited into police operations centre to witness the raids and arrests as they took place in real time (“*Inside the sting*”). In this way, Operation Ironside was just as much a media event as it was a policing operation. Without police going to media, it would have remained a secret operation addressing crime that is not visible to most

Australians. It is only through the publication of the outcomes that Australia even knew it occurred and that the type of organised crime it targeted exists.

The line between police and the press was perhaps most obvious in reporting from the Daily Telegraph, a Sydney tabloid. The Daily Telegraph published almost anything relevant to Operation Ironside, while other outlets were more discerning in terms of what aspects they considered newsworthy. However, even where other outlets were more selective in their focus, they nonetheless centred the official narrative in various ways.

The Advertiser, the major newspaper of Adelaide, had the most articles on Operation Ironside of any outlet, even more than outlets in the major cities of Sydney and Melbourne. This can likely be explained by *The Advertiser* having higher number of persons arrested as part of Ironside than New South Wales and Victoria, coupled with the fact that Adelaide tends to generate fewer newsworthy stories than Sydney and Melbourne. Operation Ironside and its related fallout in the courts met the criteria of ‘newsworthiness’: it provided an ongoing stream of titillating stories in a city where “nothing ever happens”. Likewise, the approach of stationing reporters at institutions likely to generate newsworthy stories, like the courts, was evident here, with a significant number of articles within South Australia’s coverage on Operation Ironside following the court appearances of accused.

The articles employ a heroic framing of law enforcement, in a variety of ways. Police are cast as heroes in a good vs evil fight against crime (“*cops who saved our kids*”, “*forensic ninjas*”, “*it’s a cops and robbers reboot*”) and their ingenuity and effectiveness is praised effusively (“*ingenious new plan to trap crims*”, “*secret trick to trap crims*”, “*best of the best*”, “*our law enforcers are second to none*”). Likewise, the inevitability of a law enforcement victory is foreshadowed (“*AFP has a message for organised crime – we will outsmart you and we will be a step ahead of you*”), implied to be due to the doggedness and determination of law enforcement (“*Cops vow to give Angels hell in bikie blitz*”, “*we’re coming: top cop’s stark warning to crooks yet to be busted under Operation*

Ironside”, “*Cops hellbent on bikies*”).

Police were given an ‘authoritative’ voice in articles, being directly credited for propositions, evident in titles like *Organised crime on rise, says top cop*, contributing to moral panic. This gives the impression that the increase in organised crime is a fact, rather than simply a matter of opinion. “*Says top cop*” reinforces the authoritativeness of the statement, as a confident assertion (“says”) by a highly qualified individual “top cop” even where article presents no supporting evidence nor parameters for the assertion that organised crime is rising (e.g.: rising by how much? Compared to when?), except for the opinion of law enforcement. A lack of questioning of police narratives contributed to bolstering the authoritativeness of their voice. This is clearest in reporting on the ‘success’ of the operation, which is taken for granted. Headlines declare, in relation to Operation Ironside, “*giant sting puts hole in bikie gang*” and the “*underworld [is] unravelling*”.

Here two matters are taken for granted: the operation had the effect that it was said to have had; but perhaps more importantly, that even if it did have that effect, the metrics for measuring success are valid. For example, the media reports, in the context of Ironside’s success, significant seizures and arrests. Where questions were used, it was in service to bolstering police credibility, by raising and addressing questions that may arise about the operation. For example, the police decision to publicise Operation Ironside outcomes gives rise to questions around why police relinquished their direct line into the underworld. Some may ask, wouldn’t it be more useful to keep this secret, giving law enforcement a direct line into the world of organised crime forever? This was anticipated by media (‘*Sting of the century*’ but why the need to tell all now?), who answered their own question (“*Legal authority ran out*”) for their audience.

This focus on police effectiveness was coupled with techniques obscuring or minimising police misconduct or incompetence. For example, the headline, *Bikies accuse cops of controversial tactic* softens police falsifying an affidavit as a ‘controversial tactic’, framed as an ‘accusation’ from a group of people considered to be criminal, negating their author-

ity. Where the source of the criticism is not unreliable, such as a court, the role of police is disguised through use of the passive voice. Take, for example, the headline "*lawyers cash returned*", which entirely obfuscates that police offers illegally seized money from a lawyer's trust account without telling the lawyer, causing them to be in default of their legal obligation to account for trust monies without knowing how or why.

Another title reporting the same event obscures police involvement by focusing on another actor entirely ("*prosecutors told to return lawyer's cash*"), even though they were not responsible for the underlying action. Police incompetence is likewise framed with indirect language, like "*Evidence in Bachelorette contestant's drug case gone missing*" disguising that it could only be the police who misplaced it. Only few articles questioned police tactics: one as to whether busts were the appropriate solution ("*Operation Ironside: drug busts will never top policy reform as a lasting fix*", "*community approach to tackle drugs*") with another questioning police's characterisation of the threat posed by organised crime ("*As organised crime makes headlines, are bikie gangs the threat they are made out to be?*"), and a third condemning the AFP targeting Calabrian 'ndrangheta ("*Mafia tag was racist*")

Attention is also diverted away from any suggestion of police complicity with organised crime, attributing the entry of drugs into the country as due to the ingenuity of organised crime ("*dummy runs and UV ink to sneak in drug cargo*", "*SOPHISTICATED AND CRIMINAL*"), infiltration of organised crime ("*crims guard border*", "*airport crew charged*", "*freight 'insiders' linked to crime*") and institutional failure ("*airport loophole to close*"). While the reporting is clear and direct about the actors who assist organised crime (e.g.: "*Truckie was 'trusted insider of drug gang'*"), even though the raids were leaked to organised criminals ahead of time. Rather than highlight what leaks about police raids suggests about either police corruption or incompetence, the Daily Telegraph titled its article to spins the leak in a way that emphasised police effectiveness, claiming that "*Underworld raid leak played straight into police hands*". Perhaps because of the

obvious implication that the leak came from police, the same article was re-titled and re-run by the Daily Telegraph the next day, with an article title referring to “*Mystery of who leaked cop raids*”. The article uses indirect language, like that Operation Ironside was “*leaked to the underworld the night before the raids began*”, disguising the party who did the leaking, and dismissing speculation as to who by noting that “*the origins of who sent the message [disclosing the raids] remains unclear*”. There was no reporting in Australia of the six corrupt officials discovered as a result of ANOM, with that article appearing in a Canadian paper.

Given the articles are heavily skewed in favour of law enforcement, it is interesting to consider the few articles that can be deemed as containing some degree of criticism of the operation, in terms of what kind of criticism is "allowed". The lack of action on corruption is highlighted, through articles lamenting “different laws for crime and corruption” and police “going gangbusters on crime while integrity watchdog goes missing”. Criticism levelled directly at police is always directly linked to an unreliable source, like criminals (“*bikies’ claim cops trying to ‘break’ members in jail*”).

6.3.2 Case Study: "——- as serious as terror". Media adaptation of police narratives to resonate with local anxieties throughout Australia.

The variation in headlines across cities suggests not just media reliance on police narratives, but also regional adaptation by media of those narratives to be most persuasive or resonant with their target audience, summarised at 6.3.

In Sydney, The Daily Telegraph ran the headline “Bikies a ‘national security threat’”, focusing specifically on bokie gangs rather than organised crime as a whole. This choice reflects Sydney’s ongoing political debate over anti-bokie laws and law enforcement lobbying for expanded policing powers. Meanwhile, in Canberra, the narrative was further



Figure 6.3: Inter-state variation between News Corp headlines, “_____ as serious a problem as terror” (June 17, 2021)

localised to the Australian Capital Territory, with the headline “AFP compares bikie gangs to terrorism”. In regional centres such as Townsville, Cairns, Geelong, and the Gold Coast, headlines declared that “Organised crime [is] just as bad as terrorism”.

In contrast, Melbourne’s media deployed a more definitive, urgent framing, with headlines stating “ORGANISED CRIME AS BAD AS TERRORISM” in all capital letters.

6.4 *Bikies and mafia and dealers, oh my!* Framing organised crime as a national security threat

Media coverage appeared to be evidencing a pivot towards, or expansion of, the national security threat posed by terrorism, to cover bikies. The linkage between terrorism and bikies is not new, being deployed by former SA Premier Mike Rann in justifying the passage of the *Serious and Organised Crime Act* (2008) (SA) that contained the first anti-association measures of any Australian jurisdiction.

However, what is different here is the concerted effort to paint bikies not just as terrorists but specifically as a national security threat, through headlines replete with military analogies such as “war” (“*Kershaw promising success in drug war but he can’t say how*”, “*force declares war on angels*”, “*the lavish spoils of war*”), blitz (“**Blitz** planned to smash notorious bokie gang” “Buninyong home raided as part of **blitz**”), battle (“Battle for Ironside loot) and “fighting on the frontlines” (“how banks, ASIC are **fighting on the frontlines** against financial crime”).

According to reporting on Ironside, Australia was in the grips of multiple drug crises, including a “meth crisis” (“*Meth use persists as most illicit drug use dives: ACT wastewater report*”), “ice crisis” (“*study reveals ‘wicked’ grasp ice has on Aussies*”, “*Aussies second biggest ice users*”) and “cocaine crisis” (“*COCAINE CRISIS SPECIAL INVESTIGATION*”). Media used emotive language when characterising the seriousness of the “ice crisis” by invoking its impact on children (“*kids real victims in meth crisis*”, “*parents choose ‘meth over milk’ in ice crisis*”), exaggerating size of the problem (“*super meth labs hide in plain sight*”, “*giant pill press plans*”, emphasis added), as well as its significance and urgency, through capitalised headlines like “THREAT TO OUR WAY OF LIFE”. Drawing almost exclusively from law enforcement sources reporting blames bikies (“*Comancheros state’s biggest drug dealers*”), mafia (“*how mafia families control*

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drug trade”) and drug dealers (“40+ NSW cocaine dealers named after research reveals the tragic toll of drug use”) and other associates for the various drug crises facing Australia (“bikies, mafia and dealers beware”, “mafias, bikies, lawyers in gun”). Only two articles could be identified that contradicted the law enforcement narrative, which questioned the exaggerated nature of the bikie threat (“are bikies the threat they’re made out to be?”) and the novelty of the mafia threat (“a flurry of activity, then collective forgetfulness: 100 years of the ’Ndrangheta in Australia), both written by criminologists”).

In addition, consistent with the moral panic frame, articles referred to a supposed increased crime rate (“organised crime on rise, warns top cop”), crime waves (“crime wave risk as borders open, says Reece Kershaw”, “fears of war on streets”, “spate of underworld attacks”) and impending violence (“Cops warn of ‘major escalation’ in crime wars”, “Police fear ‘suspiciously quiet’ Hells Angels are set for power play”). Bikies bore the brunt of the blame, with nearly 13% of articles about bikies, who were described as “armed and dangerous” and “vicious” therefore deserving of law enforcement attention (“why we must bust bikies”).

In terms of their role in the so-called drug crises, bikies were mentioned mostly in relation to the meth crisis (“boxer meth bikie, detectives claim”, “Operation Ironside: Comanchero associate Tevita Ofahengaue charged with trafficking meth”, “Comancheros are state’s biggest drug dealers”). Mafia was also scapegoated for the drug crises, but they were associated mostly with the cocaine crisis (“mafia plot to important cocaine”, “mafia, bikies linked to cocaine operation”, “home flipper or coke capo?”).

These ‘folk devils’ are said to be targeting innocent Australians (“how international crime gangs are targeting everyday Aussies: AFP Commissioner”), even when they are involved in offending (“meth courier ‘in over his head”, “grower a ‘patsy’ in Ironside drug ring”).

Likewise, the articles also reflected the tendency of moral panics to depict courts as weak or lenient, who put society at risk by granting bail to criminals (“the crazy reasons

Victoria's big-name crims have been released on bail", "*no rest for the wicked, so bikie freed from jail*"), and those concerned with civil liberties as distractions ("*freedom debate is cheap theatre*").

6.4.1 Something old, something new: narratives on mafia

Reporting on mafia varies across the country. SA, VIC, ACT emphasise criminal structure and hierarchy ("families", "clan" "network", "boss"). QLD, VIC, NSW and Victoria use direct ethnic references to crime groups ("Italian mafia", "Oz Italian mafia"). Tasmania has the least sensational references ("organised crime"). At the national level, mafia appears to be used as entertainment, framing mafia as a pop culture figures ("Gucci gangsters") rather than threats.

| Jurisdiction | Mentions of Mafia | Language Used |
|--------------|-------------------|---|
| SA | 16 | Mafia dons, mafia man, criminal network |
| QLD | 19 | Mafia, organised crime, Oz Italian mafia |
| WA | 8 | Mafia clan, mafioso boss, mafia |
| VIC | 27 | Mafia bosses, mob, mafia clan, mafia, Italian mafia |
| NSW | 19 | Griffith, organised crime, mafia man |
| TAS | 1 | Organised crime |
| ACT | 6 | Mafia families |
| National | 15 | Gucci gangsters, mob, mafia |

Table 6.1: Mentions of Mafia in Different Jurisdictions and Language Used

In the context of Operation Ironside, mafia is mentioned in relation to its senior role in the drug trade ("*Mafia runs drug trade*", "*Italian families run crime gang networks*") which is claimed by law enforcement to connect them to bikies ("*mafia, bikies linked to cocaine operation*", "*dirty money: rival bikies and mafia in secret drug deals*"). Most other mentions to the mafia are to historical incidents. Vague reference is made to the pseudo-religious/ritualistic practices of the mafia (note use of the word 'anoint' and its baptismal connotations in "*mafia anoints a new Don*").

6.4. BIKIES AND MAFIA AND DEALERS, OH MY! FRAMING ORGANISED CRIME AS A NATION

To make sense of mafia, media titles drew heavily from popular culture or stereotypical depictions, referring to the Godfather ("*WA's Godfathers*", "*Bad-ass Godfather plot*"), implying mafia connections through sprinkling in Italian phrases ("*home flipper or coke capo?*"; "*Vendetta: Aussie murder sparks war of mafia dons*") or mentioning locations associated with 'ndrangheta presence ("*AFP names Griffith as mafia hotspot*"). However, unlike with bikies, whose connection to their association are often highlighted, media stops short of naming mafia-affiliated individuals, even when the accused bear the surnames of well-known Adelaide 'ndrangheta cells (e.g.: Nirta, Romeo). This may be due in part to suppression orders being issued in respect of mafia-affiliated individuals who are still facing charges.

Based on the headlines, the image of the mafia as an organisation is confusing. Mafia is simultaneously thriving yet reeling, secretive) yet flashy, innovative yet traditional. Articles use the words mafia and 'ndrangheta interchangeably. No clear contemporaneous picture of 'ndrangheta or mafia emerges. The lack of clarity of the mafia phenomenon is emphasised by several articles that betray even a basic lack of knowledge of mafia, using incorrect terms (*mafiosa* to mean *mafia*), and confusing mafia as a phenomenon with specific clans ("imagine you're a member of... the Italian mafia or Calabrian 'ndrangheta").

The confirmation of the existence of mafia predominately came from law enforcement sources ("*AFP confirms WA clan links*", "*How mafia families control drugs trade*"). One article came from an academic (Anna Sergi, *A flurry of activity and collective forgetting: 100 years of the Calabrian 'ndrangheta in Australia*), and another was sourced from a podcast (*Mafia's web podcast reveals how the Italian mafia run Australia's drug trade*). In response to comments that the AFP is targeting the Calabrese 'ndrangheta, there was an article from the President of the Australian Calabrese Association, challenging those remarks as racist ("*mafia tag was racist, says...*").

accounts to target criminals (all 13 September 2021). After a year of busts and police foreshadowing that they had not uncovered all Ironside loot, it is perhaps not a surprise to note the grant of “sweeping new search powers” to police (18 May 2022).

While the threat now appears to come from ‘organised crime’ rather than terror, the methods for combating this threat have not changed. Rather, it appears the need to fight ‘organised crime’ is the re-brand for the continued justification of extraordinary powers introduced to fight terrorism, consistent with the overall trend towards the normalisation of terror powers in Australia (McGarrity, 2012).

In establishing organised crime as a national security threat, signs of what Sergi (2017; 2021) has called ‘mafia-cation’ are evident.

6.5.2 Examining the mafia-cation of organised crime in the Australian context

One might argue that the persistent association between certain ethnic groups and organised crime contributes to their broader stigmatisation, reinforcing the assumption that all members of that community are involved in criminality. Even today, some Calabrese Australians have criticised the law enforcement and media focus on the ‘ndrangheta as racially motivated, describing it as a form of anti-Italian discrimination. Whether this constitutes racism in a contemporary Australian context is a complex question beyond the scope of this chapter. However, what is more relevant is the shifting role of Italians and Italian identity in Australian society. While Italians were once racialised as an ethnic ‘Other,’ they are now broadly considered ‘white’ within the Australian racial hierarchy.

Given this shift, the function of constructing organised crime as Italian is not necessarily to racialise Italians themselves but to racialise crime more broadly. By marking organised crime as foreign and ethnic, the discourse around it can be mobilised against groups that remain subject to racial discrimination today. The persistent coding of or-

rganised crime as Italian serves a strategic purpose: it allows for crime to be framed as an external, imported threat without the political and social repercussions that might arise from explicitly targeting more visibly marginalised racial groups (as seen, for example, in media coverage of so-called “African gangs”). Sergi and Eski (2024) note this effect as ‘mafiafication’ where “given the difficulty to justify a focus openly on ethnicity as a driver of crime, it is not common a discourse on mafia might emerge instead” This framing maintains plausible deniability; crime is presented as the focus, not ethnicity. However, by racialising organised crime itself, ethnicity and criminality become inextricably linked in public discourse.

6.5.3 Italian Orientalism? The function of concepts of mafia in Australian news media

Edward Said (1978) observed how constructions of the Orient served to create an ethnic Other through which the West could know itself. Jane Schneider applied ‘Orientalism within one country’ to how the South of Italy is constructed in respect of the North. The south is responsible for most Italian immigration to Australia, where, in the context of organised crime, they have once more been constructed as the ethnic Other. Law enforcement speak of Italian organised crime in a way that appears less about identifying features of mafia, and more about marking as deviant behaviours that depart from what are considered to be white Australian. Considered white but retaining their distinct ethnic heritage, Italians in Australia represent a curiosity for Anglo-Australians, whose distinct ethnic identities as English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, German, generally have become lost or shed in the process of becoming simply ‘Australian’.

These features are therefore emphasised by law enforcement in reporting on Italian organised crime, whose lack of understanding of ethnicity in people they consider to be white, manifests as identifying those traits as associated with deviant actors within

that class, rather than the class as a whole. Much like Lombroso, in describing mafia, law enforcement suffer from a fundamental methodological flaw: they are describing certain features observed in a criminalised population as symptomatic of criminality, but have failed to have regard to how often these features are observed in the same ethnic group more broadly. Law enforcement identifying features of the 'ndrangheta is only useful if they separate 'ndrangheta members, behaviours and structures from the non-criminal. However, in describing the 'ndrangheta, they have described what it means to be Calabrese-Australian, not what it means to be Calabrese and criminal.

This is similar to the issue that Dainotto (2015) observes in audiences responding to *The Godfather*: to non-Italian American audiences, it seemed to be a movie about family, which they romanticised from the perspective of self-atomised American society. To Italians, for whom such family bonds are culturally embedded, it was a movie about crime. This speaks to how media conceptions of crime are mediated through the lens of personal experience: deviance is identified as a departure from one's expected frame of reference. For Italian-American audiences interpreting the Corleones, it was the family structure, while for Italian-American audiences, it was their criminal behaviours.

This 'misunderstanding' also reflects the approach that Australia adopts to organised crime: criminalising the structure of relationships, as this collective way of being is deviant insofar as it deviates from their socio-cultural lens, which obscures identification of the criminal *behaviours* that separate the 'ndrangheta from law-abiding Calabrese Australians. This explains why to the law-abiding Calabrese-Australian, it seems like 'the mafia tag was racist',¹ while law enforcement insist that they target criminality, not countries. It also explains the disconnect obvious to any Calabrese Australian in a statement from law enforcement like, "the AFP targets criminality, not countries... like the Italian mafia". By focusing on collective ways of being that are culturally embedded as symptomatic of criminality, the AFP *is* effectively targeting ethnicity. What is required is establishing

¹Dowsley, 2021.

how the behaviour of 'ndrangheta members deviates from a baseline of legality, *rather than deviance from Anglo cultural norms*.

This is a fraught process, because the 'ndrangheta and their ways of being are inherently intertwined with Calabrese cultural codes, making it difficult to disentangle the two.² For example, a preference for cash-based transactions, trusting only family or other close associates, exercising a preference for not involving law enforcement in community business, could generally be true of law-abiding Calabrese Australians, particularly the older generation, as it is of those said to be affiliated with the 'ndrangheta. This lack of cultural competence is evident in law enforcement's focus on cultural behaviours as indicative of criminality. In addition, this lack of cultural competence is compounded by clinging to stereotypes about mafia, particularly regarding the Alien Conspiracy Theory, which causes law enforcement to miss connections that could be relevant to establishing an accurate picture of criminality.

However, a nuanced approach is possible. Consider, for example, Australia's approach to forced marriage, which recognises that arranged marriages, for example, are a normal, non-criminal aspect of many cultures. Rather, it is the *coercion* to marry, which leads to the deprivation of a range of human rights for the victim, that is criminalised. By targeting the criminal *behaviour*, the offence of forced marriage avoids criminalising deviance in cultural ideas about marriage, but rather, criminalises behaviours that amount to the deprivation of rights that are universal.

6.5.4 Case Study: Calabrese criminal therefore 'ndrangheta?

Exploring the curious case of Domenico Catanzariti

The only person the media reporting names in relation to the 'Ndrangheta or mafia currently part of Ironside is Domenico Catanzariti, apparently only because the FBI named him in an affidavit, identifying him as a distributor of ANOM. Media claims that

²Sergi, 2019, pp. 15–17.

he is a member of the 'Ndrangheta. However, the evidence presented in this regard is fairly slim. It seems to hinge upon the fact that he referred to himself as "Mafia man" on the ANOM platform. It seems to be a case of the "ndranghetisation of Calabrian criminals" (Sergi and Lavorgna, 2016).

Much of the way he is connected to the mafia is based on myth and stereotype. Take, for example, the law enforcement's assertions that he is 'taking his orders directly from Calabria'. This takes for granted this ethnic structuring of organised crime based in Italy. Coupled with a lack of cultural competence, this causes law enforcement to overlook factors that might be critical in understanding any Australian mafia. For example, given the lack of standard Italian proficiency among Italian immigrants to Australia, inhibiting its transfer to their children, and the loss of local dialects among those immigrants due to policies of assimilation compelling the speaking of English, how exactly is a third-generation Italian-Australian communicating directly with bosses in Calabria? None of the messages taken from his ANOM phone that were made public indicate communication with Italy. While this is not to suggest that it is not possible, exploring this question would surely yield more answers than simply taking the assumption that the 'Ndrangheta is all one entity for granted.

6.5.5 The *mafia* mirage as viewed through the kaleidoscope of law enforcement

As a criminal organisation, the picture painted of mafia is chaotic, coming into focus only when viewed through the lens of police powers to address organised crime (discussed at ??). That is, the seemingly contradictory features of mafia presented in the reporting only make sense when viewed as justifications for police powers, rather than as a sociological reality. The mafia appears in reporting when it is needed to respond to a need of law enforcement. Viewed through the kaleidoscope of law enforcement, each twist to

justify police powers causes the same image to mutate differently. Mafia is simultaneously thriving (“*Oz Italian mafia ‘thriving’*”, “*How mafia families control drug trade*”), justifying attention of law enforcement, but struggling (“*mafia bosses feeling heat*”, “*mafia clans in shakedown*”, “*Next generation Gucci gangsters come unstuck*”), reinforcing police competence in fighting mafia.

The question that arises from the reporting then, especially when juxtaposed against the other threat profiled, bikies, is that if mafia groups are such a threat, why are they not listed as a serious criminal organisation, like OMCGs? Sergi (2013) considers that this may be to avoid ethnic stereotyping. Here, an alternative explanation is suggested: it is more useful to law enforcement to construct mafia as a vaguely defined threat to national security to justify a range of surveillance and seizure powers, than it is to specifically target the ‘ndrangheta. Here, the utility of mentioning the "Italian mafia" is that it lends credibility to the fight against organised crime – particularly at the federal level, given the international connection – rather than constituting a specific threat *per se*.

Chapter 7

Media constructions of the organised criminal

7.0.1 How ethnicity was constructed

Texts were also used to illustrate the activities in which the accused were engaged, with blatant illegality highlighted ("*let's do rack lol*"). Texts that complicated the simplistic 'bad guy' narrative were not disclosed in articles. For example, one exchange appended to an FBI affidavit, disclosed communications showed two dealers discussing how one of them might have Covid while speaking about kilograms of drugs being imported. Texts like this that revealed the banal or human aspects of the drug trade business were largely omitted from media reporting.

While the use of excerpts from the ANOM messaging let the accused "speak for themselves", media outlets highlighted or featured certain aspects of these communications more than others. Specific linguistic features of working-class ethnic Australian slang/vernacular were headlined, like "bro" ("*bro, ANOM is bad*") and "hectic" ("*'hectic': House flipping accused drug kingpin's texts, associates*"), revealing ethnicity and class without specifying in the article. Direct quotes from texts were also used to emphasise the violent nature of bikies, either through crassness ("*Remove the brains*": *Ironside 'mur-*

der plot' messages revealed") or nonchalance towards suffering ("*His head was squirting, it was pretty funny*").

On a direct comparison, it appears that ethnic and non-ethnic individuals are mentioned at roughly the same rate: 31 ethnic accused are mentioned by name, while 26 Anglo offenders are mentioned by name. However, when referring to offenders other than bikies, articles were more likely to headline ethnic accused than Anglo accused, with ethnic accused referred to by their name ("Rocco Portolesi"). Anglo accused were more typically deidentified and/or qualified by their occupation ("chippie... ", "baker had real dough", "carpenter", "Bachelorette contestant"), location ("Gold coast man", "Hurstville woman") or even entirely anonymous in the headline ("Man, 20", "Man who said... ", "Man arrested", "Man charged"). Anglo accused who did have their names mentioned in headlines were almost always qualified in the same headline as being bikies.

Among the non-bikie cohort, there is also a difference in how ethnic offenders are portrayed compared to Anglo offenders. Ethnic offenders are headlined and defined by their charge ("*Accused drug trafficker Robin Reffo freed for wedding*", "*Accused drug trafficker George Katsambas told co-accused ANOM app was 'bad'*", "*alleged drug trafficker Luke Kokotis*") while Anglo accused often did not even have their alleged crimes mentioned ("*Cessnock's Christopher Mealey charged in major police sting*", "*Joshua Mark Richter refused release on bail, while his uncle Timothy Shane Barkla withdraws bid for bail*", "*Gold Coast courts and crime: Harley Barbaro, Chloe-Lee Christine Beattie, Teresa Bradford, Bianca Williams, William Kelvin Fox*").

While the articles generally were hysterical in tone about bail being granted to bikies, they were more sympathetic about bail granted to non-bikie Anglo accused, noting "strong community ties" ("*very strong community ties: David Walker out on bail*") and characterising bail conditions as being "relaxed" ("*alleged drug supplier Ashley Rake's bail relaxed so he can work in construction*") rather than more sensationalist framing.

7.0.2 Lebanese organised crime

Media coverage of Lebanese organised crime frequently emphasises extreme violence, portraying it as more openly brutal compared to Italian organised crime, which is often framed around financial sophistication and secrecy. Headlines such as “Crime boss Bilal Hamze gunned down in hail of bullets in Sydney’s CBD” and “Crime boss dead after ‘execution-style’ shooting” construct an image of relentless bloodshed, reinforcing the idea that Lebanese criminal groups operate primarily through violence rather than strategic economic infiltration. The repeated use of terms like “execution-style” and “hail of bullets” suggests a spectacle of unchecked aggression, positioning these groups as a more immediate and destabilising threat to public safety.

This stands in contrast to reporting on Italian organised crime, which, while still criminal, is often depicted as operating within a more disciplined and hierarchical structure that prioritises financial gain over open conflict. The framing of Lebanese organised crime as excessively violent not only shapes public perceptions of different criminal networks but also reflects broader racialised narratives that associate Middle Eastern men with hyper-masculine aggression and disregard for law and order. This distinction in representation ultimately influences both law enforcement priorities and public anxieties, reinforcing stereotypes about which forms of organised crime are seen as most dangerous.

7.1 Class and culpability

Within the working class, culpability appears to be assigned based on the extent to which the offender conforms or deviates from social expectations. In Australian society, hard and honest work, modesty and loyalty (“mateship”) are venerated as working-class values. Therefore, offenders with “honest” jobs, a lack of overt wealth and loyalty to their community or family are viewed as least responsible, with their offending being deemed

needs-driven and desperate.

Conversely, those who flash their wealth and appear self-motivated are viewed as most responsible, with their offending being deemed driven by greed. This is evident in the disparate treatment by the media of “ordinary” offenders, whose working-class jobs and family or community connections are emphasised, and bikies, who are portrayed as flaunting their wealth and being driven by self-interest. While the former are nonetheless portrayed as responsible, their offending can be *justified* by circumstance and manipulation by external forces, whereas for the latter, it is inexcusable, and they remain fully culpable.

Overwhelmingly, those stigmatised in the reporting as organised criminals are working class, as identified by their occupation being headlined, consisting almost exclusively of tradies (“*baker had real dough*”, “*chippie’s \$1.3m account*”, “*Brisbane carpenter on drug charges*”) and manual labourers (“*dopey truckie. . .*”). The only profession that is regularly mentioned in connection with criminality is “lawyer” (headlines on lawyers). It is perhaps not surprising that lawyers are stigmatised as criminal, as lawyers help organised criminals ‘evade justice’, which justifies police going after lawyers. This is related to the moral panic frame, where law enforcement is portrayed as heroically battling crime, only to be undermined by weak courts, lenient judges, and corrupt lawyers.

Who is constructed as criminal and their culpability for criminality appears can be understood by the extent to which the offender has defied social norms about their class position than it is to actual harm caused. As a starting point, involvement in criminality defies the expectation that working class individuals are engaged in honest work and therefore is punishable as a ‘betrayal’ of the honesty expected. However, culpability is a spectrum, mediated by motivation, namely whether the offender was driven by need vs greed. Offenders who appear to be motivated by need are constructed as less culpable, driven by desperation and external pressures. They are still guilty, but their circumstances sometimes make their crimes understandable, even sympathetic. Need is considered a

forgivable motivation for criminality, while greed is not. Therefore, in constructing the criminality of working-class individuals, their culpability can be enhanced by emphasising wealth accrued because of their criminal activities.

7.1.1 The Criminalisation of Flashiness: Bikies and Consumption

This is perhaps most obvious in relation to bikies. Headlines are obsessed with their wealth and luxury (“Gucci gangsters”, “Nike bikies”, “Lambo bokie”, “swanky lifestyle”, “designer sneakers”). However, wealth alone is not sufficient to stigmatize bikies, if it is community oriented. This is exploited by bikies and other organised crime groups depicting themselves as philanthropists and community protectors.

It is not sufficient, therefore, simply to establish greed *per se*: the criminality of bikies is further represented through consumption. It is though their real crime is not just drug trafficking or violence but *flaunting* their success in a way that challenges traditional ideas of working-class modesty. This is where class intersects with moral economy. Blue-collar criminals are expected to adhere to the ethic of hard work, and when they deviate from that by accumulating and displaying wealth, they invite additional scrutiny. Simply put, it is the flashiness that makes bikies a visible threat deserving of law enforcement attention and punishment. The fact he is later shown burning the coats supports that the reverse is also true: modest criminals are not perceived as threats to the same extent. This is evident in the reporting, for example, through the glorification of the ‘old mafia’ who concealed their wealth.

This need vs greed framework only applies to the working class, whose criminality is attributed to moral failure rather than systemic factors. At the elite level, greed is recast as rationality: self-interest is no longer a sin, but sensible. Accordingly, corporate fraud, financial crimes, and tax evasion are rarely depicted in the same moralistic terms as drug

trafficking, even though both ultimately stem from a drive for financial gain within a capitalist system that rewards accumulation by any means. The division between need-based and greed-based crime thus serves to reinforce existing class hierarchies.

It positions financial opportunism as an acceptable practice when conducted within the structures of capitalism, while condemning it when undertaken by those excluded from these structures. The criminalisation of bikie consumption, for example, is consistent with their working-class status. Unlike white-collar criminals, who are allowed to enjoy wealth without suspicion, working-class offenders are portrayed as unworthy of their riches, reinforcing the idea that their prosperity is fundamentally illegitimate. Despite their financial success, bikies are constructed as “thugs” rather than legitimate businessmen through an emphasis on violence.

However, while their association with violence constructs them as working class, it is not necessarily sufficient to stigmatise them as deserving of punishment. Working-class criminals engaging in violence can be respected, if they are loyal, operating according to a set of principles or code. Consistent with the idea of operating according to a code, brotherhood is an image regularly reinforced by outlaw motorcycle groups, one of brotherhood between members, against rivals. What is punishable is not the violence, which can be viewed as forgivable in defence of another or deemed inconsequential when confined to the underworld (Schedler, 2022). Rather, what is punishable is disloyalty and involving innocent people in their violence.

Therefore, in constructing the criminality of bikies, law enforcement seeks to dispel this notion of loyalty. They emphasise that “the notion of brotherhood is a myth”, reveal that their so-called rivalries are made up and alliances are driven by profits, not principles (“Enemies for show, mates for dough”), because they are “self-interested” individuals who will willingly turn on each other (“gives up his crim mates”).

7.1.2 Justifying intervention: flashing wealth on social media

Having stigmatised excess as the visible marker of deviance, it is perhaps unsurprising that this is applied to the 'ndrangheta to justify the sudden law enforcement focus on their operations (“New generation of Calabrian mafia ‘Gucci Gangsters’ come unstuck”). The “flashiness” of the “new generation” of mafia is blamed on bikies, with an article noting the new generation of Calabrian mafia is *more likely to copy the “Gucci Gangsters” from the outlaw motorcycle gangs they sell drugs with*, and flash their sports cars, designer clothes and fancy restaurant meals on social media”. This influence is questionable, if not somewhat hilarious to suggest that Italian mafia are copying Gucci, an Italian brand, from bikies. However, this seems to reinforce the suggestion of law enforcement that bikies and mafia are working together (“*Enemies for show, mates for dough*”, “*Bosses secretly work together*”, “*gangs secretly work together*”, “*gangs secret accord*”), thereby enlivening both state (bikies) and federal (mafia) jurisdiction.

The younger generation of mafia is depicted as “flash[ing] their sports cars, designer clothes and fancy restaurant meals on social media”. AFP refers to a “shift in behaviour” between the older generation (“*Senior members traditionally display a low profile within their community*”) compared to the new generation (“the younger generation of the Australian 'ndrangheta are becoming more overt in displaying their status and wealth on social media platforms”). This is “not necessarily attributed to a shift in 'ndrangheta behaviour, rather an increase in social media activity due to the current trend in younger generations to have a social media footprint”.

Moreover, the framing of this shift in 'ndrangheta behaviour as a generational issue, rather than a structural one, mirrors broader discourses around youth, technology, and moral decay. Just as the working-class criminal is stigmatised for their consumption, young criminals are condemned not simply for their crimes but for how they engage with their success—through social media and conspicuous consumption. This focus on

excess justifies expansive police powers, such as Unexplained Wealth Orders (UWOs), which allow law enforcement to seize assets without proving criminal activity. The fact that UWOs disproportionately target bikies and the “new mafia” underscores how law enforcement tools are often shaped by class-based narratives of criminality.

Finally, the portrayal of bikies and the ‘ndrangheta as flashy contrasts sharply with the operational reality exposed in Operation Ironside, which succeeded precisely because these groups were deeply concerned with secrecy, required referral from another criminal distributor, and relied on encrypted communication. This contradiction reveals that visibility is not simply an inherent trait of these groups but a constructed narrative—one that aligns with the capacities and priorities of law enforcement, shaping who is most readily targeted for intervention.

For the working class, crime is made hyper-visible through sensationalised portrayals of ostentatious bikies and “Gucci gangsters.” But for the middle class, who are less likely to experience direct victimisation, crime must be framed differently to sustain their fears. Here, the danger is not something seen, but something hidden in plain sight, lurking beneath the surface of everyday life. Organised crime is depicted in omnipresent in aspects of ordinary life (“*organised crime gangs used food delivery services to deal drugs across Australia*”, “*drugs on your doorstep*”), hidden (“*criminal clans are hiding in plain sight*”, “*living next to the mob*”), and extensive (“*10,000 linked to criminal network*”), justifying intrusive surveillance and repressive action.

7.1.3 Legitimate vs illegitimate economies

Perhaps the most significant ideological function of crime reporting is the creation of a stark divide between the legitimate and illegitimate economies. Headlines such as “*Home Flipper or Coke Capo*” explicitly position a legitimate career against a role in the underworld, as if it is a binary distinction. By framing crime as an external threat to the legitimate economy rather than as a byproduct of capitalism itself, media discourse pre-

vents systemic critique. The emphasis on bad individuals rather than structural conditions ensures that criminality is treated as an aberration rather than a logical consequence of financialised capitalism, in which wealth accumulation is the highest priority, regardless of legality.

A critical discourse analysis of these headlines reveals how white-collar crime, particularly when committed by individuals with business connections or social standing, is framed differently from blue-collar or street-level crime. Rather than positioning the accused as inherently criminal, these headlines emphasise surprise, distance, and institutional failure, softening perceptions of culpability and reinforcing the idea that financial or corporate crime operates within a morally ambiguous space rather than the realm of outright deviance.

The language of shock and disbelief is particularly notable. “*Sam Mustaca shocked after cops claim car business was front door for drug cargo*” and “*DRUG BUST SHOCKS WAHLBERG’S BURGER BUDDY*” both frame white-collar crime through the lens of astonishment rather than criminality. The emphasis on personal reaction (“*shocked*”) suggests that even those closest to the accused did not suspect wrongdoing, reinforcing the idea that this type of crime is unexpected, even accidental, rather than deliberate and systemic.

Moreover, “*How banks, AUSTRAC are fighting on frontlines of financial crime*” shifts the focus away from individual offenders altogether, instead emphasising institutional responses. This framing contrasts with reporting on blue-collar crime, which tends to highlight personal responsibility and moral failure. The language of “*fighting on the frontlines*” evokes a militarised, defensive stance, suggesting that financial crime is a force to be combated rather than an internal feature of capitalist systems. By centring state institutions as the protagonists, this headline constructs financial crime as a faceless, systemic challenge rather than a product of elite greed or exploitation. This framing not only minimises individual accountability but also reinforces the idea that financial crime

is abstract and difficult to police, in contrast to the tangible, hyper-visible nature of street-level crime.

7.2 Conclusion

In December 2023, the United States launched Operation Prosperity Guardian, a naval campaign against the Houthi rebels in Yemen in response to their attacks on commercial shipping in the Red Sea. Though framed as a counterterrorism effort, the operation took place under the auspices of securing “global commerce,” effectively collapsing the distinction between national security, economic interest, and organised criminal threat. The use of the term “commerce” to describe a naval military operation against a political militia reveals the deep entanglement between global capital, state violence, and criminal designation. This symbolic action epitomises the central concern of this thesis: how “organised crime” is deployed as a political tool, to protect power, capital, and empire.

This thesis began with the observation that “organised crime” is a notoriously slippery concept. Rather than treat this slipperiness as an analytical problem, it was treated as a point of entry: a feature that reveals how the law does not merely describe the world, but shapes it. Through a detailed study of Australian law, enforcement, sentencing, and media discourse in relation to Operation Ironside, this thesis examined how the social reality of organised crime is constructed by the state and its institutions. Organised crime, far from being a discrete or technical legal category, is a narrative framework, a floating signifier, that can be mobilised to criminalise marginalised populations, justify expansive police powers, and reaffirm the state’s sovereign and moral authority.

Three core questions animated this inquiry: 1. How is the social reality of organised crime constructed through law, media and police narratives to serve the interests of the powerful, both in terms of internal control and external security? 2. How do narratives on organised crime reinforce identity as a settler-colonial state and justify racialised control and securitisation practices? 3. To what extent do measures addressed to organised crime target organised crime as a distinct threat as compared to ordinary crime?

Each of the preceding chapters has examined one aspect of this construction—law,

enforcement, sentencing, and media. What follows is a synthesis of those findings in light of the research questions and a final reflection on the broader implications of this work.

7.2.1 Organised Crime and the Settler-Colonial Legal Order

Chapter II demonstrated that the legal definition of organised crime in Australia is capacious and politically elastic. Rather than capturing a precise criminological category, the law permits the invocation of organised crime as a justificatory device: enabling the state to introduce exceptional measures such as control orders, reverse onus provisions, and extraordinary surveillance. These laws are not neutral. They are structured to target threats not by what they do, but by what they represent: ethnic, collectivist, oppositional, and non-conforming. In this way, the law produces the criminal it seeks to punish.

This is especially evident in Australia's particular fixation with bikies, who serve as the internal "folk devils" around which moral panic is constructed. That this intense focus on subcultural criminality had deadly consequences was evidenced by the state's failure to detect or prevent the Christchurch shooter, whose whiteness and individualism allowed him to fall beneath the radar of police focused on visible, ethnicised threats. The consequence is not merely misallocation of resources, but a blindness within the legal imaginary—one that maps criminality onto ethnicity and class while leaving the structures of racial and gendered violence intact.

Drawing on Cedric Robinson's theory of racial capitalism, this thesis situates the category of organised crime within a broader political economy. As Robinson notes, capitalism does not homogenise but differentiates; it exaggerates regional, cultural, and class distinctions into "racial" categories. In this context, the figure of the organised criminal (whether bikie, mafioso, or Middle Eastern "gangster") is racialised not merely through phenotype but through codes of behaviour, kinship, and spatial belonging. These figures are not simply lawbreakers; they are constructed as enemies of the liberal state: anti-citizens who threaten the moral and economic order.

The thesis has argued that anti-organised crime laws in settler-colonial contexts are little more than re-imaginings of colonial modes of repression. Exceptionalism is the rule, not the exception. These laws build on a long legal tradition of criminalising collective identities, from Italian “clans,” to African “gangs.” The category of organised crime becomes a vector through which the state governs racialised populations, justifies extra-judicial measures, and manages threats to its moral and political legitimacy.

7.2.2 Enforcement as Spectacle: Ironside and the Performance of Sovereignty

Chapter III examined Operation Ironside as a performance of state power. Though celebrated as a “transnational” operation, the vast majority of its targets were domestic, low-to-mid-level actors, often already known to police. The involvement of the FBI and the geofencing of ANOM to exclude U.S. citizens revealed much about the priorities of global policing: to disrupt foreign networks, gather intelligence, and generate forfeiture opportunities under laws like RICO.

The case illustrates what Giorgio Agamben might describe as the state of exception—the normalisation of extralegal practices in the name of security. In deploying the language of “transnational organised crime,” Ironside enabled the state to circumvent procedural protections, expand surveillance, and access foreign jurisdictions. Yet the primary targets were not cartel bosses or syndicates, but suburban men with encrypted phones.

Here, too, the Australian approach is deeply embedded in colonial logics. Law enforcement claimed surprise at bikie-mafia collaboration, despite the fact that this had been uncovered in 2010. As Anna Sergi has argued, the Australian approach to the ‘ndrangheta is typified by “a flurry of activity, then collective forgetting”, a cycle that allows the state to rediscover the same threat whenever it needs political or symbolic capital.

Organised crime, in this sense, is not a static object but a renewable resource. It is

summoned into being whenever the state needs to reassert its sovereignty, particularly in times of social, political, or economic strain. It becomes a means of governing through fear, performing legitimacy, and asserting order over imagined disorder.

7.2.3 The Performance of Justice: Sentencing and Social Sorting

Chapter IV analysed the sentencing patterns of Ironside offenders and revealed how class, value of seizure, and social proximity to state institutions (as indicated by IRSD rank) shaped judicial outcomes. While ethnicity was not found to be a statistically significant predictor of sentence length, the variability in sentencing and the punitive outcomes for lower IRSD groups suggested a pattern of social sorting.

The statistical analysis of sentencing outcomes revealed that the value of drugs or cash seized was the most significant predictor of sentence duration, explaining nearly half the variation in sentences. When combined with socioeconomic status (IRSD rank), the predictive power increased, suggesting that disadvantage played a compounding role in sentencing severity. While factors such as role in the operation also had a measurable influence, particularly in cases where no value or amount of drugs was recorded, variables such as ethnicity and bkie affiliation were not found to be statistically significant in predicting sentence length. These findings indicate that judicial outcomes in Operation Ironside were most closely tied to quantifiable measures of criminality, such as the economic value of the offence, rather than identity markers or media-driven notions of criminal threat.

This is consistent with the state's effort to assert its monopoly on protection and representation. Organised criminal groups, particularly those with tight networks and economic influence, alter not only markets but democratic processes. They provide an alternative locus of loyalty, one that the state cannot tolerate. In this way, the punishment

of organised crime becomes a punishment of allegiance, an attempt to delegitimise all competing sources of authority.

7.2.4 Constructing the Enemy: Media, Identity, and State Violence

Chapter V analysed the media coverage of Ironside and demonstrated how organised crime is narrated through the lens of national security, racialised deviance, and moral panic. The media does not merely reflect state narratives; it co-produces them. Through techniques of personification, dramatisation, and racial coding, the media constructs the figure of the criminal as someone “outside” the nation: ethnic, flashy, greedy, disloyal.

As Gramsci understood, this is the work of hegemony: the ability of the state to secure consent not through coercion alone, but through ideology. The figure of the bikie or mafia don becomes the alibi for state expansion, for surveillance and repression, for moralising the economy of punishment. And yet, as this thesis has shown, the greatest threats to public safety, like the Christchurch mosque shooter, go unnoticed, precisely because they do not fit the racial script of the “organised criminal.”

The media’s coverage of Operation Ironside shows how the category of “organised crime” is used to collapse traditional legal boundaries. The distinction between terrorism and organised crime is blurred; both are framed as threats to the nation, both are met with military analogies and emergency legislation. What matters is not the crime, but the optics: the ability of the state to demonstrate resolve, to be seen as acting against a threat. As in Operation Prosperity Guardian, the state now responds to disruption of global markets with counterterror operations; the criminal and the enemy are increasingly the same.

7.2.5 Organised Crime as a Colonial Logic

Taken together, the findings of this thesis suggest that organised crime is not simply a legal category, but a political one that operates within a colonial logic of control. In settler-colonial states, the state is always-already oriented toward managing enemies, internal and external, racialised and resistant. The criminalisation of organised groups, cultures, and associations becomes a technique of governance. It is not the content of the crime that matters, but its framing, its associations, its narrative utility.

The anti-organised crime framework must therefore be understood not as a neutral tool, but as a weapon forged in the fire of colonial repression. It allows the state to criminalise resistance, erase histories of repression, and assert control over bodies, spaces, and identities. The myth of the “organised criminal” allows the state to mask its own violence, to position itself as protector, even as it surveils, imprisons, and silences.

Recognising this opens up new possibilities for solidarity. If the enemy is constructed, then its construction can be resisted. If the state criminalises loyalty to non-state actors, then loyalty itself can become a political act. As Cesaire warned, the tactics of empire always return home; what was done in the colonies will be done in the metropole. In the era of the digital panopticon, algorithmic policing, and global surveillance, the tools once used against Indigenous and colonised peoples are being deployed more broadly: against migrants, workers, dissidents.

7.2.6 Reframing the Question

This research began with three questions. In response:

1. The social reality of organised crime is constructed not merely through its legal definition, but through the enforcement practices and media narratives that give it meaning. These constructions overwhelmingly serve state interests: they legitimise police power, extend surveillance, and criminalise marginalised populations.

2. Narratives of organised crime reinforce settler-colonial identity by constructing a threat from without (foreign, ethnic, untrustworthy) that justifies repressive control within. Whether bikies or mafia, the label of organised crime allows the state to reassert moral and territorial authority, particularly where its own legitimacy is fragile.

3. While measures against organised crime claim to target unique threats, they frequently capture ordinary crimes and offenders. The extraordinary powers enabled by organised crime legislation are not narrowly applied to elite, transnational networks, but to working-class individuals with local ties. In this way, the legal category does not reflect criminal sophistication, but political utility.

Towards a Politics of Solidarity

By revealing how the social reality of organised crime is constructed, this thesis offers a critical intervention into the assumptions underpinning crime control in the settler colony. The path forward lies not in refining the definition, but in questioning the need for one at all.

This thesis does not suggest that crime should be ignored. Rather, it argues that crime must be understood. And to understand crime, we must understand power: who wields it, who defines it, and who is punished by its exercise. In the case of organised crime, the answer is clear: it is not the powerful who are punished, but those who threaten power. The category of organised crime does not describe a fixed threat. It enables one.

Chapter 8

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Appendix A: Unabridged Article Titles

| Title | Copaganda | Drugs | TOC | Mafia | OMCG | Money laundering | Asset freezing and confiscation | Violence | Bail | Ethnic OC | Name and shame | Title is pun | Dumb criminals | Mum's the word | Weak legal system | Loyalty | Moral panic | Publication | PubPlace | PubDate |
|---|-----------|-------|-----|-------|------|------------------|---------------------------------|----------|------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---------|-------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Cops take on child predator 'guidebooks' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Ironside 'drug czar' bust | | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 23 August 2022 |
| Bosses nabbed in raids | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| AFP briefing aids global crackdown on mafia | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Perth lawyer charged after ANoM encryption platform investigation | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| New generation of Calabrian mafia 'Gucci Gangsters' come unstuck | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |
| Bail is denied for | | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 11 June 2021 |

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| app sting accused | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ANOM Operation Ironside: Organised crime suffers a heavy blow, but no knockout | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Wednesday 9 June 2021 | |
| Decaying drug crop seized in Operation Ironside swoop | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Interpol's secret Buddle takedown | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| Cops: App ends shot at bikie's big return | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Allan Meehan replaces Mick Murray as Comanchero bikie gang's national president | | | | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 28 June 2022 |
| Police raids to target 160 organised crime figures | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Wednesday 8 December 2021 |
| Crime wave risk as borders open, says Reece Kershaw | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Monday 25 October 2021 |

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| 'Very strong community ties': David Walker out on bail | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Mudgee Guardian and Gulgong Advertiser | NSW | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| Alleged Comancheros Matthew Douet, Samiu and Siaosi Tukuafu charged over alleged cocaine supply | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 3 September 2021 |
| MURDER THEY WROTE | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Time is up for corrupt insiders | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| How giant sting has put a hole through bikie gangs | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 14 November 2021 |
| How exiled bikie snared mates in ANOM web | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 5 February 2022 |
| Alleged drug financier cut off monitor to go on the run | | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Wednesday 27 October 2021 |

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| Drug trio's shipment uncovered | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 21 January 2023 |
| Operation Ironside cocaine busts expose links between two alleged 'drug plots' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 7 August 2021 |
| Griffith home raided in coke crackdown | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Area News | NSW | Tuesday 21 June 2022 |
| Airport crew facing cargo narc ring rap | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 24 October 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: multiple accused appear in court seeking release on home detention bail | | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| AFP tells crims: We will come | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 29 July 2021 |
| Nick The Knife arrested on drugs charges | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 21 October 2022 |
| ENEMIES FOR SHOW, | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| MATES FOR DOUGH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AFP sting nets 340 suspects | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Wednesday 22 December 2021 |
| Alleged bikie gang member arrested | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 20 September 2022 |
| Transport industry infiltrated by criminal syndicates | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Press | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Ironside accused's \$17.5m guilty plea | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| WA's Godfathers | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 12 June 2022 |
| Ernesto Antonio Silva gets bail after drug, weapons trafficking arrest | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Raising Hell in suburban bikie shoot-up | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 18 December 2022 |
| First Supreme Court challenge to Operation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Sunday 11 July 2021 |

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| Ironside orders could be lodged as early as this week | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ACT records nation's second highest cannabis and opioid consumption | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 27 October 2022 |
| Dummy runs and UV ink to sneak in drug cargo | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Infamous bikie boss Mark Buddle's paranoid life in exile | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 23 June 2022 |
| 'I kind of ... may have shot someone' | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Monday 28 March 2022 |
| Ironside hits drug trade | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| Federal cops vow to give the Angels hell in nationwide bikie blitz | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| POLICE GET A HANDLE ON IT | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Police ANOM | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Thursday 9 December 2021 |

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| sting closes net | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Truckie jailed for \$17m drug collection | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 14 October 2021 |
| GYM JUNKIE NABBED | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 | |
| Woman allegedly attempted to flee state after nearly 100 cannabis plants were found during search of Athol Park property | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 15 June 2021 | |
| PARANOID IN PARADISE | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 23 June 2022 | |
| Commissioner says AFP has 'ingenious' new plan to trap criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 28 July 2021 | |
| SENIOR BIKIE LOSES HOMES AND CARS | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 | |
| Police given power to hack into social media accounts to target criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 12 September 2021 | |

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| Secret trick to catch crims | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Saturday 14 January 2023 |
| Ironside kill plot accused seeks bail | | | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 7 September 2021 |
| AFP lists 'dirty dozen' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 9 December 2022 |
| Too frightened to snitch | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 20 June 2022 |
| AFP puts crims on notice after ANOM sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 21 December 2021 |
| Ironside accuseds' crypto fortunes | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Out on bail | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Mudgee Guardian and Gulgong Advertiser | NSW | Tuesday 29 June 2021 |
| ANOM accused front mass court hearing | | Y | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 18 March 2022 |
| Bikie buster's message to ANOM outlaw gangs: We know who you are and we'll get you [AFP editorial] | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Y | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| UPHEAVAL IN THE UNDERWORLD | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 29 December 2022 |

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| Man caught in global operation granted bail | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Daily Liberal and Macquarie Advocate | NSW | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| HERALD SUN TALENT STARS IN BIG NIGHT OF NEWS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 25 November 2021 |
| Alleged drug kingpin joins court battle over police sting | N | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 7 September 2022 |
| How Operation Ironside's AFP experts found hidden cash, drugs and guns | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Saturday 31 July 2021 |
| Truth casualty in secret state | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 17 January 2022 | |
| ANOM app helped Victoria Police foil murder plot at the 11th hour | Y | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| Federal cops vow to give the Angels hell in nationwide | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 9 January 2022 |

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| e bikie blitz | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bikies a 'national security threat' | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 21 June 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Brisbane carpenter Christopher John Spurling granted bail | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| School 'zone' dealer's jail stay | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 28 October 2022 |
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Police reveal details of second alleged foiled bikie murder plot | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Organised crime gangs using food trucks to shift drugs | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Monday 21 June 2021 |
| \$2.7m in cash drop-offs | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 24 June 2021 |
| Cops delete Taiwanese meth rings | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 17 December 2022 |

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| 'I kind of ... may have shot someone' | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Monday 28 March 2022 |
| Plot by Melbourne drug syndicate to import \$1bn worth of ice foiled | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Former bikie Baris Tukel pictured at dinner with fugitive drug lord Hakan Ayik | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Notorious bikie Nick 'The Knife' Forbes arrested in Operation Ironside drug trafficking raid | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Thursday 20 October 2022 |
| Bikie king paranoid & lonely in exile | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 23 June 2022 |
| AL CAPONE TACTICS BUST BIKIES | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Federal cops vow to give the Angels hell in | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 9 January 2022 |

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| nationwid e bikie blitz | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| A policing operation of which we should be proud | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Supreme Court restrains and freezes more than a million dollars in cash, cars and cryptocurr ency related to Ironsides accused | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 9 July 2021 |
| Firing range for 'outlaw bikies' | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 5 December 2022 |
| Cocaine importer 'quit job' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 27 December 2022 |
| Operation Ironsides: Cohen William Haseman faces court on weapons, drug trafficking charges | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Monday 12 July 2021 |
| Bosses nabbed in raids | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Dopey truckie stung by ANOM | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 28 September 2021 |

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| Emmanuel Vamvouka kis: Alleged Comanchero refused bail after ANOM bust | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 17 June 2021 | |
| Criminal stash is budget booster | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Lawyer turns to sting experts | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 12 February 2023 |
| Mafia dons 'sitdown' to murder hero they hated | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| Challenges to ANOM app spread | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| Courts' secrecy hits 277 in year | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 15 January 2023 |
| Man caught in ANOM drug sting allegedly trafficked from jail | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |
| World of trouble for app-happy criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Parents choose 'meth over milk' in ice crisis | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |

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| AFP Assistant Commissioner Nigel Ryan accused of racial vilification | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Monday 4 July 2022 | |
| 96 SECONDS THAT BLEW UP THE UNDERWORLD | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |
| Cops seize bikie booty and guns during crackdown | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 5 December 2021 | |
| Cops hit 'like' on hacking powers | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 13 September 2021 | |
| Morrison's cheap shot backfires | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 | |
| Windang man found with police uniform, cash, drugs after AFP sting: court | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Saturday 18 June 2022 | |
| Twist in murder plot case | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 14 February 2022 | |
| Bikie hauls on the rise | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | Y | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 5 December 2021 |
| ANOM FILES | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |

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| STING OF THE CENTURY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Loophole threatens to derail major bust | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | The West Australian | WA | Monday 22 August 2022 |
| TYRE RIM STING TRIO UNMASKED | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| ANOM bust: \$288m of meth seized in Brisbane and in NSW | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Interpol's secret Buddle takedown | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| Central West arrest amid major sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Daily Liberal and Macquarie Advocate | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| TOPAL IN TROUBLE OVER APP | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 6 February 2022 |
| Christopher Pyne: If this was a Hollywood crime thriller, it would be hard to believe it possible | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Mostafa Baluch's escape route out of | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 10 November 2021 |

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| Australia to Europe revealed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| \$6M SURETY STILL CAN'T BUY FREEDOM | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 26 November 2021 |
| Police analyse 40k ANOM messages | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 22 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: 48 South Australian s arrested in organised crime raids | Y | | | N | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| BATTLE FOR IRONSIDE LOOT | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 12 July 2021 |
| Freight 'insiders' linked to crime | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Why we must bust bikies | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Dummy runs and UV ink to sneak in drug cargo | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Danny Zayneh accused of plot to import \$1bn worth of ice and cocaine | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 29 July 2022 |

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| into Australia | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PLAIN DIS-COURTEOUS | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Firearm charge links to spate of underworld attacks and a global sting | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| CALLING THE SHOTS | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| 'Blokey blokes' and a 'quick bob' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 13 March 2022 |
| Three kilos of MDMA sent in bain-marie | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 22 October 2022 |
| Ironside suspect's big blow | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 18 October 2021 |
| Mafia dons' plot to kill the hero they hated | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| Mum-in-law's generous gesture to accused drug importer Robin Reffo | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| Dragnet disrupts | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |

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| complex network | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cops warn of 'major escalation' in crime wars | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | The Australian (Online) | National | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Accused drug dealer Nathan John Ralph refused home detention bail because of risk of reoffending | | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| AFP's 'dirty dozen' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 9 December 2022 |
| QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY HONOURS Ironside cop humbled by top policing medal | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| SA Police seize luxury cars, properties in Operation Ironside sting | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside, ANOM | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Sunday 20 June 2021 |

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| success sends policing back to old ways | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Haydn Forbes hit with drugs charges in ANOM-linked operation | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 2 November 2022 |
| Operation Ironside target Ashley Rake granted \$2 million bail | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 2 December 2021 |
| Commissioner says AFP has 'ingenious' new plan to trap criminals after Operation Ironside | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside accused sharing a cell | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 26 October 2021 |
| Crims lose \$64m in assets | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| Criminal stash is budget booster | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Mafia, bikies linked to cocaine operation | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 10 June 2022 |
| Aussies second | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 28 October 2021 |

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| biggest ice users | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Police tighten net in encrypted sting | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| Drugs gang nabbed | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 24 October 2021 |
| How giant sting has put a hole through bikie gangs | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 14 November 2021 |
| Sting team very appy | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 22 December 2021 |
| Accused fighting sting of century | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 14 August 2022 |
| 'Sting of the century' How the gangs were brought to their knees | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Wanganui Chronicle | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Plenty more busts on Ironside horizon | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Friday 10 December 2021 |
| Coke importer finally owns up | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 1 June 2022 |
| Bikie boss Mark Buddle gets a private jet flight to court | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | Natio nal | Friday 5 August 2022 |

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| 'Drugs as serious a problem as terror' | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Crime boss dead after 'execution -style' shooting | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| Court documents allege Domenico Catanzariti sent messages regarding imported cocaine | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Buninyong home raided as part of blitz | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier | VIC | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| FBI for now won't extradite Aussies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 4 December 2022 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Port Botany worker charged over alleged 230kg meth plot | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 12 August 2021 |
| Two men charged over drugs in cargo | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Thursday 17 June 2021 |

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| Meth lab accused in court | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 30 June 2021 |
| App evidence to go on trial | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 15 December 2021 |
| Bassam Hamzy's cousin Bilal shot dead in Sydney CBD | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Thursday 17 June 2021 |
| DRUG BUST SHOCKS WAHLBERG'S BURGER BUDDY | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| WALKLEY NOMINATIONS FOR OUR FINEST | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| POLICE GET A HANDLE ON IT | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Raids reveal \$5m cash in shed | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Ironside's big freeze: Prosecutors apply to seize property, vehicles and valuables worth millions of dollars from | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 17 August 2021 |

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| ANOM accused | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MAFIA MENACE CHANGES FACE | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 3 September 2021 |
| Named: Queenslan ders charged in Operation Ironside police sting and their suburbs | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| 'Wicked' grip of ice | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| Benjamin Joseph Haylock, 42, of Mermaid Waters, faces charges of trafficking in dangerous drugs and weapons | | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Op has coke price fizzing | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| Most wanted drug kingpin sinks his crim pals | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Drugs on your doorstep | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| FBI agrees to hold fire | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 4 December 2022 |

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| Bikie 'broke rule No. 1' | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 22 September 2021 |
| Global gang 'plague' | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 9 June 2022 |
| Lawyer fights claims of bad practice | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 18 September 2022 |
| 'Gucci Gangsters' come unstuck | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| ANOM one year on: Where are they now? | | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Friday 1 July 2022 |
| \$1 BILLION BUST BREAKS THE ICE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| False link to terror | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 14 January 2022 |
| Another monster sting by ANOM | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| INSIDE A KIDNAP | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| GANG'S ALL HERE | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| FORENSIC NINJAS | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 1 August 2021 |
| 40+ NSW cocaine dealers named after research reveals the tragic toll of drug use | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Star | NSW | Sunday 5 February 2023 |

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| Alleged drug trafficker nabbed in ANOM sting dealt fresh blow | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 25 January 2022 | |
| Mystery man is still on the run | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Full list of Australians charged | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| AFP cop demands Australia has 'honest' conversation about drugs | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 27 July 2021 |
| \$1B DRUG PLOT LEAVES A MARK | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| The Pope goes up in smoke | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 11 April 2022 |
| Accused Operation Ironside drug trafficker Apostle Broikos had 15 luxury watches, 20 phones, cash and crypto, prosecutors allege | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 18 August 2021 |
| Ironside courier's | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 22 August 2022 |

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| sentence reprieve | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Community approach to tackle drugs | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Examiner | TAS | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| 'Home sweet home': Baby- faced alleged drug trafficker Apostle Broikos' new look after leaving custody | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | News.com.au | Natio nal | Thursday 1 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Bikies using ANOM warned to hand themselve s in | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Fresh wave of Ironside charges | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 2 December 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Gold Coast man Benjamin Joseph Haylock allegedly trafficked drugs, guns to fund | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |

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| 'lavish lifestyle' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Drug arrest in ANOM app sting | Y | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 6 April 2022 |
| Ironside evidence carries a big load | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 17 November 2021 |
| Former Comanchero boss Fidel Tukel talks about why he walked away | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 27 May 2022 |
| Man's '\$1m drug deposit' | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 18 September 2021 |
| EXILED BIKIE RUNS FOR COVER IN TURKEY | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Comancheros accuse cops of trying generate to bad blood between jailed bikies | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 12 December 2021 |
| BIG TURKEY HUNT FOR BIKIE HUNK | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |

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| ANOM nets three more | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 4 February 2022 |
| Lambo bikie wins bid to vary his bail | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 6 July 2022 |
| ANOM nets three more | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 4 February 2022 |
| Dummy runs and UV ink to sneak in drug cargo | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Cash left in bikie's car | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 7 October 2021 |
| Operation Phobator uncovers pseudoephedrine haul | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Monday 22 November 2021 |
| Cops' fury at being left out of AFP loop | Y | Y | Y | M | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 11 July 2022 |
| Staggering bank figures of carpenter charged in largest-ever drug bust revealed | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Sweeping new search powers granted to Hunter Valley police | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Wednesday 18 May 2022 |
| HE ROLLED | | Y | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 12 February 2023 |

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| THE DICE AND LOST | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Police seized \$120m in cash, assets from criminals in Victoria | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 3 February 2023 |
| Airport worker on drug charges | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| 'Bounce' plot foils bail bid | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 26 January 2022 |
| Mafia, bikies, lawyers in gun | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| TEXT TALK | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Drug blitz to smash SA gangs, vows AFP | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 18 December 2021 |
| \$1.4m home sale dispute | | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 6 November 2021 |
| The Advertiser Your right to know is being suppressed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 17 January 2022 |
| 'Ice ring' crash lands into ANOM sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 2 August 2021 |
| Ironsides cops assets blow | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 16 April 2022 |
| BATTLE FOR | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 12 July 2021 |

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| IRONSIDE LOOT | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bad break for crooks | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Bikies' app shut down | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 26 September 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: ANOM sniffer dog finds cocaine and \$100,000 hidden in kitchen in drug bust | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 23 July 2021 |
| Supreme Court restrains alleged drug trafficker Luke Kokotis's \$7.7m property empire and fleet of cars, boats and bikes | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 17 August 2021 |
| 'Every soul shall taste death': gang warning, or brutal truth? | Y | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Australian | Natio nal | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| Organised crime as 'serious as terrorism' | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 17 July 2021 |

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| Federal police raid hinterland property in Operation Ironside sting | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Sunshine Coast Daily | QLD | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Mudgee man David Walker applies for bail | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Adam Currie pleads guilty to \$3.7m Strathfield saye MDMA bust | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 14 September 2021 |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Nelson Mail | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Download the (tr)app | Y | | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Mafia, bikies, lawyers in gun | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| COPS WORK NEW ANGLE ON CRIMS | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 9 July 2021 |
| After 12-cop extradition operation, court sends bikie boss | N | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 6 August 2022 |

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| ... Straight to Barwon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BIKIE 'KILL PLOT' FOILED | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 | | |
| Ironside to cost a further \$8.8m | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 3 June 2022 |
| Lawyers' cash returned | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 16 October 2021 |
| Time's up on bikie's swanky lifestyle | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 28 November 2022 |
| Global blitz captures hundreds | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| X-RAYS AND RADARS | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 1 August 2021 |
| Ironside accused in 'arson attack' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| Meth use persists as most illicit drug use dives: ACT wastewater report | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| GYM JUNKIE NABBED | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| AFP blitz 'barely touched surface' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Friday 15 October 2021 |
| Police uncover abandoned | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Monday 14 June 2021 |

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| cannabis bunker at Two Wells, linked to Operation Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 51 clans, 5000 members: Italian families rule crime gang networks | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Monday 6 June 2022 |
| Brisbane carpenter Christopher John Spurling charged with drug trafficking | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| \$8m to get trial ready | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 21 June 2022 |
| A shed-load of cash | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Australia's cocaine price doubles since Operation Ironside as accused mafia kingpin exposed | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| 'It was a conspiracy within a conspiracy': Way four men allegedly planned to | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Friday 3 September 2021 |

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| attack fellow bikie revealed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Timaru Herald | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Fugitive Buddle 'arrested by FBI' | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Monday 11 July 2022 |
| Ironside accused in court | | Y | | | | | | | Y | N | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| Hitting the brake on a diary of bail | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 6 July 2022 |
| 'Mr Big' accused of drug scheme | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 19 November 2021 |
| Operation Ironside ANOM sting: Queenslanders caught up in AFP blitz | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| BIKIE BOSS'S PLOT TO GET OUT OF JAIL | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| Why coke price has doubled | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| Charge over Molotov | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 14 April 2022 |
| 5 MINUTE BUDGET GUIDE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 3 June 2022 |

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| 'Very fortunate to get bail', teen accused warned | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 2 July 2021 |
| Dopey truckie stung by ANOM | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 28 September 2021 |
| Raid at Griffith | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 19 June 2022 |
| FROM DRUG HIGH TO A SUGAR CRASH | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 18 September 2021 |
| Organised crime as 'serious as terrorism' | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| CHEAP AFGHAN METH THREAT | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 23 October 2021 |
| Apostle Broikos, the youngest South Australian caught up in Operation Ironside, faces serious drug charges | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Baby-faced alleged drug trafficker Apostle Broikos busted by | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |

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| Operation Ironside fronts court | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AFP set to seize bikie's homes | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| ORGANISED CRIME AS BAD AS TERRORISM | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Goodna's Grahame William Rowe charged with drug offences | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Monday 5 July 2021 |
| HIGH COST OF OUR DRUG USE | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 31 October 2021 |
| \$225m coke app sting | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Giant pill press plans | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Challenge to legality of ANOM evidence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 4 June 2022 |
| TRUTH HIDDEN IN STATE OF SECRECY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 17 January 2022 |
| Bikies rev up at jail | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 30 January 2022 |
| Boston man arrested in organised | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Port Lincoln Times | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |

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| crime sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inside vicious outfit | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Thursday 15 July 2021 |
| PARANOID IN PARADISE | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 23 June 2022 |
| Kershaw promises success in drug war, but he can't say how | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Saturday 31 July 2021 |
| The week that was | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Andrew Rule: Cloned number plates see criminals get away with murder | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Prosecutors told to return legal firm's cash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 13 October 2021 |
| How banks, AUSTRAC are fighting on frontlines of financial crime | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Secret trick to catch crims | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 14 January 2023 |
| ORGANISED CRIME STRIKE | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Monday 4 April 2022 |

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| COPS' HI-TECH TROJAN HORSE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| IRON FIST | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 10 July 2021 |
| Freedom debate is cheap theatre | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| POLICE GET A HANDLE ON IT | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Italian Mafia in Australia flourishes, using Covid to traffic drugs, launder cash | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Monday 21 June 2021 |
| Truckie's \$2.75m 'drug cash' haul | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 3 August 2022 |
| Meth courier 'in over his head' | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 4 June 2022 |
| How mafia families control drugs trade | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Cops seize cars & \$1m | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Tuesday 8 February 2022 |
| Truckie a key man in drug sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 20 August 2021 |
| LAW IS PURE FANTASY | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 8 September 2022 |

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| More cash, guns and drugs seized as 'self-interested' bikies turn their backs on clubs | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Comanchero bikie Bradley Peters' \$1m watch and Ferrari coupe seized | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 27 November 2022 |
| Drug accused assets frozen | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 3 September 2021 |
| World of trouble for app-happy criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Legal bid to access sting code | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| AFP ON CASE OF 'DIRTY DOZEN' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Friday 9 December 2022 |
| Lawyer turns to sting experts | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 12 February 2023 |
| Gold Coast courts and crime: Harley Barbaro, Chloe-Lee Christine Beattie, | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin (Online) | QLD | Friday 18 June 2021 |

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| Teresa Bradford, Shane Bowden, Bianca Williams, William Kelvin Fox | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| CELL PHONE DIALLED UP DRUG RING | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 21 November 2022 | |
| INSIDE THE STING | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 12 June 2021 | |
| Aussie, Kiwi 'sting of the century' arrests | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 17 January 2023 | |
| Vincent John Circosta allegedly packaged \$2.74m under instruction from a senior bikie via encrypted ANOM app, court hears | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 23 June 2021 | |
| Bosses nabbed in raids | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 | |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY | Y | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |
| Operation Ironside: Nomads bikie gang | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 | |

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| president Michael Clark charged after ANOM breakthrough | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ironside 'Kingpin' has bail refused | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 9 July 2021 |
| TOP 5 NEWS STORIES THIS WEEK | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Most wanted drug kingpin sinks his crim pals | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| How international crime gangs are targeting everyday Aussies: AFP Commissioner | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Top Nomad arrested after Ironside raid | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Ironside murder plot | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 16 August 2021 |
| THREAT TO OUR WAY OF LIFE | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 31 October 2021 |

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| Time is up for corrupt insiders | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |
| ACT records nation's second highest cannabis and opioid consumption | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 27 October 2022 |
| New powers allow police to hack accounts | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Thursday 26 August 2021 | |
| Top cop: Bikie gang brotherhood 'dead' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 12 December 2021 | |
| A straight shooter who set the bar high for policing under Covid | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Weekend Australian | National | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Serious criminals banned from working in secure areas of sea ports and airports | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 22 August 2021 |
| Home on Mount Keira Rd caught up in mass Australian crime bust | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |

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| DEALERS THRIVE DURING COVID | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 25 August 2021 |
| Ashley Rake: Alleged drug supplier granted bail | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 2 December 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Police uncover huge haul of drugs and weapons | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| SUPER STING'S ROUND TWO | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| MOB RULE | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Weekend Australian Magazine | National | Saturday 9 July 2022 |
| Ironside strips assets from criminal figures | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| Ironside accused sells house for \$1 | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 6 January 2022 |
| Finks bikies ride for exit | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 11 January 2023 |
| Operation Ironside: Shayne Allan faces court over alleged role in | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |

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| murder plot | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Operation Bikie Bail | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 3 April 2022 |
| EXILED BIKIE RUNS FOR COVER IN TURKEY | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| How NSW's accused organised crime figures plan to have ANOM evidence ruled inadmissible | | | | N | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 13 August 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Joshua Mark Richter refused release on bail, while his uncle Timothy Shane Barkla withdraws bid for bail | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Accused drug pair bailed | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 29 June 2021 |
| Bad blood, shootings and bikie exodus: Inside Mongols mayhem | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Sunday 20 November 2022 |

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| Bikie loses homes in crime proceeds grab | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| How 51 accused trying to beat ANOM in court | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 14 August 2022 |
| Dialled in on cocaine | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Qld has most criminals charged with Common wealth offences | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| The Pope goes up in smoke | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 11 April 2022 |
| High sea sailors | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 1 April 2022 |
| World of trouble for app-happy criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| HE ROLLED THE DICE AND LOST | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 12 February 2023 |
| ACIC underworld witness refuses to answer questions about drug kingpin Mr X | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 19 June 2022 |

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| PRISON TO POOLSIDE | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 21 October 2021 |
| COPS' HI-TECH TROJAN HORSE | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Bachelorette contestant Samuel Minkin, Arron Hyde in court on drug charges | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Tweed Daily News | NSW | Tuesday 5 October 2021 |
| Operation Ironside uses AFP and FBI secret ANOM app to smash criminal underworld | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| AFP targets international gangs with coast strike team | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 4 April 2022 |
| 'BRO, ANOM IS BAD': | | Y | | | | | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Second strike at crime | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Friday 10 December 2021 |
| ENEMIES FOR SHOW, MATES FOR DOUGH | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| AFP lists 'dirty dozen' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 9 December 2022 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Ironside accused sells house for \$1 | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 6 January 2022 |
| MURDER THEY WROTE | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| ANOM-50 in court battle | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 14 August 2022 |
| Kingston man arrested over international drug bust | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Alleged drug HQ has debts of \$1.5m | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 21 November 2021 |
| Australian police and the FBI smash the underworld with encrypted phone sting | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Crims guard the border | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| Eight men arrested, charged as part of Australian Federal | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Friday 17 December 2021 |

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| Police Operation Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Biggest ever drug bust in state's history leads to \$250 million haul seized, kept off Aussie streets | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 31 March 2022 |
| Unholy trinity charged | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Raids to round up 160 top criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| National drug busts may be connected to local shooting | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Three kilos of MDMA sent in bain-marie | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 22 October 2022 |
| Danny Zayneh accused of \$1b ice and cocaine conspiracy as part of ANOM sting | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 26 July 2022 |
| Police to target 'trusted insiders' | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Friday 10 December 2021 |

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| supply allegedly linked to overseas bikies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Truckie 'insider' in drug stash | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 4 August 2022 | |
| Redfern RES drug bust: Edgar Hernando Michaels accused of supplying ice | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Fairfield Advance | NSW | Wednesday 4 August 2021 | |
| GANG'S ALL HERE | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 30 May 2022 | |
| Super meth labs hide in plain sight | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 18 February 2022 | |
| Mafia tag was 'racist' | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 5 July 2022 | |
| Operation Ironside: AFP's Nigel Ryan reveals new ANOM hit list of organised crime targets | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 17 July 2021 | |
| Op has coke price fizzing | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 9 August 2021 | |
| ANOM encrypted app claims another alleged crime figure | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 21 December 2021 | |

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| 'LET'S MAKE MILLIONS' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 25 July 2021 |
| FED'S TURKISH DELIGHT | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| Riverina man faces court over 1.2 tonne cocaine import plot | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Area News | NSW | Friday 1 July 2022 |
| TEXT TALK | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| Raid awakening for new NSW bikie boss | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 14 October 2021 |
| Top cops put gangs on notice | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 4 April 2022 |
| Bikie loses homes in crime proceeds grab | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| Men paid to collect coke off ship: AFP | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Advertiser | NSW | Thursday 30 June 2022 |
| SOPHISTICATED AND CRIMINAL | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 25 November 2022 |
| Best of the best | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 26 February 2022 |
| \$8m in assets frozen | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| 'We're coming': Top cop's stark warning to crooks yet | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 23 June 2021 |

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| Download the (tr)app | Y | | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Bikie to lose luxury homes and \$400,000 car in cop seizures | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Reporter scoops top prize | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 26 February 2022 |
| TRUTH HIDDEN IN STATE OF SECRECY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 17 January 2022 |
| 'Breaking Bad' pill press found | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Bikies' app shut down | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 26 September 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Cessnock's Christopher Mealey charged in major police sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| AFP's 'dirty dozen' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 9 December 2022 |
| FORCE DECLARES WAR ON ANGELS | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| Melbourne truck driver | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 19 August 2021 |

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| caught up in \$40m sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eastern Suburbs man linked to missing Mostafa Baluch charged with role in importing drugs into Australia | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Saturday 30 October 2021 |
| Operation Ironside, ANOM success sends policing back to old ways | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Herald Sun's readership continues to surge | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 27 February 2022 |
| Ice road trucker's courier gets jail | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 27 June 2022 |
| Bikie loses homes in crime proceeds grab | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| 10,000 linked to criminal network | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| 'Sting of the century' – but why the need | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The New Zealand Herald | NZ | Thursday 10 June 2021 |

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| to tell all now? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 'Drugs as serious a problem as terror' | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| CALLING THE SHOTS | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| Criminal stash found in garden is budget booster | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| 'I kind of ... may have shot someone' | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Monday 28 March 2022 |
| Australian and Kiwi 'sting of the century' arrests | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Monday 16 January 2023 |
| ANOM DRUG TRAFFICKER'S BIG REGRETS | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 21 March 2022 |
| THE BIG STING ILL-GOTTEN GAINS INSIDE ALADDIN'S MAN CAVES | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Comanchero associate Tevita Ofahengaue charged | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Whittlesea Leader | VIC | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |

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| with trafficking meth | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aussie, Kiwi 'sting of the century' arrests | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | Natio nal | Tuesday 17 January 2023 |
| Alleged ANOM drug trafficker Sebastian Bezbodod off lashes out during bail hearing | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | Natio nal | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |
| Revealed: South Australians charged over the Operation Ironside ANOM police sting | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |
| App-happy crims in world of pain | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| TRUSTED VOICE IN HARD TIMES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 23 August 2021 |
| Murder charge sees Comanchero boss stand down | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 29 June 2022 |
| Best of the best | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 26 February 2022 |

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| Giant pill press plans | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Police get new 'dark' powers | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Undie cover bikie's plea | | | | Y | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 31 July 2021 |
| Millions pledged to run Operation Ironside cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 19 December 2022 |
| Coke dealer dodges jail | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 7 May 2022 |
| Outlaw bikies hit harder this year, had more guns, cash and drugs seized than previous year: cops | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Man who allegedly said a 'pill god' was smiling on him now charged with trafficking in 10,000 ecstasy tablets | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Thursday 2 September 2021 |
| New laws to hack criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Monday 13 September 2021 |

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| 'Home sweet home': Baby-faced alleged drug trafficker Apostle Broikos' new look after leaving custody | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 1 July 2021 |
| Crime-gang drugs put little children in coffins: Why cop sting really matters | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| BLITZ ON HELLS ANGELS | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| FORCE DECLARES WAR ON ANGELS | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| Drug prices double in Bendigo after police swoop on major drug operation | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 25 July 2021 |
| HIGH COST OF OUR DRUG USE | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 31 October 2021 |

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| Crims lose \$64m in assets | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| \$31M BOOTY HAUL HITS CRIMS WHERE IT HURTS | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| The lavish spoils of war | | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| A flurry of attention, then collective forgetfulness – 100 years of the 'ndrangheta Calabrian mafia in Australia | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | EveningReport.nz | NZ | Tuesday 21 June 2022 |
| It's the old cat and mouse game | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Alleged criminal syndicate members to challenge legality of ANOM sting during 'royal commission'-like hearing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Friday 3 June 2022 |
| How ANOM legal challenge | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 3 August 2022 |

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| could benefit underworld's feared boss Mark Buddle | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alleged dealer's app slip | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| Ironside suspect's big blow | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 18 October 2021 |
| Julian Lee charged over \$64m worth of cocaine found in ship | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Monday 28 June 2021 |
| Drug arrest in ANOM app sting | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 6 April 2022 |
| \$3.7m haul as police bust secret rural drug factory | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Military-grade guns in a ute | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 13 November 2022 |
| Sydney bikie Allan Meehan the heir-apparent for Comanchero's top job in Tarek Zahed's absence | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 29 May 2022 |
| 'Mr Big' accused of trying | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 18 November 2021 |

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| busts will never top policy reform as a lasting fix | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bikies a 'national security threat' | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 21 June 2022 |
| Allan Meehan set to relocate to Melbourne as Comanchero national president | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 29 May 2022 |
| Nick The Knife arrested on drugs charges | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 21 October 2022 |
| ENEMIES FOR SHOW, MATES FOR DOUGH | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Gangs in sights of FBI-style agency | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 22 November 2021 |
| Cops hit 'like' on hacking powers | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| AROUND THE STATE | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 19 September 2021 |
| Bikie to lose luxury homes and \$400,000 | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 8 August 2022 |

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| car in cop seizures | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Two Aussies arrested, five 'on the run' in global sting | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Thousand-plus charges expected from big sting | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Waikato Times | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Exiled Hasan Topal investigated over 2018 Hampton Park tattoo parlour shooting | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 12 June 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: ANOM app leads to Taiwan arrests, \$45m drugs seized | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 16 December 2022 |
| ENEMIES FOR SHOW, MATES FOR DOUGH | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Letters | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Sting puts giant hole through | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 14 November 2021 |

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| bikie gangs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alleged drug trafficker nabbed in ANOM sting dealt fresh blow | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 25 January 2022 |
| Cops hit 'like' on hacking powers | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Different laws for crime and corruption | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Nomad's shot at top spot hacked | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| 'INGENIOUS' NEW PLAN TO TRAP CRIMS | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 29 July 2021 |
| App-y days for the right side of the law | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Top cop backs new way on nation's roaring drug trade | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| IRONSIDE'S BIG FREEZE | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 18 August 2021 |
| Cops hellbent on bikies | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| ANOM accused front mass court hearing | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 18 March 2022 |

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| Baker had real dough | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 23 August 2021 |
| Grower a 'patsy' in Ironside drug ring | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 14 January 2022 |
| Crime wave risk as borders open | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 26 October 2021 |
| Inside Australia's most dangerous gang: Full list of Comanchero gang members' crimes | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 25 November 2022 |
| FBI NAMES OLIVE MAN | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Bikie to lose luxury homes and \$400,000 car in cop seizures | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| FEDS' TURKISH DELIGHT | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| Ironside accuseds' crypto fortunes | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Top Nomad arrested after Ironside raid | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Cannabis bust at alleged Rebels | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 21 July 2021 |

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| 'safe house' linked to Operation Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Loot is worth millions | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| Giant pill press plans | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Legal tidal wave looms on Ironside | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 16 October 2022 |
| BAD BLOOD IN THE RANKS | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Monday 21 November 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Sydney arrest after \$64m worth of cocaine found hidden under ship's hull | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| Sting puts giant hole through bikie gangs | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 14 November 2021 |
| Accused crime syndicate head bailed despite 'risks' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Monday 28 June 2021 |
| Seized \$5 million forfeited to fight crime | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 26 March 2022 |

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| Second strike at crime | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Friday 10 December 2021 |
| Airport crew facing cargo narc ring rap | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 24 October 2021 |
| Alleged dealer's app slip | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| Parents choose 'meth over milk' in ice crisis | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| MAFIA MENACE CHANGES FACE | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 3 September 2021 |
| Murder charge sees Comanchero boss stand down | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 29 June 2022 |
| Chippie's \$1.4m account frozen in criminal sting | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 23 June 2021 |
| Cops who saved our kids | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| App captures bikies' boasts | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| Mafia plot to import cocaine | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 19 June 2022 |
| Gangland fugitive Buddle 'arrested | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Sunday 10 July 2022 |

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| e for sourcing firearm in murder plot, court told | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| \$64m cocaine keelhaul | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| Accused crime syndicate boss bailed despite 'risks' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 29 June 2021 |
| 'Home sweet home': Baby-faced alleged drug trafficker Apostle Broikos' new look after leaving custody | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 30 June 2021 |
| Bikie drug cash a family affair? | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| Organised crime 'just as bad as terrorism' | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Manawatu Standard | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Dummy runs and UV ink to sneak in | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| drug cargo | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AFP had to act on AnOm intel before legal authority ran out | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Thursday 29 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside's baby face | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Bad break for crooks | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Second kill plot foiled, police say | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Alessandro Franco refused bail for multiple money laundering offences, Carmine Rositano granted bail by Supreme Court | | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Sunday 22 August 2021 |
| AFP intel aids global crackdown | Y | | Y | M | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |
| How an app to decrypt criminal messages was born 'over a few beers' with the FBI | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | EveningReport.nz | NZ | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| ANOM 'sting of century' nets alleged 'lone wolf' Canberra | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 29 October 2021 |
| \$225M COCAINE BUST | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Man arrested in major operation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Daily Liberal and Macquarie Advocate | NSW | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| COPS WORK NEW ANGLE ON CRIMS | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 9 July 2021 |
| Truckie mule learns fate over \$5.25m haul | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 15 July 2022 |
| POLICE GET A HANDLE ON IT | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Horsley man fronts court for drug supply, cash stash after AFP raid | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Ironside aftermath: drug price hikes and desperation on the streets | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mandurah Mail | WA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Truckie's ice haul freeze | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 27 April 2022 |

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| Time's up on bikie's swanky lifestyle | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 28 November 2022 | |
| Encrypted app 'handcuffs' criminal networks as AFP swoops on local links to global drug network | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| How banks, AUSTRAC are fighting on frontlines of financial crime | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| MURDER THEY WROTE | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| TRUSTED VOICE THROUGH TOUGH TIMES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 24 August 2021 |
| Mafia-style crims in AFP's crosshairs | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| ANOM sting now facing major legal challenge | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| Texts foil jailbreak plans for Dubai duo | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |

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| Meth use persists as most illicit drug use dives: ACT wastewater report | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 28 October 2021 | | |
| Children biggest loser in ice crisis | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 28 July 2021 | |
| Police bust \$225m cocaine boat | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 12 September 2021 | |
| Teenager's alleged drug role revealed | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 23 June 2021 | |
| CASES SUBJECT TO ORDERS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 17 January 2022 |
| UNDERWORLD UNRAVELLING | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 12 June 2021 | |
| Crime-busters have Midas touch | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 14 January 2023 | |
| Family's \$600k bail for accused | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 18 January 2023 | |
| HIGH COST OF OUR DRUG USE | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 31 October 2021 |
| The 'most significant' police operation in | Y | | | N | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | EveningReport.nz | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |

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| Australian history – how it worked and what it means for organised crime | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DRUG BUST SHOCKS WAHLBERG'S BURGER BUDDY | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| Ready to replace arrested dealers | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| Crims using cash-in-transit services to hide cash | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| Ready to replace arrested dealers | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| Men paid to collect coke off ship: AFP | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Advertiser | NSW | Thursday 30 June 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: AFP seize luxury Rolex, cars and cash with guns from ANOM web of arrests | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Arrests leveraged | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Saturday 19 June 2021 |

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| to erode online privacy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Buddle's capture was top secret | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 14 July 2022 | | |
| 96 SECONDS THAT BLEW UP THE UNDERW ORLD | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |
| THREAT TO OUR WAY OF LIFE [AFP campaign against drugs] | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 31 October 2021 | |
| Hayden James Bubner: Alleged Comanch ero treasurer accused of involveme nt in murder plot | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | Natio nal | Wednesday 11 August 2021 | |
| CRIME MUST PAY | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| Ironsie accused face court | | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Comanch ero bikie boss Mark Buddle brought back to Australia in | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 3 August 2022 |

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| designer shoes and handcuffs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Letters | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Reveal secrets of ANOM | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| Another huge cocaine bust as Ironside raids keep hurting crime | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Sting in their tail, not much up top | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Qld's drug dealer kingpins exposed after 49,071 arrests List | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Sunday 28 November 2021 |
| FBI agrees to hold fire | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 4 December 2022 |
| Two charged following Sydney Airport drug trafficking investigation | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Australian Federal Police issue crack down on Mafia-style | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |

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| crime families | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Trafficker jailed in drug sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 24 November 2022 |
| A luxury world for their WAGs | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 28 November 2021 |
| Some risk in 'bikie's' bail | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 3 December 2021 |
| Crime wave risk as borders open | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 26 October 2021 |
| STANDOUT YEAR OF JOURNALISM | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 22 November 2021 |
| Criminal stash found in garden is budget booster | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| White line fever as gang hits highway | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 19 February 2022 |
| Police swoop on syndicate in massive Melbourne cocaine bust | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| Comanchero bikie boss Mark Buddle extradited to Melbourne upon arrival | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Wednesday 3 August 2022 |

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| back in Australia | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Illawarra raids: Bikies charged over '\$1.2m cocaine ring' | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Saturday 4 September 2021 |
| AFP'S DIRTY DOZEN CRIME ACTS | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 9 December 2022 |
| Nike bikies not part of any brotherhood | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 12 December 2021 |
| Alleged Hells Angels associates charged in \$3m drug, weapons sting | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Friday 3 December 2021 |
| Texts foil jailbreak plans for Dubai duo | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Bikie set to lose homes | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 8 August 2022 |
| Next-gen 'Gucci Gangsters' come unstuck | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Crime boss dead after 'execution-style' shooting | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 19 June 2021 |

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| Crime-gang drugs put little children in coffins: Why cop sting really matters | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| It's a cops and robbers reboot | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Mafia dons' plot to kill the hero they hated | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| No bail for drugs, weapons accused | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Bikies' win in bashing case | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 15 August 2022 |
| IRONSIDE STING LEADS TO A YEAR OF DRAMA | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |
| Chippie's \$1.4m account frozen in criminal sting | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 23 June 2021 |
| 'Let's get this one done and make u a rich man' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 18 July 2021 |
| Major bust in alleged airport drug | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Sunday 13 June 2021 |

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| trafficking syndicate | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Comanchero bikie among 35 arrested in series of police raids | N | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Mafia's big fish slipping the net | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 11 June 2022 |
| DOUBLE LIFE OF THE MAFIA MAN - 'TELSTRA SHOP' FOR AUSSIE UNDERWORLD | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| \$31M BOOTY HAUL HITS CRIMS WHERE IT HURTS | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| Comancheros accuse cops of controversial tactic | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 11 December 2021 |
| ILL-GOTTEN GAINS INSIDE ALADDIN'S MAN CAVES | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| AFP boss compares bikie | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 29 July 2021 |

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| gangs to terrorism | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Comanchero outlaw bikie gang tear through Melbourne on annual run | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 29 January 2022 |
| Ex-con was paid \$120,000 to bring down the underworld | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Gangs' secret accord | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 15 May 2022 |
| Operation Ironside drug raids uncover pill press in central Victoria | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Ex-Comanchero bikie Fidel Tukel among thousands disarmed by gun license reforms | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 31 March 2022 |
| Federal police move on \$31m in crime assets | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Weekend Australian | National | Saturday 25 September 2021 |
| 49k drug arrests as kingpins exposed | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 27 November 2021 |

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| Bikie's alleged plot to kill member over \$300k drug debt | | Y | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 20 December 2022 |
| BIKIE'S WIFE SPLITS FOR SYDNEY WITH KIDS | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Buddle's accused Vic accomplices revealed | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 19 August 2022 |
| Herald Sun | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Aussie, Kiwi 'sting of the century' arrests | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 17 January 2023 |
| Ironside accused's \$17.5m guilty plea | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| EVIDENCE MISSING IN FORMER REALITY STAR'S DRUG CASE | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 7 October 2021 |
| Airport worker gang's 'cargo drugs scheme' | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 24 October 2021 |
| Sydney gang police | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| expecting rise in violence after ANOM mass arrests | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Global hunt for six-pack criminal | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Criminal treasures seized | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Wednesday 18 May 2022 |
| 300 bikies armed and dangerous | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 24 September 2022 |
| Organised crime gangs used food delivery services to deal drugs across Australia | | Y | | N | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 22 June 2021 | |
| Duo to fight ANOM charge | | D | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 14 May 2022 |
| Bikie boss Buddle gets a private jet flight to court | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Weekend Australian | National | Saturday 6 August 2022 |
| Aussies second biggest ice users | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| Cops hellbent on bikies | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| Global crime bosses foiled | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Bikie torture by blowtorch claim | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | The West Australian | WA | Wednesday 26 October 2022 |
| Blitz planned to smash notorious bikie gang | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| Broader lockdown imposed in NSW as Sydney Covid cluster grows | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Sunday 27 June 2021 |
| Mafia dons 'sit down' to murder a hero | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| Dealers cashing in on the misery of ice addicts | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 14 August 2022 |
| Police release footage from Mostafa Baluch's arrest at Queensland border | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 10 November 2021 |
| More than \$70k in designer sneakers | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 16 July 2021 |

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| seized in ANOM app raid | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fine not enough for border rule breaches | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| BIKIE WON RACE TO THE DEATH WITH GANGSTER | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 5 June 2022 |
| Mafia's Web: How mob bosses heatedly debated killing Donald Mackay | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 7 August 2021 |
| NEWS 'SCOOP' NOMINATED | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| Cops bust \$225m coke boat with app | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Gangs' secret accord | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 15 May 2022 |
| \$300k bail for man in organised crime sting | | | Y | | N | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 13 July 2021 |
| Mark Buddle: Bikie boss in Turkish prison with fears | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 14 July 2022 |

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| he'll buy freedom | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| News' talent win Walkleys | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 26 February 2022 |
| Secret trick to catch criminals | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Saturday 14 January 2023 |
| 'Ice ring' crash lands into ANOM sting | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 2 August 2021 |
| Illawarra raids, arrests as FBI app gives police an ear to world's underbelly | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| 'Every soul shall taste death': gang warning, or brutal truth? | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| 49k drug arrests as kingpins exposed | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 27 November 2021 |
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Durim Krasniqi, who allegedly went by ANOM | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Monday 9 August 2021 |

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| handle 'MoneyMaker', refused bail on drug trafficking offences | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BIKIE BOSS'S PLOT TO GET OUT OF JAIL | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| No bail for drugs, weapons accused | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| FBI for now won't extradite Aussies | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 4 December 2022 |
| STANDOUT YEAR OF JOURNALISM | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 22 November 2021 |
| Operation Ironsides: NSW people charged in Anom police bust | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Paranoid criminals looking for cover | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 10 August 2021 |
| Meth use persists as most illicit drug use dives: ACT wastewater report | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 28 October 2021 |

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| Supreme Court asked to make sweeping order freezing all assets related to Operation Ironside accused | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 16 July 2021 |
| International drug smuggling suspect jailed indefinitely for silence | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 19 June 2022 |
| WAR ON ANGELS | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| Drugs on your doorstep | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Sydney arrest after \$64m in cocaine found hidden under ship hull | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| Groom's wedding approval | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| Ironside strips assets from criminal figures | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| 'Sting of the century' How the gangs were | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | Hawkes Bay Today | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |

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| brought to their knees | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fears of war on streets | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 | |
| FBI NAMES OLIVE MAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 | |
| ALLEGED ICE TRAFFICKER: 'IT'S QUALITY' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 8 July 2021 | |
| 'Home sweet home': Operation Ironside accused Apostle Broikos revels in freedom after being granted home detention bail | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 30 June 2021 | |
| Mafia rules crime gang networks | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 7 June 2022 | |
| Cops vow to give Angels hell in bikie blitz | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| Australia's most wanted bikie Mark Buddle faces court | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 4 August 2022 |

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| AFP intel aids global crackdown | Y | | Y | M | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| CHEAP AFGHAN METH THREAT | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | Y | The Northern Territory News | NT | Saturday 23 October 2021 |
| Prosecutors told to return legal firm's cash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 13 October 2021 |
| Mafia's Web podcast reveals how the Italian mafia run Australia's drug trade | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 21 July 2021 |
| MOSTAFA SCREW LOOSE | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| GYM JUNKIE NABBED | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Buddle's capture was top secret | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| ANOM 'sting of century' nets alleged 'lone wolf' Canberran | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 29 October 2021 |
| Exiled Sydney bikie Mark Buddle's wife to return to Australia | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |

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| Herald Sun nominated for 10 Walkley awards | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 21 October 2021 | |
| Trucks and vans carry dirty cash | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| ANOM sting now facing major legal challenge | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| ANOM teen bailed, snaps photo | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 1 July 2021 |
| Drugs, cash and cop gear in bikie's place | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 18 September 2022 |
| BIGGEST STORIES FROM BEST TEAM | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 28 February 2022 |
| David Penberthy: Operation Ironside is one of the great sucked-in stories of our time | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Notorious Crime Family boss George Marrogi suspect in jailhouse | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 20 November 2022 |

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| drug importation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| The Comanfearo MC | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| How mafia families control drugs trade | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Fugitive truckie's Ironside arrest | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 7 February 2022 |
| Alleged \$157k ice trade | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| As organised crime makes headlines, are bikie gangs the threat they are made out to be? | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | EveningReport.nz | NZ | Wednesday 16 June 2021 | |
| Operation Ironside smashes \$40m coke syndicate | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Reveal secrets of ANOM | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| Operation Ironside thwarts two Adelaide murder plots, police say | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Cops bust \$225m coke boat | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 12 September 2021 |

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| COCAINE CRISIS SPECIAL INVESTIGATION WE'RE CROSSING A LINE ON COKE HABIT | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 31 October 2021 |
| Hunters become the hunted | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| War on drugs a crucial task | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The West Australian | WA | Friday 25 February 2022 |
| Arrest link to fugitive | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 10 December 2021 |
| WAR ON ANGELS | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| Bikie on the run in Turkey | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Columnist honoured with prestigious News Award | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 28 November 2021 |
| Mark Buddle: Bikie boss in Turkish prison with fears he'll buy freedom | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 13 July 2022 |
| Ironside accused sells house for \$1 | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 6 January 2022 |
| Bikie kingpin charged after | N | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |

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| police sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ironside strips assets from criminal figures | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| How giant sting put a hole in bikie gangs | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 14 November 2021 |
| Brothers in arms | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 1 August 2021 |
| IRON FIST | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 10 July 2021 |
| Bikie on the run in Turkey | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| OP HAS COKE PRICE FIZZING | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| Massive wealth of crims revealed in Operation Ironside cash, asset seizures | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 30 September 2022 |
| Cops vow to give Angels hell in bikie blitz | Y | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 9 January 2022 |
| Banora Point homes searched by NSW Drug Squad in alleged | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Star | NSW | Friday 22 April 2022 |

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| A SUGAR CRASH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY FORENSIC NINJAS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 1 August 2021 | |
| Bosses secretly work together | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 15 May 2022 | |
| Bikie's epic weight loss | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 27 May 2022 | |
| Battle for Ironside loot | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 12 July 2021 | |
| Outlaw bikies hit harder this year, had more guns, cash and drugs seized than previous year: cops | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Saturday 4 December 2021 | |
| Living next to the mob | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 8 June 2022 | |
| Mr Blonde set to fill criminal void | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Monday 14 June 2021 | |
| COCAINE CRISIS SPECIAL INVESTIGATION WE'RE CROSSING A LINE | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Sunday 31 October 2021 | |

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| ON COKE HABIT | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MURDER THEY WROTE | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Cops' new hacking power | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Organised crime 'just as bad as terrorism' | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | Y | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Deadline: FBI sting links bikie money to prestigious school | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Drug price hikes and desperation | | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Examiner | TAS | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| AFP: Kids real meth victims | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Aussie drug kingpin's ANOM web exposed | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| \$8m frozen in app sting operation | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| MAFIA MENACE CHANGES FACE | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Friday 3 September 2021 |

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| Cops' new hacking power | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 13 September 2021 | | |
| FUGITIVE TRUCK STOP | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| Bikies' app shut down | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Monday 26 September 2022 |
| OP HAS COKE PRICE FIZZING | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| 158 days in jail solitary | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 13 November 2021 |
| Drug trio's shipment uncovered | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Saturday 21 January 2023 |
| BIKIE BOSS'S PLOT TO GET OUT OF JAIL | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Victoria's Comancheros 'stopped in their tracks' | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| How Operation Ironside thwarted an alleged murder plot involving a machine gun and an ambush on Norwood Parade | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| Apostle Broikos accused of selling phones with the encrypted ANOM app installed, court hears | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Spill or rot in prison | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 20 June 2022 |
| Eric Grunnet: Darling Point man denied bail over ANOM drug sting | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Inner West Courier | NSW | Monday 30 August 2021 |
| Police 'not confident' they've found all Ironside assets | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Ironside fortune returned to mum | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 20 January 2022 |
| Kill plot accused refused bail | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 11 September 2021 |
| How mafia families control drugs trade | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Nomad's shot at top spot hacked | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| 'His head was squirting' | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 28 March 2022 |

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| Police call for tweak to CCTV to catch killers in getaway cars | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 8 July 2021 | | | |
| 'Access passes' for crims face axe | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| 'Profits vaporised' : AFP burn \$5b of seized bikie drugs at secret facilities | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Saturday 11 December 2021 |
| AFP intel aids global crackdown | Y | | Y | M | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| How mafia families control drugs trade | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: Luke Andreou locked up for drug, weapons offences after ANOM bust | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 16 September 2022 |
| Operation Ironside: FBI reveals more US arrest details in | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| Aussie-led sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Four charged with drug supply allegedly linked to overseas bikies | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 23 April 2022 | |
| Organised crime 'a big threat' | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Mafia's Web podcast reveals how the Italian mafia run Australia's drug trade | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 3 August 2021 |
| How 51 accused plan to beat ANOM in court | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 14 August 2022 |
| \$140k 'bribe' to take drug rap | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 16 May 2022 |
| Bosses netted in raids | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Bikie boss back to face the music | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| AFP's new forensic testing uses silver and gold to help catch criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 13 January 2023 |

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| Police to keep close tabs on Comanchero bikie national rally in Melbourne suburbs this weekend | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 23 September 2022 |
| Deadline: Mark Buddle's North Cyprus bust a warning to bikie in hiding | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 20 July 2022 |
| DOUBLE LIFE OF THE MAFIA MAN - 'TELSTRA SHOP' FOR AUSSIE UNDERWORLD | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Raids reveal \$5m in garden shed | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| \$225M COCAINE BUST | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| THE CENTURY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hurstville woman jailed for money laundering and drugs trafficking | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | St. George and Sutherland Shire Leader | NSW | Tuesday 24 May 2022 |
| Huge rise in court secrecy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Bombings' lessons for AFP analyst | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| NEW IRONSIDE ARREST FOR MONEY LAUNDERING, DRUGS | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 31 December 2021 |
| Ironside accused in 'arson attack' | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| An ankle bracelet proved an unusual accessory for a beach polo date with the stars | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 8 February 2022 |
| Queen's Birthday honours for South Aussie greats | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Just one more drug mule fool | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 8 May 2022 |

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| Bikie bash plot foiled | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 4 September 2021 |
| Herald Sun reinforces status as state's top news brand | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 22 August 2021 |
| BAD BLOOD, SHOOTINGS AND BIKIE EXODUS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 21 November 2022 |
| Top bikie 'sourced drive-by firearm' | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 12 August 2021 |
| Top Nomad arrested after Ironside raid | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Crims using cash-in-transit services to hide cash | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| Ironside accused denied home bail | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 30 July 2021 |
| Crime boss dead after 'execution-style' shooting | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| Fears of war on streets | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Walkley Awards 2022: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 25 February 2022 |

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| Herald Sun journalists , photographers honoured in Sydney | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DOUBLE LIFE OF THE MAFIA MAN - 'TELSTRA SHOP' FOR AUSSIE UNDERWORLD | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Encrypted app 'handcuffs' criminal networks as AFP swoops on local links to global drug network | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Comanchero bikie boss Mark Buddle deported to Australia: what happens now | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 3 August 2022 |
| Alleged bikie refused bail | | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 17 September 2021 |
| Mafia bosses | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 10 October 2022 |

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| feeling heat | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mafia dons 'sit down' to murder a hero | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| Taskforce dismantle s organised crime networks, seizing \$13m in drugs and cash as well as firearms | Y | Y | | N | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 25 August 2021 |
| Bikie boss's plot to get out of jail | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| 'We're coming': Top cop's stark warning to crooks yet to be busted under Operation Ironside | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | News.com.au | Natio nal | Wednesday 23 June 2021 | |
| Bombings' lessons for AFP analyst | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| TRUSTED VOICE THROUGH TOUGH TIMES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 24 August 2021 |
| Cops' Turkish delight | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| Ironside operation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 19 June 2021 |

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| throws up privacy rights | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Blitz planned to smash notorious bikie gang | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Australian (Online) | National | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| BIKIE 'KILL PLOT' FOILED | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Top cop backs new way on drugs | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Monday 5 July 2021 |
| Four Comanchero bikies arrested as part of Operation Ironside investigations | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 3 September 2021 |
| Kershaw promises success in drug war, but he can't say how | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Saturday 31 July 2021 |
| 'Mr Big' accused of drug scheme | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 19 November 2021 |
| Comanchero boss co-accused revealed | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 20 August 2022 |
| GANG'S ALL HERE | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| HOME FLIPPER OR COKE CAPO | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 8 July 2021 |

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| DOUBLE LIFE OF THE MAFIA MAN - 'TELSTRA SHOP' FOR AUSSIE UNDERWORLD | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| NEWS 'SCOOP' NOMINATED | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| Cops warn of 'major escalation' in crime wars | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Weekend Australian | National | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| IRONSIDE ASSET FREEZE TOPS \$30M | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 20 October 2021 |
| Boxer among 18 on charges | | Y | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 3 December 2021 |
| Bikie hauls on the rise | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 5 December 2021 |
| Global gang 'plague' | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 9 June 2022 |
| WALKLEY NOMINATIONS FOR OUR FINEST | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| Mafioso boss's WA hideout | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| Alleged bashing target faces own charges | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 26 May 2022 |

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| \$31m booty haul hits crims where it hurts | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| Cops seize bikie booty and guns during crackdown | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 5 December 2021 |
| Our law enforcers are second to none | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| From Money Maker to pauper | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 8 October 2021 |
| Raids to round up 160 top criminals | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | Natio nal | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| Operation Ironsides: FBI reveals Aussie drug traffickers ' secret messages | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Support for police sting | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| No bail on drug charges | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 17 June 2021 |
| Raid awakenin g for new NSW bikie boss | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 14 October 2021 |
| Herald Sun | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 21 November 2021 |

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| readership surges | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Laundering charges for bikies' \$4m | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 21 September 2022 |
| Stuart Duncan Farquhar, George Awkar, Tyler Hernandez Brook and a fourth man arrested as part of Operation Ironside plead guilty | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 6 July 2021 |
| TYRE RIM STING TRIO UNMASKED | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| Stealth the new device for crime gangs who fear the cops closing in | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| Breaking (up) bad | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 12 December 2021 |
| EXILE IN THE GUN | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 13 June 2022 |
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Challenges to ANOM app spread | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 30 May 2022 |

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| Operation Ironside: Victorian Comancheros named after being arrested in ANOM police sting | N | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Southland Times | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Texts foil jailbreak plans for Dubai duo | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Oz Italian Mafia is thriving | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| \$40m bust smashes drug ring | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| CRIME MUST PAY | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| NSW Police arrest 35 people; seize firearms, luxury vehicles and illicit drugs | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Liverpool City Champion | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Complex operation Irons out gangs with guns, drugs and cash seized | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |

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| across state | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate agent 'key in drug ring' | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| Mostafa Baluch found in Mercedes crossing NSW, Queensland border | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 10 November 2021 |
| Operation Ironside, ANOM success sends policing back to old ways | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Comanchero boss deported from Turkey | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| TOPAL IN TROUBLE OVER APP | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 6 February 2022 |
| Bikies a 'national security threat' | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 21 June 2022 |
| Accused bikies revealed | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Wednesday 29 December 2021 |
| Sting has coke cost soaring | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| Watches, phones and more than \$130,000 | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 19 August 2021 |

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| BIKIES CRIPPLED BY AN IRON FIST | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 18 September 2021 |
| Bikies in bashing court case win | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 15 August 2022 |
| Slain gang boss rolled dice on his life and lost | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| INSIDE THE POLICE OPERATIONS BUNKER | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Organised crime a plague in Aus | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 9 June 2022 |
| Gangs secretly work together | Y | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 15 May 2022 |
| Parents choose 'meth over milk' in ice crisis | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Interpol's secret Buddle takedown | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| Federal police move on \$31m in crime assets | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Friday 24 September 2021 |
| Arrest link to fugitive | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 10 December 2021 |
| Silvio Molinara and Rocco Portolesi | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Monday 28 June 2021 |

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| granted bail for alleged involvement in cocaine importation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Map shows how FBI's encrypted phone platform ANoM infiltrated criminal syndicates all over the world | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Brisbane cops strike while Ironside is hot | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Drugs as deadly as terrorism, says AFP chief Reece Kershaw | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Australian (Online) | National | Tuesday 27 July 2021 |
| Cops hit 'like' on hacking powers | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Freeze on assets in app sting | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| No rest for the wicked – so bikie freed from jail | | | | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 31 July 2022 |
| Comanchero bikies | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 6 August 2022 |

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| busted in park meet | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Operation Ironside: Luke Andreou charged after cash, police uniform allegedly found in Horsley home | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |
| Comanchero bikie Maher Aouli's waterfront mansion among assets to be seized by police | N | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 7 August 2022 |
| Aussies second biggest ice users | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Cairns Post | QLD | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| SOPHISTICATED AND CRIMINAL | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 25 November 2022 |
| Six men busted in global drug ring | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 16 October 2021 |
| CURSE OF THE COMANCHERO PRESIDENT PATCH | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 28 May 2022 |
| Complex operation Irons out gangs with guns, drugs and | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |

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| cash seized across state | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alleged drug kingpins' escape from Dubai jail foiled by ANOM app | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| 'Middle rung' drug trio jailed | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 21 October 2022 |
| Slipping Through | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Saturday 11 June 2022 |
| MOSTAFA SCREW LOOSE | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| Family's \$600k bail for accused | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 18 January 2023 |
| HERALD SUN TALENT STARS IN BIG NIGHT OF NEWS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 25 November 2021 |
| World of trouble for app-happy criminals | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: US names Aussies in ANOM sting | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| They paid their way to prison | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Allan Meehan now command | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 13 October 2021 |

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| er of Sydney Chapter of Comanchero | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Crime boss Bilal Hamze gunned down in hail of bullets in Sydney's CBD | Y | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 17 June 2021 |
| Cops' fury at being left out of AFP loop | Y | Y | Y | M | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 11 July 2022 |
| Comanchero bikies busted in park meet | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 6 August 2022 |
| Accused meth gang facing more charges | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 6 February 2023 |
| AFP sting nets 340 suspects | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 22 December 2021 |
| Named: Queenslanders charged in Operation Ironside police sting and their suburbs | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Thursday 17 June 2021 |
| Sense of brotherhood among modern bikies is a myth | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Saturday 11 September 2021 |
| How mafia families | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |

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| control drugs trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 'Let's get this one done and make u a rich man' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 18 July 2021 |
| Third time unlucky | | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 30 July 2021 |
| App 'a crystal ball' into crime gang's underbelly | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Sydney arrest after \$64m worth of cocaine found hidden under ship's hull | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| STING OF THE CENTURY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Melbourne truckie accused of being key player in Mark Buddle's alleged 160kg cocaine importation | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| COPS WORK NEW ANGLE ON CRIMS | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 9 July 2021 |

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| HERALD SUN TALENT STARS IN BIG NIGHT OF NEWS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 25 November 2021 |
| Ironside cops set for sting phase 2 | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| Fugitive truck stop | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 11 November 2021 |
| AFP launches second phase of Operation Ironside, targeting lawyers, bikies and drug dealers | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Wednesday 8 December 2021 |
| A mystery WA woman, \$3M cash, meth and 'Mr Blonde' | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Friday 4 November 2022 |
| Bomb's Ironside origins | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 20 December 2021 |
| Hunter man charged as part of Operation Ironside | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| AFP sniffs out high-powered outlaw arsenal | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Cops take on child predator | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 12 September 2021 |

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| 'guidebooks' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mafia dons 'sitdown' to murder hero they hated | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| Crims cop a \$500M hidden stash hit | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 18 May 2022 |
| \$31m booty haul hits crims where it hurts | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 19 December 2021 |
| Alleged drug supplier Ashley Rake's bail relaxed so he can work in construction | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 5 July 2022 |
| Wedding day bail for accused crook | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 23 October 2021 |
| Three kilos of MDMA sent in bain-marie | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 22 October 2022 |
| Ironside accused denied home bail | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 30 July 2021 |
| AFP boss compares bikie gangs to terrorism | Y | Y | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 29 July 2021 |

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| Drug accused gets tracker | Y | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 17 June 2021 |
| Truckie 'insider' in drug stash | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| Operation Ironside accused sharing a cell | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 26 October 2021 |
| Comanchero crown comes back to Sydney | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 29 June 2022 |
| Drugs as deadly as terrorism: AFP chief | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Huge cost of Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 10 August 2021 |
| Cops uncover alleged dealer's shoe stash | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Loophole to be closed allowing people on criminal watchlists to work at airports | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| Drugs as deadly as terrorism: AFP chief | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Man, 20, in historic ANOM drug bust | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 17 January 2023 |
| Warning on | Y | | | Y | Y? | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Friday 15 October 2021 |

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| organised crime | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ILL-GOTTEN GAINS INSIDE ALADDIN'S MAN CAVES | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Aussies second biggest ice users | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| Truckie a key man in drug sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 20 August 2021 |
| Almost \$5 million seized from Hunter property to be forfeited to Common wealth | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 26 March 2022 |
| 38 Queenslanders busted in Special Operation Ironside's Anom sting | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: NSW people charged in ANOM police sting and their suburbs | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |

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| Whinnett a Walkley nominee | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| Three kilos of MDMA sent in bain-marie | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 22 October 2022 |
| Truckie who worked as ANOM mule spared jail | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 16 July 2022 |
| Unholy trinity charged | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Organised crime on rise, warns top cop | Y | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 9 June 2022 |
| 'Hectic': House flipping accused drug kingpin's texts, associates | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| NEW IRONSIDE ARREST FOR MONEY LAUNDERING, DRUGS | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 31 December 2021 |
| Cops have a Midas touch | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 14 January 2023 |
| Operation Ironside: reality TV stars, bikies, mafia figures | Y | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| caught in AFP-FBI sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Operation Ironside: Murder plot accused Peter John McMillan allegedly 'sourced and inspected' gun | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Monday 6 September 2021 |
| Operation Ironside sting reveals organised crime gangs are secretly working together to make cash | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Saturday 14 May 2022 |
| Time is up for corrupt insiders | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| \$8m frozen in app sting operation | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| TRUSTED VOICE IN HARD TIMES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 23 August 2021 |
| Comanchero associate Samiu Tukuafu sentenced after ANOM drug bust | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 13 December 2022 |

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| AFP raids Riverina home in cocaine import plan crackdown | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Advertiser | NSW | Wednesday 22 June 2022 |
| 8 years' jail for Ironside offender | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 18 February 2022 |
| Deadly sea cargo seized | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Undie cover crim begs for prison | | Y | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 31 July 2021 |
| Bikies in sight for new round of raids | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Sunday 1 August 2021 |
| Bikie fired gun in feud | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 20 August 2022 |
| How the Mafia thrives here | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| New AFP sting to combat drug use | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 31 October 2021 |
| Criminal stash found in garden is budget booster | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| Cops take on child predator 'guidebooks' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Mafia dons 'sitdown' | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 8 August 2021 |

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| to murder hero they hated | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SUPER STING'S ROUND TWO | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 9 December 2021 |
| Mafia, bikies linked to cocaine operation | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 10 June 2022 |
| Nick 'the Knife' Forbes allegedly directed other Mongols in drug trade and cash collection | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin (Online) | QLD | Thursday 27 October 2022 |
| Mafia clan in shakedown | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 19 June 2022 |
| EXILED BIKIE RUNS FOR COVER IN TURKEY | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Airport loophole to close | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| Crime lords slam dunked | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Pill press plans foiled | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 4 July 2021 |
| Men paid to collect coke off ship: AFP | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Advertiser | NSW | Thursday 30 June 2022 |

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| Named: South Australians charged in Operation Ironsides police sting | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Cops hit 'like' on hacking powers | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Samuel Colin Minkin, Arron Hyde: Bachelorette contestant to fight drug supply charges | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Tweed Daily News | NSW | Friday 13 May 2022 |
| Four charged with drug supply allegedly linked to overseas bikies | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 23 April 2022 |
| We can get past Covid and come out stronger | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 7 January 2022 |
| 8 years' jail for Ironsides offender | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 18 February 2022 |
| Drug criminals outed by encrypted app | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Sydney Morning Herald | NSW | Thursday 9 December 2021 |

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| ANOM sting accused front mass court hearing | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 17 March 2022 |
| Sense of brotherhood among modern bikies is a myth | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Saturday 11 December 2021 |
| Monster sting via ANOM | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| Cops' hi-tech trojan horse [WA edition; article text entirely different] | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Illawarra raids: Bikies charged over '\$1.2m cocaine ring' | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Saturday 4 September 2021 |
| Nerds win in war on crime | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Global hunt for six-pack criminal | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Alleged drug dealer's \$70K sneaker stash | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Police 'not confident' they've found all | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 17 July 2021 |

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| Ironside assets | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 96 SECONDS THAT BLEW UP THE UNDERWORLD | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 | |
| The inside story of Operation Ironside – and the Adelaide olive merchant named by the FBI as a key player in a global conspiracy | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Bombings' lessons for AFP analyst | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| Most wanted drug kingpin sinks his crim pals | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Study reveals 'wicked' grip ice has on Aussies | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| Sunbury, Mildura, Braybrook: Victoria's meth lab busts of | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 4 January 2022 |

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| 2021 revealed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Breaking (up) bad | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 12 December 2021 |
| The bikies, border dodgers and accused drug runners who came unstuck on social | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 30 March 2022 |
| Huge cost of Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 10 August 2021 |
| Mejid Hamzy put out contract to have Comanchero boss Mark Buddle murdered | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Saturday 4 June 2022 |
| Top cop backs new way on drugs | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Monday 5 July 2021 |
| GC 'sting of century' bust | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| IRON FIST | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 10 July 2021 |
| Challenges to ANOM app spread | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 30 May 2022 |
| 'Mistaken identity' murders could be solved after bikie arrests | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | The Australian (Online) | National | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| Named: South Australians charged in Operation Ironside police sting and their suburbs | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Harness Racing SA chairman George Fiacchi resigns to pursue private business interests | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| Baggage handler used nickname s to bring drugs into Sydney Airport: Court | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 1 August 2021 |
| Super meth labs hide in plain sight | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 18 February 2022 |
| Organised crime 'a big threat' | Y | | | N | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside smashes \$40m coke syndicate | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| ILL- GOTTEN GAINS INSIDE ALADDIN' | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 13 June 2021 |

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| S MAN CAVES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Organised crime 'just as bad as terrorism' | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | Y | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Trafficker accused in court | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 6 July 2021 |
| Comanch ero Sgt- at-Arms Christian Taumoefol au swept up in ANOM raids | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Horsley man fronts court for drug supply, cash stash after AFP raid | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Police target creators of child predator 'guideboo ks' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Luxury homes, car worth \$4.4m seized by federal police in drug investigati on | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | Natio nal | Wednesday 10 August 2022 |
| The crazy reasons Victoria's big-name | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Monday 7 November 2022 |

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| crims have been released on bail | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| UPHEAVAL IN THE UNDERWORLD | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Thursday 29 December 2022 |
| HOME FLIPPER OR COKE CAPO | | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| Meth use persists as most illicit drug use dives: ACT wastewater report | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 28 October 2021 |
| Cops' fury at being left out of AFP loop | Y | Y | Y | M | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Monday 11 July 2022 |
| Sydney arrest after \$64m in cocaine found hidden under ship hull | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 26 June 2021 |
| Top Nomad arrested after Ironside raid | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Marlborough Express | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Criminal clans are hiding in plain sight | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |

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| Operation Ironside: Hakan Ayik told to turn himself in after AFP's ANOM app raids | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| One year on from Operation Ironside: Full list of everyone charged | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 14 June 2022 |
| Op has coke price fizzing | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 9 August 2021 |
| Airport loophole to close | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| THE BIG STING ILL-GOTTEN GAINS INSIDE ALADDIN'S MAN CAVES | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| How these street drug dealers ended up on a path to prison: 11 case studies from the SA courts | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 24 August 2021 |
| Man charged over alleged Operation | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Sunday 15 August 2021 |

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| Ironside murder plot caught with disguise after stashing loaded gun nearby, court hears | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| In solitary for 158 days | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 13 November 2021 | |
| Organised crime as bad as terrorism, says top cop | | | Y | Y | ? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Mercury | TAS | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| Crime wave risk as borders open | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 26 October 2021 |
| Police seize 20 firearms and nearly \$12,000 dollars cash in Mudgee during global drug ring crackdown | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mudgee Guardian and Gulgong Advertiser | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| HOME FLIPPER OR COKE CAPO | | Y | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 8 July 2021 |
| Time is up for corrupt insiders | Y | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

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| Boxer told: Stay at home | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 28 June 2022 |
| The War Episode 2: Bikie kingpin Mark Buddle isolated and paranoid in his Turkish fortress | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 22 June 2022 |
| Comanchero boss deported from Turkey | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| Cops seize legal funds | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 1 October 2021 |
| Senior gang members; caught in global sting | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Dominion Post | NZ | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: NSW people charged in Anom police bust | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Bomb's Ironside origins | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 20 December 2021 |
| Mt Keira 'bikie boss' accused of trying to import cocaine in | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Friday 18 June 2021 |

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| Truckie a key man in drug sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 20 August 2021 |
| Mystery of John Wick | | Y | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 5 August 2021 |
| Men who threatened Wagga taxi driver with knives face court | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | The Daily Advertiser | NSW | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Meth lab accused in court | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 30 June 2021 |
| COPS' HI-TECH TROJAN HORSE | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Full list of Australians charged | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| Ironside strips assets from criminal figures | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Geelong Advertiser | VIC | Saturday 1 October 2022 |
| Crims guard the border | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| Cocaine importer 'quit job' | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 27 December 2022 |
| Cops hellbent on bikies | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| Comanchero gang are State's biggest drug dealers | Y | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| US to hold off on Ironside | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 4 December 2022 |

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| extradition bids | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lone Wolf bikie Elias Elchaar denied bail after judge praises ANOM app | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Thursday 22 July 2021 |
| The alleged million dollar meth deal | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 28 August 2021 |
| Bail extended for mum of bikie boss | | | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | The West Australian | WA | Wednesday 18 May 2022 |
| Brisbane cops strike while Ironside is hot | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| The underworld's next Mr Big | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| App was 'a crystal ball' into underbelly | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Worldwide organised crime kicks own goal | Y | | Y | N | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Most wanted drug kingpin sinks his crim pals | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Ironside cops set | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 9 December 2021 |

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| for sting phase 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxer meth bikie, detectives claim | | Y | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Thursday 23 June 2022 | |
| CURSE OF THE COMANC HERO PRESIDENT PATCH | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 28 May 2022 |
| Accused drug trafficker's \$7m empire frozen | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 18 August 2021 |
| Accused drug dealer Robin Reffo freed for wedding after ANOM sting | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Tuesday 27 September 2022 |
| 44 David Edmondson | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 15 December 2021 |
| Dragnet disrupts complex network | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| FROM DRUG HIGH TO A SUGAR CRASH | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 18 September 2021 |
| Cops seize bikie booty and guns during crackdown | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 5 December 2021 |

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| ANOM phones 'wiped' | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 29 June 2021 |
| Texts allegedly sent between baby-faced drug trafficker Apostle Broikos to his uncle read in court | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Monday 28 June 2021 |
| Man charged under AFP's Operation Ironside granted bail due to 'exceptional circumstances' | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Murder plot KO'd | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Wednesday 16 June 2021 |
| Man caught in global operation granted bail | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Daily Liberal and Macquarie Advocate | NSW | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| You're busted: cops crack world of crime | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| More fall thanks to Ironside | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 14 November 2021 |
| Top cops put gangs on notice | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 4 April 2022 |

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| 'SCOOP' NOMINATED FOR TOP GONG | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Friday 22 October 2021 |
| 'Knife's' son hit with drug charges | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Thursday 3 November 2022 |
| ILL-GOTTEN GAINS INSIDE ALADDIN'S MAN CAVES | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Police seize luxury houses, cars of Comanchero boss Cain Dalwood, arrested under Operation Ironside | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| A straight shooter who set the bar high for policing under Covid | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Weekend Australian | National | Saturday 4 December 2021 |
| Accused bikies revealed | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Wednesday 29 December 2021 |
| Broader lockdown imposed in NSW as Sydney Covid cluster grows | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Sunday 27 June 2021 |

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| Buninyong home raided as part of blitz | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier | VIC | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Sebastian Bezborod off: Man accused of \$1bn drug smuggling conspiracy | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Friday 9 July 2021 |
| 'Every soul shall taste death': gang warning, or brutal truth? | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian (Online) | National | Thursday 24 June 2021 |
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| SOPHISTICATED AND CRIMINAL | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 25 November 2022 |
| Elo, what's all this then? | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 4 February 2023 |
| 'BRO, ANOM IS BAD': | | Y | | | | | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| The new bad boys of Brisbane exposed: Inside the cops' relentless pursuit of the city's outlaws | Y | | | | ? | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Saturday 27 November 2021 |

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| NSW Police arrest 35 people; seize firearms, luxury vehicles and illicit drugs | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Campbelltown - Macarthur Advertiser | NSW | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Key players in Melbourne's underworld in 2022 | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Wednesday 28 December 2022 |
| Airport crew face drug charges | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 16 October 2021 |
| Police get new 'dark' powers | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| AFP points to Griffith as organised crime hotspot | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Area News | NSW | Thursday 9 June 2022 |
| 10,000 linked to criminal network | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: 38 arrested after 55 Qld raids in Australia's biggest-ever crime bust | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| 'He (stuffs) up and he will be six-foot under' | | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 8 January 2022 |

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| How mafia families control drugs trade | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 8 June 2022 |
| AFP's all-action arrests | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 25 June 2021 |
| Mt Keira 'bikie boss' accused of trying to import cocaine in olive oil tins | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Illawarra Mercury | NSW | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Apostle Broikos faces another drug charge | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Thursday 2 December 2021 |
| Columnist honoured with prestigious News Award | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Sunday 28 November 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Accused ANOM user Nathan John Ralph initiated arson attack because of 'personal grievance', court hears | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |

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| Organised crime is 'as bad as terrorism' | | | Y | Y | ? | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| EXILE IN THE GUN | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Monday 13 June 2022 |
| Bikie hunk Hasan Topal dodging police in chase across Australia and Turkey | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 2 July 2021 |
| AFP confirms mafia clan links in WA | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | The West Australian | WA | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |
| INSIDE THE STING | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Pool hall arson linked to Ironside investigation | | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 13 December 2022 |
| Huge rise in court secrecy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| More than 30 people arrested during Operation Ironside face court for second time as some identities are suppressed | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Thursday 1 July 2021 |

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| Riding for a costly fall | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Bikie king paranoid & lonely in exile | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Thursday 23 June 2022 |
| Mostafa Baluch found in Mercedes crossing NSW, Queensland border | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Wednesday 10 November 2021 |
| App 'a crystal ball' into crime gang's underbelly | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| A shed-load of cash | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Friday 25 March 2022 |
| BIKIE BOSS'S PLOT TO GET OUT OF JAIL | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Townsville Bulletin | QLD | Thursday 14 July 2022 |
| Too frightened to snitch [DT021] | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 20 June 2022 |
| Mudgee man arrested in major police operation | N | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mudgee Guardian and Gulgong Advertiser | NSW | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Ex-Bachie star waits for his day in court | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 25 August 2021 |
| Mafia rules crime gang networks | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |

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| DEALERS THRIVE DURING COVID | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 25 August 2021 |
| Another huge cocaine bust as Ironside raids keep hurting crime | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Tasmanian | TAS | Sunday 20 June 2021 |
| Freeze on assets in app sting | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 8 January 2022 |
| Cyber-cops: The new frontier | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Saturday 16 October 2021 |
| We can get past Covid and come out stronger | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Friday 7 January 2022 |
| NEW LEADERS SHOW FORCE | | | | | Y | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 24 September 2022 |
| Kingston man arrested over international drug bust | | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| Victorian bikie bosses: Toby Mitchell, Luke Maloney, Damien Vella, Kosh Radford, Mick Murray | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Sunday 26 September 2021 |

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| First ANOM guilty pleas | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |
| He ain't nothing like a pound dog | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Saturday 24 July 2021 |
| Police fear 'suspiciously quiet' Hells Angels are set for power play | Y | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph (Online) | NSW | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Bikies live in a fantasy world | | Y | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Wednesday 14 September 2022 |
| Bail for 'bikie' in sting of century | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Saturday 2 October 2021 |
| Cash, guns found in wall during ANOM sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 7 January 2022 |
| Crime bosses' secret accord | | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | The Advertiser | SA | Sunday 15 May 2022 |
| Cops have Midas touch | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 14 January 2023 |
| COPS DETAIL ALLEGED 'CRIMINAL FORTUNE' | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Wednesday 19 January 2022 |
| Ironside strips assets from | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | The Northern Territory News | NT | Saturday 1 October 2022 |

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| criminal figures | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bosses secretly work together | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sunday Telegraph | NSW | Sunday 15 May 2022 |
| Accused crime syndicate boss bailed despite 'risks' | | | | N | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 29 June 2021 |
| Bachelorette contestant Samuel Minkin and co-accused Arron Hyde drug charges adjourned | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Tweed Daily News | NSW | Monday 23 August 2021 |
| GYM JUNKIE NABBED | | Y | Y | | Y | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Two charged over alleged import of 156kg of drugs | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Thursday 17 June 2021 |
| Australia's mafia struggling to deal with decade of turbulence | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Monday 10 October 2022 |
| Illegally Blonde | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | The West Australian | WA | Saturday 19 November 2022 |
| Too frightened to snitch | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Telegraph | NSW | Monday 20 June 2022 |

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| Benjamin Joseph Haylock, 42, of Mermaid Waters, faces charges of trafficking in dangerous drugs and weapons | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail (Online) | QLD | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Estate agent accused in drug sting | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Age | VIC | Friday 30 September 2022 |
| Sam Mustaca shocked after cops claim car business was front door for drug cargo | N | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun (Online) | VIC | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| Reality TV stars, bikies in sting | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | The Australian | National | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Clean new look for baby-faced drug accused | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | The Australian | National | Friday 2 July 2021 |
| Bombings' lessons for AFP analyst | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Canberra Times | ACT | Monday 14 June 2021 |
| THE LUXURY LOOT INSIDE ALADDIN'S MAN CAVES | Y | Y | | | Y | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Sunday 13 June 2021 |

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| AFP raids Riverina home in cocaine import plan crackdown | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Daily Advertiser | NSW | Wednesday 22 June 2022 |
| COMANC HERO CRISIS | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Herald Sun | VIC | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| Drugs, weapons & dodgy cash capital | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 20 December 2021 |
| Nick allegedly pulling the strings in drugs network | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Gold Coast Bulletin | QLD | Saturday 29 October 2022 |
| Employer's alleged bikie association reason Operation Ironside accused shouldn't be granted bail: court | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | News.com.au | National | Monday 13 September 2021 |
| Crime-gang drugs put little children in coffins: Why cop sting really matters | Y | Y | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Aftermath of Ironside | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Newcastle Herald | NSW | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| 'Pizza' dealer | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Tuesday 29 November 2022 |

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| gets big serve | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ironside murder plot | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser | SA | Monday 16 August 2021 |
| BAD BLOOD, SHOOTINGS AND BIKIE EXODUS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Courier - Mail | QLD | Monday 21 November 2022 |
| Inside the SA Police operations bunker as co-ordinated raids smashed Adelaide's underworld | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Advertiser (Online) | SA | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |

Appendix B: Combined Article title

| Title | Other theme | Other theme 2 | Law enforcement primary narrator | Powers | Job mentioned | Individual mentioned | Violence | Drugs | OMC G | TO C | Ethnic | Seizure | M L | Bail | Jail | Mafia | Nat'l sec | Moral panic | Date |
|--|-------------|---------------|----------------------------------|--------|---------------|----------------------|----------|-------|-------|------|--------|---------|-----|------|------|-------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| '\$80k per kilogram': Plasterer accused of drug, firearms trafficking | Firearms | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 16, 2021 |
| 'A warning': Inside mafia murder power play | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Mar 13, 2024 |
| 'Access passes' for crims face axe | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 15, 2021 |
| 'Bad ass' Godfather plot: Adelaide underworld's bikie power play | | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Y | | | Mar 04, 2023 |
| 'Bikie hit squad' lay in wait for hours before being spooked, court told | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Aug 06, 2023 |
| 'Blokey blokes' and a 'quick bob' | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mar 13, 2022 |
| 'Bounce' plot foils bail bid | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jan 26, 2022 |

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| Inside an ANOM chat group | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 'Middle rung' drug trio jailed | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Oct 21, 2022 |
| 'Mistaken identity' murders could be solved | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 08, 2021 |
| 'Mobster' gets jail | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | Mar 03, 2023 |
| 'Mr Big' accused of drug scheme | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 19, 2021 |
| 'MURDER PLOT' 2.0 | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 10, 2021 |
| 'Ninjas' find crims' hidden ANOM loot | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 31, 2021 |
| 'No longer a celebrity drug': 40+ NSW coke dealers named | Name and shame | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Feb 05, 2023 |
| 'Nothing is off the table': Inside the AFP's war on crims' cash | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Jul 06, 2024 |
| 'On our radar': Cops warning to ANOM fugitive | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2023 |
| 'Overwhelming' support to bring Tamil family back, MPs say | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 13, 2021 |
| 'Pizza' dealer gets big serve | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 29, 2022 |
| 'Profits vaporised': AFP burn \$5b of seized bikie drugs at secret facilities | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | Y | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Saturday 11 December 2021 |
| 'Pure' drug trafficking loophole slammed shut | Weak legal system | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sep 27, 2022 |
| 'Rare' dodgy cash stash buys SA man trip to prison | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Mar 11, 2023 |

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|--|-------------|--|---|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|--|--------------|
| REFUGEE' OFFICER BUSTED THROUGH THE RANKS | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Aug 24, 2024 |
| 'Remove the brains': Ironside 'murder plot' messages revealed | Texts | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Sep 16, 2021 |
| 'SCOOP' NOMINATED FOR TOP GONG | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 22, 2021 |
| 'Selfless' man sentenced for \$57k in cocaine behind microwave | Culpability | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | May 06, 2022 |
| 'Sting of century' crane operator alleged kingpin of drugs, guns syndicate | | | Y | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 28, 2021 |
| 'Sting of the century' - but why the need to tell all now? | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 10, 2021 |
| 'Sting of the century' accused faces court on trafficking charges | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 05, 2021 |
| 'Sting of the century' How the gangs were brought to their knees | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| 'Telstra shop' of crime underworld: Australia's Mafia Man | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Jun 07, 2021 |
| 'The Cashier': Young man allegedly laundered \$4m for bikies | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Sep 20, 2022 |

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| 'The man we know died': Attack leaves samaritan with brain damage | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Feb 28, 2024 |
| 'They're suspiciously quiet': The bikie gang set for power play | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 13, 2021 |
| 'Threat-to-life messages': 39 men charged as part of global police sting appear in court | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Sep 18, 2023 |
| 'Trigger-happy' bikie wants to be set free | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Jul 07, 2021 |
| 'Trusted insider' charged alongside Buddle over drug import | Insider | | | | | | | Y | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Aug 04, 2022 |
| 'Vendetta': Aussie murder sparks war of the Mafia dons | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | Aug 07, 2021 |
| 'Very fortunate to get bail', teen accused warned | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jul 02, 2021 |
| 'Very strong community ties': David Walker out on bail | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jun 25, 2021 |
| 'Vital' drug trafficker learns his fate - but won't say why he did it | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 23, 2022 |
| 'We're coming': <u>Top cop's stark warning to crooks yet to be busted under Operation Ironside</u> | - | - | <u>Y</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Wednesd ay 23 June 2021 |
| 'We're just getting started': | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Dec 17, 2021 |

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| nabs \$2.5m luxury yacht | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 face court in mass Operation Ironside hearing | Court | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 01, 2021 |
| <u>300 bikies armed and dangerous</u> | | - | - | - | - | - | - | <u>Y</u> | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | Saturday 24 September 2022 |
| 35 people face 900 charges Senior gang members arrested in organised crime sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 10, 2021 |
| 38 Queenslanders busted in Special Operation Ironside's Anom sting | Bust | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| 40,000 ANOM messages linked to \$1.5m drug and cash bust | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Jul 21, 2021 |
| <u>40+ NSW cocaine dealers named after research reveals the tragic toll of drug use</u> | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | <u>Y</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Sunday 5 February 2023 |
| 400 convictions: Full list of Comanchero crimes | Name and shame | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 25, 2022 |
| 44 David Edwardson | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 15, 2021 |
| 49k drug arrests as kingpins exposed | Name and shame | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 27, 2021 |
| 5 MINUTE BUDGET GUIDE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 03, 2022 |
| 5000 mafia members operating in Australia | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Jun 07, 2022 |

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| AFP SEIZES \$470 MILLION FROM CRIMINALS | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Dec 16, 2021 |
| AFP set to seize bikie's homes | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Aug 08, 2022 |
| AFP sniffs out high-powered outlaw arsenal | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AFP sting nets 340 suspects | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 22, 2021 |
| AFP TARGETS CRIMINALS LAUNDERING DIRTY MONEY | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Dec 27, 2021 |
| AFP targets encrypted platform used by organised crime syndicates | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Jun 08, 2021 |
| AFP targets international gangs with coast strike team | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Apr 04, 2022 |
| AFP TARGETS THE LIFEBLOOD OF ORGANISED CRIME IN 2022 | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 17, 2022 |
| AFP TECH LIFTING SEARCH WARRANT GAME | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2023 |
| AFP TECHNOLOGY LEAVES CRIMINALS NOWHERE TO HIDE | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 03, 2021 |
| AFP tells crims: We will come | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 29, 2021 |
| AFP TO TARGET ITALIAN ORGANISED CRIME AND MONEY LAUNDERING A YEAR ON FROM OPERATION IRONSIDE | | | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2022 |

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| AFP: Kids real meth victims | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 28, 2021 |
| AFP's all-action arrests | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 25, 2021 |
| AFP's new forensic testing uses silver and gold to help catch criminals | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Friday 13 January 2023 |
| After 12-cop extradition operation, court sends bikie boss ... Straight to Barwon | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Aug 06, 2022 |
| Aftermath of Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 12, 2021 |
| Airport crew face drug charges | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 16, 2021 |
| Airport loophole to close | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 15, 2021 |
| Airport worker arrested and charged with drug trafficking and money laundering | | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Jun 11, 2021 |
| Airport worker gang's 'cargo drugs scheme' | | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Oct 24, 2021 |
| AL CAPONE TACTICS BUST BIKIES | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | Jun 20, 2021 |
| <u>Alessandro Franco refused bail for multiple money laundering offences, Carmine Rositano granted bail by Supreme Court</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | Y | - | - | - | - | Sunday 22 August 2021 |
| Allan Meehan now commander of Sydney Chapter of Comanchero | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 13 October 2021 |

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| ANOM accused demands names from FBI | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 22, 2023 |
| ANOM accused fails in bail bid | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jul 29, 2021 |
| ANOM accused front mass court hearing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mar 18, 2022 |
| ANOM app bust: What's next after 62 convictions | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Jun 16, 2024 |
| ANOM app busted Aussie duo's Dubai jailbreak | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| ANOM app helped Victoria Police Police foil murder plot at the 11th hour | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 15 June 2021 |
| ANOM app messages were lawfully obtained, court rules in Operation Ironside test case | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 27, 2024 |
| ANOM bust exposes sneaky way \$288m of ice was hidden | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Jul 17, 2021 |
| ANOM bust one year on: Where are they now? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 01, 2022 |
| ANOM bust: \$288m of meth seized in Brisbane and in NSW | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Saturday 17 July 2021 |
| ANOM bust: Refugee in MDMA importation was 'courier' | | | | | Y | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | Y | Oct 19, 2022 |
| ANOM busts: \$31m in cash, luxe properties and cars seized | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Dec 18, 2021 |

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| weren't for those meddling dogs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Andrew Rule: Cloned number plates see criminals get away with murder | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Saturday 3 July 2021 |
| ANOM app 'tracked Sydney Airport drugs import plot' | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Aug 01, 2021 |
| ANOM app approval | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Apr 06, 2023 |
| ANOM app claims another alleged crime figure | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 21, 2021 |
| ANOM drug accused compared to Mokbel denied bail | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jul 29, 2022 |
| ANOM encrypted app claims another alleged crime figure | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 21 December 2021 |
| ANOM FILES STING OF THE CENTURY FORENSIC NINJAS | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 01, 2021 |
| ANOM Operation Ironside: Organised crime suffers a heavy blow, but no knockout | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| ANOM raid links revealed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 15, 2023 |
| Anom traps new trio accused of dealing 800kg of cannabis | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Feb 03, 2022 |
| ANOM truckie learns fate over | | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Jul 15, 2022 |

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| Australia's anti-encryption law costs billions and hurts our reputation - just as the industry warned | Criticism | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 10, 2021 |
| Australia's cocaine price doubles since Operation Ironside as accused mafia kingpin exposed | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Sunday 8 August 2021 |
| <u>Australia's mafia struggling to deal with decade of turbulence</u> | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | | Y | Monday 10 October 2022 |
| Australia's most wanted bikie Mark Buddle faces court | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Thursday 4 August 2022 |
| AUSTRALIA'S PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y Jun 30, 2023 |
| Australian and Kiwi 'sting of the century' arrests | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Monday 16 January 2023 |
| Australian Federal Police and FBI nab criminal underworld figures in worldwide sting using encrypted app | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 08, 2021 |
| Australian Federal Police arrest five for allegedly importing 160kg of cocaine into Melbourne | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 20, 2021 |
| Australian Federal Police issue crack down | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Tuesday 7 June 2022 |

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| Comanchero outlaw bikie gang tear through Melbourne on annual run | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Saturday 29 January 2022 |
| Comanchero Sgt-at-Arms Christian Taumoefolau swept up in ANOM raids | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Comancheros accuse cops of controversial tactic | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Saturday 11 December 2021 |
| Comancheros' alleged bashing target 'broke No. 1 rule' | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Sep 21, 2021 |
| Commissioner says AFP has 'ingenious' new plan to trap criminals | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 28 July 2021 |
| Commissioner signs on for two more years | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | May 11, 2024 |
| Community approach to tackle drugs | Criticism | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 13, 2021 |
| Complex operation Irons out gangs with guns, drugs and cash seized across state | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| Cops and robbers reboot: why we need the long arm of digital trickery to defeat global crime | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Jun 12, 2021 |
| Cops bust \$225m coke boat | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | Sep 12, 2021 |
| Cops call time on Mexican wave of meth imports | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | Apr 05, 2024 |

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| Crime bosses' secret accord | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | May 15, 2022 |
| Crime bust triggers police powers row | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| Crime gangs trying to call a new number | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 09, 2021 |
| Crime lords slam dunked | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| CRIME MUST PAY | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 19, 2021 |
| Crime wave risk as borders open | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Oct 25, 2021 |
| Crime-busters have Midas touch | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jan 14, 2023 |
| Crime-gang drugs put little children in coffins: Why cop sting really matters | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 08, 2021 |
| Criminal 'influencers' who took cops' bait | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2021 |
| Criminal airport workers set to have passes revoked | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 14, 2021 |
| Criminal clans are hiding in plain sight | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2022 |
| Criminal stash found in garden is budget booster | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Mar 25, 2022 |
| Criminal treasures seized | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Wednesday 18 May 2022 |
| Criminals man the gates at airports | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Jun 15, 2021 |
| Criminals take note: the feds are coming for your cash | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 25, 2023 |
| Crims cop a \$500M hidden stash hit | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | May 18, 2022 |

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| Crims guard the border | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | Jun 15, 2021 |
| Crims lose \$64m in assets | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Oct 01, 2022 |
| Crims using cash-in-transit services to hide cash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 11, 2021 |
| Crooks still feel sting | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2023 |
| Crypto crash: Alleged drug dealers could sue SA government | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Mar 26, 2023 |
| CURSE OF THE COMANCHERO PRESIDENT PATCH | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | May 28, 2022 |
| Cyber-cops: The new frontier | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 16, 2021 |
| Danny Zayneh accused of \$1b ice and cocaine conspiracy as part of ANOM sting | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 26 July 2022 |
| Date with destiny | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sep 09, 2021 |
| David Penberthy: Operation Ironside is one of the great sucked-in stories of our time | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Deadline: FBI sting links bikie money to prestigious school | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Deadline: Mark Buddle's North Cyprus bust a warning to bikie in hiding | | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 20 July 2022 |
| DEADLY ARSENAL SEIZED FROM OMCGS | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Dec 18, 2022 |

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| Deadly sea cargo seized | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Sep 12, 2021 |
| Dealers 'want bikie dead' | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 26, 2023 |
| Dealers cashing in on the misery of ice addicts | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 14, 2022 |
| DEALERS THRIVE DURING COVID | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 25, 2021 |
| Decaying drug crop seized in Operation Ironside swoop | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Jun 16, 2021 |
| DECLINE OF THE BROTHERHOOD | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 12, 2021 |
| Decoding the operations of new-world order crims | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 30, 2023 |
| Demarcations fade as NSW Police activate cyber operations hub | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 30, 2022 |
| Designer bags, cash, bikes: Hunter man charged over ANOM sting | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Jun 10, 2021 |
| Dialled in on cocaine | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 20, 2021 |
| <u>Different laws for crime and corruption</u> | Criticism | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| DIFFICULT DAYS FOR TIN GODS | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 10, 2022 |
| Dirty cash: Rival bikies and Mafia in secret drug deals | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | Jun 07, 2021 |
| Dirty money: How the banks and AUSTRAC are fighting back against financial crime | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Jul 03, 2021 |

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| Drug trafficking via the Pacific is creating addiction issues in the islands | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Feb 17, 2022 |
| Drug trio's shipment uncovered | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Jan 21, 2023 |
| Drugs and guns: Italian Mafia 's lethal Australian base | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Jun 21, 2021 |
| <u>Drugs as deadly as terrorism, says AFP chief Reece Kershaw</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Tuesday 27 July 2021 |
| Drugs gang nabbed | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Oct 24, 2021 |
| Drugs on your doorstep | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Jun 22, 2021 |
| Drugs, cash and cop gear in bikie's place | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Sep 18, 2022 |
| Drugs, guns, bikie conspiracies: Secret underworld texts exposed | Texts | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 28, 2023 |
| Drugs, weapons & dodgy cash capital | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 20, 2021 |
| Dummy runs and UV ink to sneak in drug cargo | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 08, 2021 |
| Duo to fight ANOM charge | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | May 14, 2022 |
| Eastern Suburbs man linked to missing Mostafa Baluch charged with role in importing drugs into Australia | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Saturday 30 October 2021 |

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| How the AFP cracked an encrypted messaging app used by the criminal underworld | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sep 18, 2024 |
| How the FBI and AFP 's ANOM encrypted messaging app snared criminals across the globe | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| How the Mafia thrives here | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Jun 22, 2021 |
| How these street drug dealers ended up on a path to prison: 11 case studies from the SA courts | Name and shame | Fall from grace | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | Tuesday 24 August 2021 |
| How thumb pic brought down key drug player in ANOM sting | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Apr 25, 2023 |
| How we tracked down Australia's most wanted man to his glamorous new life | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 06, 2023 |
| Huge cost of Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 10, 2021 |
| Huge rise in court secrecy | Secrecy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sep 13, 2021 |
| Hunt for billions in dirty money | | | | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | Mar 16, 2023 |
| Hunt for Comanchero bikie hunk murder suspect | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jul 02, 2021 |
| Hunt for restaurateur, charged with bid to import cocaine, after | | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | Oct 26, 2021 |

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| running meth for drug operation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ironside: 57 accused, 150+ new charges and a \$17.5m guilty plea | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 03, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: ALLEGED AUSTRALIAN DRUG BOSS AND SYNDICATE NABBED AFTER 160KG COCAINE IMPORT IN MELBOURNE | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 20, 2021 |
| Ironside: Alleged dealer 'used ANOM app hours after acquittal' | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 25, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: ALLEGED UK COCAINE IMPORTATION INTERCEPTED DUE TO IRONSIDE INTELLIGENCE | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Sep 11, 2021 |
| Ironside: Boxer and alleged bikie among 18 men charged | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Dec 02, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: EIGHT MEN TO FACE COURT AFTER TARGETED POLICE ACTIVITY IN NSW | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 17, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: FOUR NSW MEN ARRESTED, \$288 MILLION WORTH OF METHAMPHETA MINE SEIZED | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Jul 17, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: HUNTER MAN ARRESTED, \$4.9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Jun 10, 2021 |

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| IRONSIDE: SYDNEY MEN FACE COURT OVER FAILED COCAINE SMUGGLING PLOT | Ironside | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | May 04, 2022 |
| IRONSIDE: TRUSTED INSIDER CHARGED FOR ALLEGED ROLE IN MELBOURNE COCAINE IMPORTATION | Ironside | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Aug 20, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: TWO ARRESTS, INCLUDING TRUSTED INSIDER ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN SYDNEY METH IMPORT | Ironside | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | Aug 12, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: TWO PEOPLE CHARGED OVER SYDNEY AIRPORT IMPORT SCHEME | Ironside | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Jun 12, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: WESTERN AUSTRALIAN MAN JAILED OVER \$6.1 MILLION IN CASH AS A RESULT OF OPERATION IRONSIDE | Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | Y | | | | Jul 30, 2021 |
| IRONSIDE: WOMAN CHARGED WITH MONEY LAUNDERING AND DRUG TRAFFICKING | Ironside | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Jun 16, 2021 |

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| Million-dollar Ironside mansion sold - with a catch | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 05, 2021 |
| Millionaire fugitive's great QLD escape plan revealed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 10, 2021 |
| Millions in loot seized by police | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Oct 01, 2022 |
| Millions pledged to run Operation Ironside cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 19, 2022 |
| Millions stashed behind truck's fake wall | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Jun 18, 2022 |
| Millions to overhaul courts for mammoth Operation Ironside trials | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 20, 2022 |
| Miner let alleged bikies use rural property as 'firing range' | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 04, 2022 |
| MOB RULE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | Jul 09, 2022 |
| MoneyMaker a pauper: \$1m linked to Ironside accused frozen | Fall from grace | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Oct 07, 2021 |
| Monster sting via ANOM | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jan 08, 2022 |
| MORE AFP CHARGES IN QUEENSLAND THAN ANY OTHER STATE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 20, 2021 |
| More arrests for foreign interference loom | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jul 29, 2021 |
| More cash, guns and drugs seized as 'self-interested' bikies turn their backs on clubs | Loyalty | | Y | | | | | Y | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | | Saturday 4 December 2021 |

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| More fall thanks to Ironside | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Nov 14, 2021 |
| More heroin in one Hills bedroom than seized in SA in an entire year | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Aug 21, 2022 |
| More jail as bail denied in murder-plot case | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | Jul 10, 2024 |
| More Mafia violence at Victorian jail as key figure bashed | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | Jul 19, 2023 |
| More than \$70k in designer sneakers seized in ANOM app raid | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Friday 16 July 2021 |
| More than 30 people arrested during Operation Ironside face court for second time as some identities are suppressed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Thursday 1 July 2021 |
| More time for crime | Weak legal system | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Feb 20, 2023 |
| Morrison uses international crime bust to target Labor but misfires | Criticism | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Jun 11, 2021 |
| Most wanted drug kingpin sinks his criminal pals | Loyalty | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 08, 2021 |
| Mostafa Baluch found in Mercedes crossing NSW, Queensland border | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 10 November 2021 |
| Mr Blonde set to fill criminal void | Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 14, 2021 |
| Mr X: The drug kingpin more | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jun 19, 2022 |

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| crime gangs are secretly working together to make cash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Operation Ironside target Ashley Rake granted \$2 million bail | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Thursday 2 December 2021 |
| Operation Ironside thwarts two Adelaide murder plots, police say | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside uses AFP and FBI secret ANOM app to smash criminal underworld | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside, ANOM success sends policing back to old ways | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 20, 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: 38 arrested after 55 Qld raids in Australia's biggest-ever crime bust | Name and shame | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 9 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: 48 South Australians arrested in organised crime raids | Name and shame | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Abandoned cannabis bunker uncovered | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 14, 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Accused ANOM user Nathan John Ralph initiated | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |

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| Operation Ironside: Bikies using ANOM warned to hand themselves in | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Saturday 12 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Brisbane carpenter Christopher John Spurling granted bail | Court | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Tuesday 22 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Cessnock's Christopher Mealey charged in major police sting | Court | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Cohen William Haseman faces court on weapons, drug trafficking charges | Court | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Monday 12 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Comanchero associate Tevita Ofahengae charged with trafficking meth | Court | | | | | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | Wednesday 7 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Drug busts will never top policy reform as a lasting fix | Criticism | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | Sunday 13 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Drugs behind the microwave, court told | Court | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 16, 2021 |
| <u>Operation Ironside: Durim Krasniqi, who allegedly went by ANOM handle</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | Monday 9 August 2021 |

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| <u>'MoneyMaker', refused bail on drug trafficking offences</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Operation Ironside: FBI reveals Aussie drug traffickers' secret messages | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: FBI reveals more US arrest details in Aussie-led sting | | | Y | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Former bikie Baris Tukul pictured at dinner with fugitive drug lord Hakan Ayik | | | | | | | | Y | Y | | | | | | | | | | Thursday 10 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Full list of Australians charged | Name and shame | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Friday 18 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Gold Coast man Benjamin Joseph Haylock allegedly trafficked drugs, guns to fund 'lavish lifestyle' | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Wednesd ay 7 July 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Hakan Ayik told to turn himself in after AFP's ANOM app raids | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Tuesday 8 June 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Inside the sting | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 11, 2021 |
| Operation Ironside: Joshua Mark Richter refused release on bail, while his uncle Timothy Shane Barkla | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | Wednesd ay 16 June 2021 |

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| Operation Ironside | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Police seize Uzi submachine gun, Glock pistol, meth, and Head Hunters patches from South Auckland locker | Firearms | | Y | | | | | Y | | Y | | | Y | | | | | | | Jun 11, 2021 |
| Police seized \$120m in cash, assets from criminals in Victoria | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Friday 3 February 2023 |
| Police stalk ANOM user known only as 'John Wick' | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 04, 2021 |
| Police stings that kept billions of dollars of drugs off our streets | Impact | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 16, 2023 |
| Police swoop in after cracking gang phones | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Sep 18, 2024 |
| Police swoop on syndicate in massive Melbourne cocaine bust | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | | | | Saturday 19 June 2021 |
| Police target creators of child predator 'guidebooks' | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | Sunday 12 September 2021 |
| Police target Heathcote racing fans | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mar 04, 2022 |
| Police tighten net in encrypted sting | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 09, 2021 |
| Police to keep close tabs on Comanchero bikie national rally in Melbourne | | | Y | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Friday 23 September 2022 |

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| Real estate agent Giuseppe "Joe" Tumino allegedly 'key facilitator' in mafia drug gang | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | Friday 30 September 2022 |
| Real estate agent pleads guilty over drug houses | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | May 22, 2023 |
| Real estate arson attack plotted over ANOM app, court told | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 07, 2021 |
| Real time crime busts are just the start to stop the coffins | Op-ed | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | Jun 07, 2021 |
| Realty star, carpenter and secret texts that exposed alleged \$660k coke empire | | | | | Y | Y | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 08, 2021 |
| Realty TV stars, bikies in sting | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | Jun 09, 2021 |
| Redfern RES drug bust: Edgar Hernando Michaels accused of supplying ice | | | | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Wednesday 4 August 2021 |
| Reece Kershaw's Two-Year Reappointment Extends His Tenure as AFP Commissioner Until 2026 | Award | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | May 10, 2024 |
| Reef beats the heat | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Aug 04, 2022 |
| Rehab centre in spotlight | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jan 24, 2025 |
| Reporter scoops top prize | Award | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Feb 26, 2022 |
| Reveal secrets of ANOM | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | May 30, 2022 |
| Revealed: 2023's biggest drug busts in Victoria | | | Y | | | | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | | | Oct 30, 2023 |

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| <u>The crazy reasons Victoria's big-name crims have been released on bail</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | Monday 7 November 2022 |
| The drug import charges, the fugitive and the bail that never was | | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Jan 22, 2025 |
| The eye-popping price of bail for An0m drug import accused | | | | | | | | | Y | | Y | | | | Y | | | | | Jul 04, 2023 |
| The global crime sting stung the bad guys hard - but why won't the AFP give us the nitty-gritty? | | | Y | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | | | | | Jun 11, 2021 |
| The high-tech sleuthing banks are using to help cops catch crooks | | | Y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Dec 13, 2024 |
| <u>The inside story of Operation Ironside – and the Adelaide olive merchant named by the FBI as a key player in a global conspiracy</u> | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Y | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Friday 11 June 2021 |
| <u>The lavish spoils of war</u> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| The Loop: A huge piece of possible space junk lands on an Aussie farm, sexual assault reports at an all-time high, and a \$1.5 billion jackpot | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jul 29, 2022 |
| THE LUXURY LOOT INSIDE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Y | | | | | Jun 13, 2021 |

