Annual Report 2016

nscr

Netherlands Institute for the Study
of Crime and Law Enforcement

Introduction

This is the 2016 annual report of the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR). NSCR is involved in a wide range of research activities in a number of different disciplines, conducting fundamental longitudinal scientific research on crime and law enforcement, that is whenever possible translated to policy implications. The principal goal of the research carried out at NSCR is to understand how and where criminal behaviour occurs, how criminal behaviour is responded to, and how criminal behaviour develops over the life-course. While we continued to study topics such as intergenerational continuity in offending, sanctions, wildlife crime and criminal events, we also started new research lines in 2016 for extremism, cybercrime and empirical legal studies. All substantive research topics were reassembled into clusters.

This annual report provides a sample of our publications over the past year, as well as more 'technical' information on staff, budget, publications, and organisational structure.

Catrien Bijleveld
Director

Bystanders and alcohol

People often associate alcohol with antisocial behaviour such as vandalism and interpersonal violence. Indeed, a large proportion of all violent acts take place in pubs and clubs where visitors consume large quantities of alcohol. But can there also be prosocial effects of alcohol? Imagine falling off a bridge and drowning in an Amsterdam canal, while many people are watching - who would be the first to jump to the rescue, a sober or an intoxicated person?

Many of the effects of alcohol are due to social disinhibition. For instance, alcohol decreases fear for a bad reputation. Furthermore, alcohol increases selective attention to salient situational cues (e.g., a person drowning) and decreases attention to peripheral cues (e.g., other bystanders), a process referred to as "alcohol myopia". Finally, alcohol increases people's focus on the benefits instead of the costs of social behaviour, which sometimes has maladaptive consequences (e.g., sexual risk-taking) but sometimes may produce prosocial actions particularly when others are watching (e.g., seizing on an opportunity to be the 'Hero of the Day').

These disinhibiting features of alcohol appear relevant for the classic bystander effect, which refers to the finding that people are less likely to help a victim when others are watching. Through diffusion of responsibility (i.e., assigning part of the responsibility to help to others), pluralistic ignorance (i.e., gauging the behaviour of others to determine if help is needed), and audience inhibition (e.g., fear of negative evaluations by others), the presence of others inhibits helping.

We conducted a study in four different bars in Amsterdam. Participants were brought to a secluded place to fill out some questionnaires. They were either alone, or in the presence of two confederates filling out questionnaires. At the end of the study the experimenter measured participants' alcohol consumption through a breathalyzer. Then, the experimenter "accidentally" knocked over a canister with 20 mouthpieces for the breathalyzer. The dependent variables were (a) helping behaviour, measured as the number of mouthpieces picked up, and (b) speed of helping, timed from the moment the canister fell until the participant picked up the first mouthpiece.

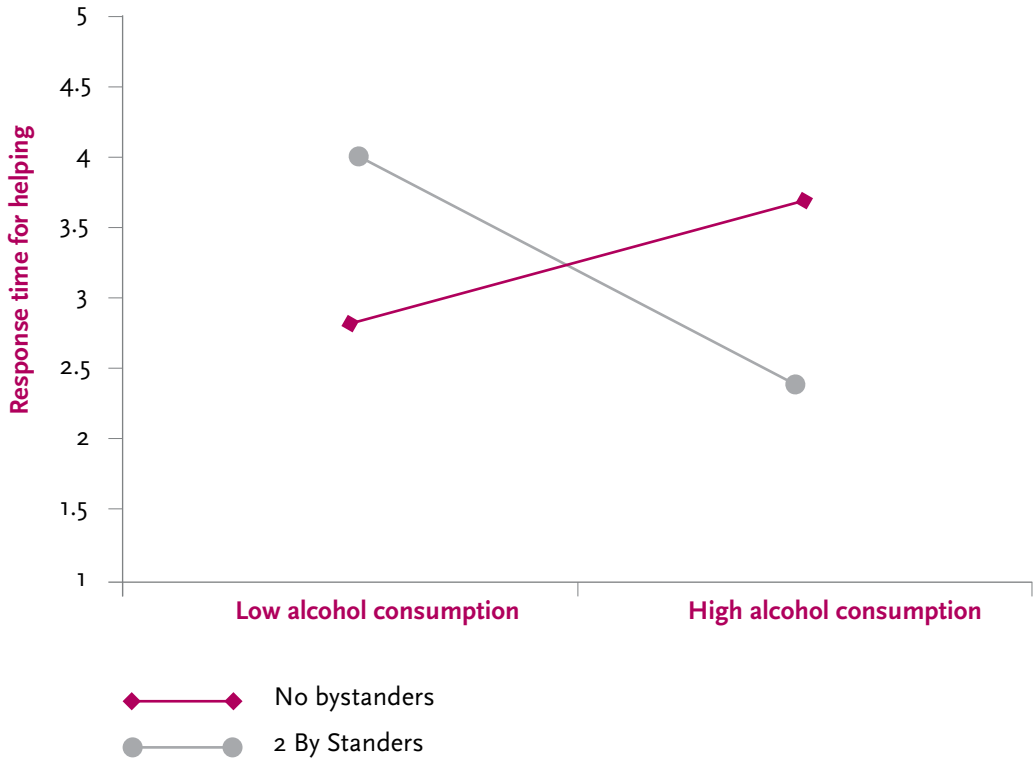


Figure. Reaction time (untransformed) to engage in help as a function of bystander presence and alcohol consumption, plotted for 1SD above and below average alcohol consumption.

Results on helping behaviour replicated the bystander effect but showed no effects of alcohol. On speed of helping, however, the bystander effect *reversed* among participants who had high alcohol consumption. Specifically, the bystander effect emerged among sober participants, who helped more slowly in the presence of others; but for intoxicated participants, the presence of others sped up helping (See Figure).

We conclude that alcohol intoxication leads people to help more quickly in the presence of others, which is important as in real emergencies every second counts. The finding that the bystander effect is not just attenuated but reversed, is consistent with the notion that alcohol makes people more attentive to the social benefits of helping. Possibly, that drunk person you try to avoid on a Saturday night might well be the one who saves your life in an emergency.

This research was carried out in collaboration with Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

Van Bommel, M., Van Prooijen, J.-W., Elffers, H., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2016). Booze, bars, and bystander behaviour: People who consumed alcohol help faster in the presence of others. *Frontiers in Psychology, 7: 128.* doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00128

Offenders commit crimes near their family

The impact of family on whether people commit crime has long been established, but a team of NSCR researchers showed that family also affects where offenders commit their crimes. Offenders appeared to be more likely to choose their crime targets in residential areas of family members than in otherwise comparable areas.

According to crime pattern theory, offenders would prefer targets in areas they are familiar with. By visiting areas during their non-criminal routine activities, they learn about attractive targets as well as levels of guardianship and security. Previous studies had already established that offenders indeed commit crimes in or near their own residential areas as well as close to their former homes and in previously targeted areas, but crime pattern theory predicts that offenders would also be more likely to commit crime in areas they routinely visit for other reasons. Since most people regularly visit their parents, siblings, and children, the study tested whether offenders would also be more likely to target the residential areas of their close family members.

Unique data were used to reconstruct residential histories of the parents, siblings, and children of 7,910 offenders who committed 19,420 offenses in the period 2006-2009 in the greater The Hague area. The results of discrete spatial choice models showed that offenders were indeed more likely to target areas where their family members lived. Even former residential areas of family members were more likely targeted, but the strongest effects were found for current residential areas of family members. Offenders were most strongly attracted to areas where their children lived and effects did not differ between male and female offenders.

The research leading to this study received funding from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) under the Innovational Research Incentives Scheme Vidi [452–12–004].

Menting, B., Lammers, M., Ruiter, S., & Bernasco, W. (2016). Family matters: Effects of family members' residential areas on crime location choice. *Criminology, 54*(3): 413-433. doi: 10.1111/1745-9125.12109

How imprisonment affects prisoners' personal networks

Ruben de Cuyper and his colleagues studied changes in personal networks of prisoners. They investigated whether prisoners had different networks than average Dutch citizens before incarceration, and whether prisoners' networks had changed after release.

In the criminological and the social network literature, several theories exist on why personal networks change. These theories can be distinguished along three general hypotheses that explain network changes. First, it has been argued that a person is more likely to form bonds with network members who have similar characteristics, (criminal) behaviour patterns and attitudes. Second, a person is more likely to form bonds with network members if they meet each other frequently. Third, network members are more likely to maintain bonds with a person who enhances their reputation and can help with achieving their individual goals, and break off contact with a person who discredits them.

De Cuyper and colleagues used data on 702 prisoners who were followed and asked about their personal relationships prior to imprisonment as well as after their release. By collecting (nick)names of the network members, the researchers were able to examine - for each network member - whether a network member remained, disappeared or was new in the network after the prison sentence had ended.

Earlier research had shown that prisoners' networks before incarceration do not differ from those of average Dutch citizens in terms of size or quality of relationships. Prisoners do trust network members less, and more often have relationships with others who are unemployed, have low education or are criminal.

Next, they showed that while the size of prisoners' inner circle remains stable after release, turnover is high: prisoners have replaced more than 60% of their closest ties after imprisonment. New network members are not co-detainees but mainly family members. Network changes are most likely for prisoners who have served a longer prison term, who did not return to the same place of residence, who had fewer strong or family relationships, and who were suspected of involvement in a violent or sexual offense. Family members become more important in the personal networks of prisoners after release, and friends are more often lost.

It appears therefore as if for prisoners mainly the third explanation is relevant: prisoners more often fall back on family ties when they have to rebuild their lives after release. The results are important for law enforcement and policy-makers, because network members are main providers of help and support, and may be key to desistance and successful reintegration.

See www.prisonproject.nl

This study was carried out in collaboration with Leiden University and Utrecht University.

Cuyper, R. de, Mollenhorst, G., Dirkzwager, A., Laan, P. van der, & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016). Changes in the social networks of prisoners: A comparison of their networks before and after imprisonment. *Social Networks*, *47*, 47–58. doi: 10.1016/j.socnet.2016.04.004

Output 2016

8 books

73 peer-reviewed articles

18 publications aimed at the general public

19 book chapters

17 non peer-reviewed articles

6 PhD theses

In addition, presentations at conferences were held, and numerous valorisation activities undertaken (e.g., press contacts, presentations, information provided to policy makers and field workers).

Staff were involved in teaching activities, both at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, as well as elsewhere in the Netherlands and abroad.

Adult life outcomes of institutionalised youth

Janna Verbruggen and colleagues studied the life courses of 251 boys and girls who had been institutionalised in a Dutch juvenile justice institution in the 1990s. At the time of the study, these men and women were well into adulthood at an average age of 34. Information on personal and childhood characteristics was extracted from treatment files that had been compiled during their stay in the institution. In addition, conviction data was used to determine subjects' criminal careers. From face-to-face interviews, retrospective information was collected on employment history and several important current life course outcomes, such as housing and romantic relationships. The researchers used a technique through which they could model labour market and criminal careers, and related these to composite scores on conventional adult life outcomes.

The results showed that previously institutionalised youths experience difficulties adjusting to conventional adult life. The analyses also showed that most personal and childhood characteristics exerted no significant effect on adult outcomes. Criminal behaviour in young adulthood, on the other hand, did impact adult life outcomes, and chronic offenders showed markedly more difficulties in conventional adult life domains. Employment was associated with better adult outcomes, as both those who have high employment rates in adulthood, as well as those who had a late start and subsequent increasing employment rates showed higher levels of adult life adjustment.

The authors concluded that adult life adjustment in previously institutionalised youths is mainly explained by events during young adulthood, and not so much by childhood risk factors. Ties to employment appear to facilitate transitions in other life domains, thereby promoting life success in adulthood.

This study was carried out in collaboration with Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

Verbruggen, J., Geest, V. R. van der, & Blokland, A. A. J. (2016). The relationship between criminal history, employment history and adult life outcomes. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology, 2*(4), 446–493. doi: 10.1007/s40865-016-0040-7

Women's pathways into prison

Katharina Joosen studied female prisoners in the Netherlands in the VIP project. She interviewed almost 400 female prisoners across all prisons for women in the Netherlands. Using life-history calendars, she mapped the pathways of these women before they were incarcerated, in terms of housing, romantic relationships, parenthood, employment, (mental) health, substance abuse and offending. The study had been designed such, that part of her instrument matched instruments used in an earlier study on male prisoners (the Prison Project, a project in which Leiden University, NSCR and Utrecht University collaborate).

This made it possible to compare men and women's pathways before prison entry; or in other words, whether gendered typologies of male and female prisoners can be distinguished based on life experiences and background characteristics. Existing research has argued that such pathways into prison are strongly gendered, mainly due to the predominant role and gendered impact of victimisation voiced by a substantial part of female prisoners (worldwide and in the Netherlands). For example, although child maltreatment has been related to later offending across gender, for women, this is more likely to include sexual victimisation, which has been found to pave a pathway to a life on the streets, including prostitution, substance abuse, homelessness, and offending.

Combining the data on male (N=1904) and female (N=397) prisoners, her analysis covered the following domains: age of onset, offense type, family situation in childhood, substance use, homelessness, economic marginalisation, mental health, romantic relationships, and parenthood. The analyses showed that men and women had largely overlapping pathways into prison. For both men and women, pathways were found that connected to drugs, as well as pathways connecting to problems in multiple domains. For both groups, pathways also emerged with few apparent problems in any of the domains.

Joosen's study has not only theoretical implications. The findings also show that selection of interventions to prevent (re)-incarceration might be more effective when based on actual risk factor exposure as opposed to on mere gender.

This study was funded by NWO grant 404-10-384. The VIP study was conducted in collaboration with Toronto University and VU Faculty of Law.

Joosen, K. J., Palmen, H., Kruttschnitt, C., Bijleveld, C., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016). How "gendered" are gendered pathways into prison: A latent class analysis of the life experiences of male and female prisoners in the Netherlands. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, *2*(3), 321–340. doi: 10.1007/s40865-016-0033-6

Collaboration with Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Since 2009, NSCR has enjoyed the hospitality of Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU). Besides being situated in the Initium, the Faculty of Law building, we also work with a number of researchers from other faculties. We collaborated with VU researchers from the Faculty of Law in 2016, studying the long-term consequences of childhood sexual abuse, sexual abuse allegations in divorce proceedings, vulnerable victims, and the relationship between crime and employment. With researchers from theFaculty of Behavioural and Movement Sciences, we studied the bystander behaviour and explored the use of serious gaming in the study of burglary. We report on a selection of these studies in this year's report.

Numerous other collaborations are ongoing, with the Faculty of Social Sciences, Faculty of Sciences, and the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration. These collaborations are framed in an interfaculty research institute: the Amsterdam Law and Behaviour Institute (A-LAB).

NSCR also contributes to teaching in the Criminal Law and Criminology department within the Faculty of Law, as well as providing internships and thesis supervision.

In September 2016, NWO and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam signed a new 10-year contract to extend the collaboration between VU and NSCR.

DNA evidence not always reliable

DNA evidence is often considered the gold standard in forensic science. This presumption is however unjustified as DNA evidence is, like other types of evidence, susceptible to error, subjectivity, and bias. Researchers from NSCR and Leiden University investigated how DNA experts report on the same forensic case. 19 DNA expert reports from forensic institutes across Western jurisdictions were obtained, and differences were analysed. These differences appeared to abound, and they included aspects such as extensiveness of the reports, explanations offered in the reports, use of context information and the content of the conclusions. A group of criminal law students judged a selection of these reports in a quasi-experimental design. The results show that differences in reporting indeed influenced the students' judgments on the suspect's guilt into a large degree.

On one specific aspect of the case, the expert opinions differed the most. The case that was sent to the experts concerned a robbery. DNA taken from the nail dirt of the alleged victim was analysed in this case. It contained, apart from a major DNA profile of the woman herself, an incomplete profile with a very low intensity of a male. This incomplete profile matched with that of the suspect. Of course, when tissue from a suspect is found in the nail dirt of a victim of a robbery, this is very incriminating to the suspect; she may have scratched him during a struggle while he tried to pick her bag.

This mixed profile of the alleged victim and – possibly – the suspect was judged very differently by the experts participating in the study. Some excluded the suspect as a potential donor to the trace, while others reported a high probability to find this result if the suspect was the donor, thereby seriously incriminating the suspect. It is not surprising that these very different conclusions led to different judgments with regard to the suspect's guilt. From this finding, it has become clear that DNA evidence is not always as hard and undebatable as was always assumed.

Thanks to new technologies, it is now easier to obtain DNA from only a small amount of tissue. This however brings with it the risk of increased numbers of mixed DNA profiles and incomplete DNA profiles which are difficult to interpret. Inaccurate judgments of these types of profiles may, in the end, lead to wrongful convictions. That is especially the case when the police are convinced that they have apprehended the offender while at the same time misinterpreting DNA profiles.

One way of preventing such risks is offering explanations in DNA reports of the inherent insecurities of DNA evidence, thereby making judges and the other legal professionals aware of what is at stake. Another option is to make counter expertise available to a larger degree. Counter expert are not very common in the Dutch criminal justice system, but they may force judges and the other process participants to scrutinise more thoroughly all evidence in a case and to make better founded decisions. This may prevent too quick and too easy decision making on basis of unreliable DNA evidence.

This study was conducted in collaboration with Leiden University.

Malsch, M., Keijser, J.W. de, Luining, E., Weulen Kranenbarg, M. & Lenssen, D. (2016). Hoe hard is DNA bewijs? Internationaal-vergelijkend onderzoek naar de interpretatie van DNA-profielen. *Nederlands Juristenblad, 18,* 1261-1266.

Malsch, M. & Keijser, J.W. de (2016). DNA-bewijs is niet altijd even hard. Kennislink, 9 augustus 2016. http://www.kennislink.nl/publicaties/dna-bewijs-is-niet-altijd-even-hard


02
03

NSCR Practitioners in Residence

NSCR started a programme for structural exchange with policy, practice, and the media in 2015, through its 'Practitioners in Residence' programme. Each year, a number of stakeholders from various segments of society are invited to visit NSCR, individually or as a group, several times during the year. During these visits, Practitioners in Residence meet with research staff, take part in work meetings, and generally get acquainted with the NSCR 'on the job'.

Practitioners in Residence reflect on their visits and exchanges, and give feedback on the NSCR research programme during a closing session at the end of the year.

In 2016, NSCR welcomed five Practitioners in Residence: Michèle Blom (Ministry of Security and Justice), Auke van Dijk (Amsterdam Police), Arianne Westhuis (Youth Care Utrecht), Gerlof Leistra (Elsevier weekly) and Marith Volp (Member of Parliament Labour Party).

The victim-offender overlap: the role of friends

Research consistently shows that offenders often have been victimised themselves and they also have a higher chance of subsequent victimisation than non-offenders. One of the most common explanations for the influence of offending on subsequent victimisation is that offenders often associate with other offenders, which puts them at a greater risk of victimisation. Many scholars have argued that a better understanding of the victim-offender overlap therefore requires studies into peer contexts, yet concrete evidence for this claim was generally lacking.

Josja Rokven and her co-authors investigated the role of friends in explaining the victim-offender overlap. A first study addressed the extent to which offenders and victims select friends with similar crime experiences. A second study examined how friends' involvement in crime (as offenders and victims) affect one's own involvement. Disentangling friendship selection and friendship influence processes is required to shed more light on the victim-offender overlap. Specifically, if offenders are more likely to befriend and associate with other offenders (*selection*) and friends of offenders have a higher risk of victimisation (*influence*), then friendship selection and influence processes combined help explaining why offenders often become victims themselves. Likewise, if victims are more likely to befriend offenders (*selection*) and friends of offenders have a higher likelihood of becoming offenders themselves (*influence*), then this helps explaining why victims run a greater risk of offending than non-victims. By investigating friendship selection and influence processes the authors provide more insight into whether these can explain the reciprocal relationship between victimisation and offending.

For the purpose of both studies, a unique data collection was used: CrimeNL. CrimeNL is a collaborative effort of the Department of Sociology of the Radboud University (RU) and Statistics Netherlands (CBS) and it involves a longitudinal study of individual experiences with crime in the Netherlands. To study the role of friends, respondents were asked to report about the behaviours of their core network members. This method provided valuable information on how the social network of individuals can account for the victim-offender overlap.

The results showed mixed support for the role of friends for explaining the victim-offender overlap. Associating with crime-involved friends did not provide an explanation for the increased risk of victimisation among offenders. Although offenders were more likely to befriend other offenders (*selection*), having selected these friends did not increase individuals' risk of victimisation (*no influence*).

Yet, the studies underscored the importance of the peer context for explaining the influence of victimisation on subsequent offending. Specifically, victims were more likely to associate with offenders than non-victims. Befriending offenders in turn increased people's own risk of criminal offending.

This study was carried out in collaboration with Radboud University.

Rokven, J., De Boer, G., Tolsma, J., & Ruiter, S. (2016). How friends' involvement in crime affects the risk of offending and victimization. European Journal of Criminology. OnlineFirst. doi: 10.1177/1477370816684150

Rokven, J., Ruiter, S., Tolsma, J., & Kraaykamp, G. (2016). Like two peas in a pod? Explaining friendship selection processes related to victimization and offending. European Journal of Criminology, 13(2):231-256. doi: 10.1177/1477370815617186

Rokven, J. (2016). The victimization-offending relationship from a longitudinal perspective. ICS dissertation. Radboud University Nijmegen.

Partner similarity in offending

Numerous studies have shown that crime tends to concentrate within families. Most of these studies focus on the intergenerational transmission of crime, showing that criminal parents are more likely to have criminal offspring. There is, however, another way in which crime can concentrate within nuclear families, through partner 'selection' where criminal people tend to marry people who are criminal like themselves. Steve van de Weijer and Kevin Beaver (Florida State University) studied partner similarity in criminal offending, analysing a large number of married couples from the Dutch Transfive Study. They found a significant degree of partner similarity in criminal offending. Those who are married with a criminal partner are almost twice as likely to be convicted themselves, compared to those with a non-criminal partner.

There are two possible reasons why marital partners would be similar to each other in offending behaviour. First, partners might be similar to each other prior to meeting each other. This phenomenon is also referred to as assortative mating. According to this explanation mates seek out others who have similar traits, behaviours, and characteristics. Second, partners might become more similar to each other after they started the relationship with each other. According to this behavioural contagion explanation, one mate socialises the other mate so that they become more similar to each other over time. Van de Weijer and Beaver found evidence for both explanations. Those with a partner who committed a crime prior to their marriage were more likely to have been convicted for a crime prior to the marriage themselves as well. But also crimes that were committed after the marriage led to criminal offending by the partner after the marriage.

Life-course criminologists have consistently theorised that entering into a high-quality marriage with a crime-free spouse helps criminals to desist from criminal involvement. However, as the results of Van de Weijer and Beaver show, criminals are not that likely to seek out and marry this type of 'beneficial' spouse. Also, the offending partner may negatively influence a previously non-offending spouse. Therefore, they are in practice not very likely to profit from the prosocial influence of a crime-free spouse.

Weijer, S. G. A. van de, & Beaver, K. (2016). An Exploration of Mate Similarity for Criminal Offending Behaviors: Results from a Multi-Generation Sample of Dutch Spouses. *Psychiatric Quarterly*. doi: 10.1007/s11126-016-9465-8

NSCR staff (in fte) 2016 average

	employed by NWO (tenured)	employed by NWO (temporary)	employed by VU	external	total
Director	0,95	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,95
Research staff	12,8	5,97	0,21	0,00	18,98
Fellows	0,00	0,00	0,86	0,10	0,96
PhDs	0,00	3,19	2,17	0,46	5,82
Junior researchers	0,00	2,99	0,00	0,00	2,99
Support staff	1,66	2,77	0,00	0,84	5,27
total	**15,41**	**14,92**	**3,24**	**1,40**	**34,97**

Tourist Crime in Amsterdam

Looking at the streets of Amsterdam, it is easy to see there are more than just residents wandering around the city. On any given day a significant number of outsiders come for shopping, work, school, socialising and tourism. Some visitors possess unique characteristics that make them more susceptible to criminal involvement. This is especially true of tourists, who don't visit the city regularly for structured activities such as work or school, but instead for short periods of time dedicated to sightseeing and pleasure. Wouter Steenbeek and Andrew Lemieux explored the criminal involvement of this special group.

A convenience sample of 404 Amsterdam tourists completed a survey in the early summer of 2011. This included a time-use diary that detailed where the tourists went and what they did during the previous 24 hours in the city. Of the 404 individuals surveyed, 40, or approximately 10%, indicated they were victimised or witnessed a crime. Eleven respondents were victimised, twenty-five witnessed crimes, and four were both a victim and witness. Although the number of incidents was relatively low, the criminal involvement of tourists is quite high when one considers the relatively short amount of time the respondents were in Amsterdam.

To compare the victimisation risk of the tourists surveyed with the resident population of Amsterdam, time-based rates were calculated. Acknowledging the limitations of our dataset, and official statistics used to estimate the risk residents face, tourists experienced 0.0094 victimisations per person-day compared to 0.00035 victimisations per person-day for residents. In short, the study showed that the risk of victimisation is about 27 times higher for tourists than Amsterdam residents.

To explore the link between activity patterns and exposure to risk, we divided those surveyed into two groups based on the purpose(s) of their visit. People indicating they came to Amsterdam for the red light district, clubbing and/or drugs were put in one group (n = 198, 'vice tourists'), individuals who did not list any of these as a purpose were put into the other group (n = 206, 'non-vice tourists').

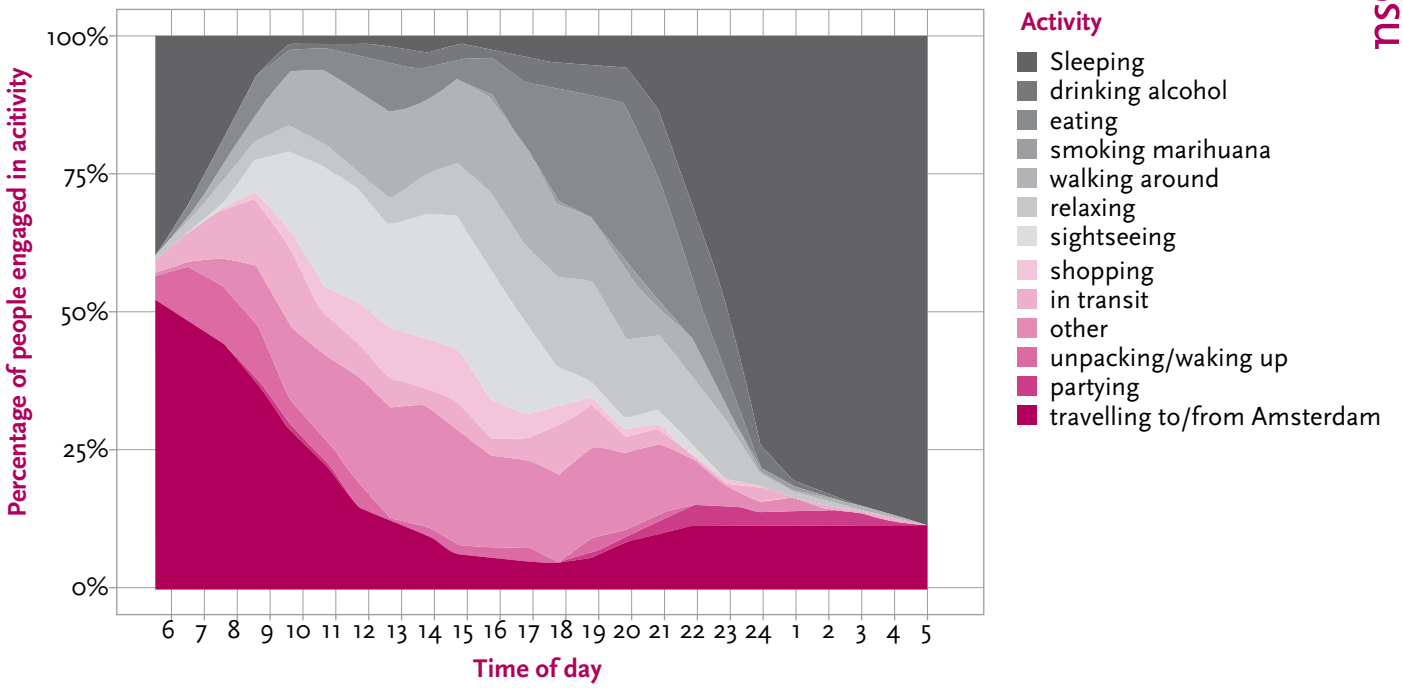
In general, the sightseeing patterns were quite similar for both types of tourist, but a (much) larger percentage of vice tourists smoked marijuana throughout the day. This group also started earlier with partying or drinking alcohol and continued to do so later into the night than non-vice tourists. In short, the time use data show that those who came to Amsterdam for vice did spend more time in potentially 'risky activities' than those who did not.

Interestingly, vice tourists experienced *fewer victimisations* (n=5) than non-vice tourists (n=10) despite their higher exposure to risk. In contrast, vice tourists *witnessed more* crime (n=18) than non-vice tourists (n=11). This is less surprising than it may seem at first glance. Non-vice tourists are also likely to come across risky situations in Amsterdam; the city's non-party areas often overlap with the party areas (e.g. the Red Light District is right in the city centre, next to picturesque canals). It may be that vice tourists experience more crime, but are more comfortable in risky settings and potentially better able to protect themselves, which results in them witnessing more crime but becoming a victim less often.

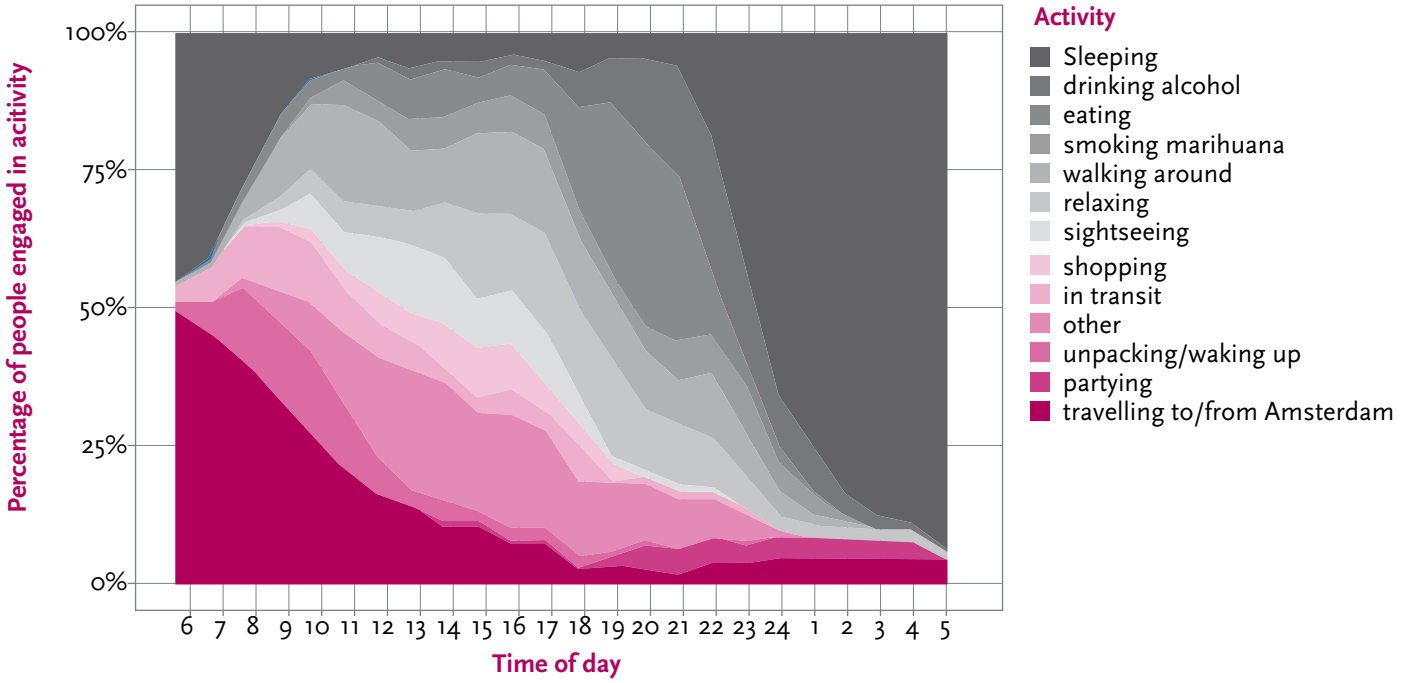
This study was conducted for a book on crime in Amsterdam, the city where NSCR is located.

Lemieux, A. M., & Steenbeek, W. (2016). Toeristen en criminaliteit in Amsterdam. In A. Dirkzwager, J. van Gelder, S. Ruiter, & C. Custers (Red.), *Beroemd en berucht Criminaliteit in Amsterdam* (pp. 33–44). Amsterdam: SWP.

Time use of non-vice tourists



Time use of vice tourists



NSCR sources of income in 2014, 2015, 2016

Income 2014-2016 in k€	2014	2015	2016
NWO	1.685	1.676	1.870
VU, cash & in-kind contributions *	925	494	396
Ministry of Security & Justice **	341	0	0
Direct funding	**2.951**	**2.170**	**2.266**
NWO	611	451	422
Other subsidy providers	166	119	164
Research grants	**777**	**570**	**586**
Contract research	**112**	**150**	**224**
Other	**136**	**216**	**188**
Total	**3.976**	**3.106**	**3.264**

* 2014 as stipulated from contract, indexed per year; 2015 and 2016 real contribution

** the Ministry of Security and Justice ended its subsidy of NSCR by 2015

Organised Cybercrime or Cybercrime that is Organised?

Criminological research over the last decades has advanced our understanding of cybercrime. However, this body of research is regarded as still theoretically 'shallow' and underdeveloped. Research into cybercriminal networks is especially scarce. This is problematic, both theoretically and for society, as we know that most criminals, including cybercriminals, do not work alone. Although some hackers might be able to work alone, studies have shown that, in general, multiple individuals with different skills are needed to carry out financially motivated cyber-attacks such as phishing, malware and ransomware.

NSCR researcher Rutger Leukfeldt collaborated with Edward Kleemans (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and Anita Lavorgna (University of Southampton) to study cybercriminal networks involved in financial cybercrimes to assess whether and to what extent these criminal networks meet the definitions of organised crime.

The study revealed that even if cybercriminal networks display the minimum set of characteristics to consider them as organised crime (this includes structure and composition and excludes corruption, connections with the legal economy and the use of violence) they still mostly fail to meet prevailing definitions of organised crime. This has important implications from both a theoretical and practical perspective. First, from a theoretical perspective, it reveals some challenges in using the organised crime conceptualisation in cyberspace, which in turn urges reconsideration of the capacity of our current criminological paradigms and definitions to capture emerging trends in the criminal scenario. Second, from a practical perspective, our findings question the developing narrative of cyber-organised crime, which despite the lack of clear empirical evidence at times seems to play with the ambiguity of the organised crime concept to bring home the seriousness of online threats.

This study feeds the debate on whether it is worthwhile to label certain cybercrimes as organised crime to give law enforcement enhanced investigative powers or whether it would be better to address cybercrimes in an *ad hoc* way, for specific cybercrimes, giving different (more powerful) investigative powers and resources to investigative and analytical teams without the need to rely on the anti-organised crime regulatory frameworks.

This study was carried out in collaboration with Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and University of Southampton.

Leukfeldt, E.R., A. Lavorgna & E.R. Kleemans (2016) Organised Cybercrime or Cybercrime that is Organised? An Assessment of the Conceptualisation of Financial Cybercrime as Organised Crime. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. doi: 10.1007/s10610-016-9332-z.

NSCR Organisation

Staff

F. Augusteijn	Junior secretary
Dr L.H. Berckmoes	Postdoc
Dr C.J.W. van den Berg	Researcher
T.G.C. van den Berg MSc	Junior researcher
Prof. W. Bernasco	Senior researcher
Prof. C.C.J.H. Bijleveld	Director
Prof. A.A.J. Blokland	Senior researcher
A. van den Broek	Financial project officer
Prof. G.J.N. Bruinsma	Senior researcher
Drs. S. Clarysse	Communications officer/librarian
Drs. G.M.E.M. Custers	Communications officer/librarian
T.M. Dijks	Senior Secretary
M.J.A. Dirkse MSc	Junior researcher
Dr J.E. Dirkzwager	Senior researcher
N.B.J.P. van Doormaal MSc	Junior researcher
P.M.C. van Eekelen	Senior Secretary
Dr V.I. Eichelsheim	Researcher
Dr N.A. Elbers	Postdoc
Prof. H. Elffers	Guest researcher
Dr V.R. van der Geest	Researcher (A-LAB)
Dr J.L. van Gelder	Senior researcher
Dr C. Gerritsen	Postdoc
Dr J.M. Harte	Senior researcher (A-LAB)
J.M. Hill MSc	PhD
Dr. B. Hola	Researcher (A-LAB)
Drs. L.S. Hulleman	Personnel advisor
S.H. Jalil	Web developer
S. Jaghai-Nejal	Financial officer
Dr K.J. Joosen	Postdoc
Mr. J. Kaljee	Junior researcher
Dr M.L. Komter	Guest researcher
R. Klarenberg	Controller
Prof. P.H. van der Laan	Senior researcher
K. Lammers	Secretary
Dr M. Lammers	Postdoc
J. Lamsma MSc	Junior researcher
Drs. M.C. Last	Grants advisor
Dr A.M. Lemieux	Researcher
Dr E.R. Leukfeldt	Postdoc
Dr M. Lindegaard	Researcher
Dr V. Ljujic	Postdoc
Dr M. Malsch	Senior researcher
J. de Man MSc	PhD (A-LAB)
Dr B. Menting	Postdoc
Dr J.W. van Prooijen	Senior researcher (A-LAB)

E. Rodermond MSc	PhD (A-LAB)
J. Rokven MSc	PhD
A.O. Roussos	Web developer
Prof. S. Ruiter	Senior researcher
I. van Sintemaartensdijk MSc	Junior researcher
S.E.M. van Sleeuwen MSc	PhD
H. Smallbone MSc	PhD (A-LAB)
A. Smit MSc	PhD (A-LAB)
P. Spaan MSc	Junior researcher
Dr W. Steenbeek	Researcher
Dr M. Teeuwen	Guest researcher
Dr F.M. Weerman	Senior researcher
Prof B.C. Welsh	Guest researcher
M.L. van der Werff	Assistant
I. van de Werve MSc	Junior researcher (A-LAB)
M. Weulen Kranenbarg MSc	PhD
Dr S. van de Weijer	Postdoc
H.Y. Wisselink	Datamanager
J.K. van Zanten MSc	Junior researcher
Mr. S.W. van Zwieten	Junior researcher

External fellows

Dr Susan Dennison	Griffith University
Prof. Lieven Pauwels	Ghent University
Prof. Michael Tonry	University of Minnesota
Dr Christophe Vandeviver	Ghent University

PhD degrees awarded

Liza Cornet	8 January 2016
Heleen Janssen	22 January 2016
Jeroen de Man	29 February 2016
Evelien Hoeben	9 March 2016
Joris Beijers	7 July 2016
Josja Rokven	7 October 2016

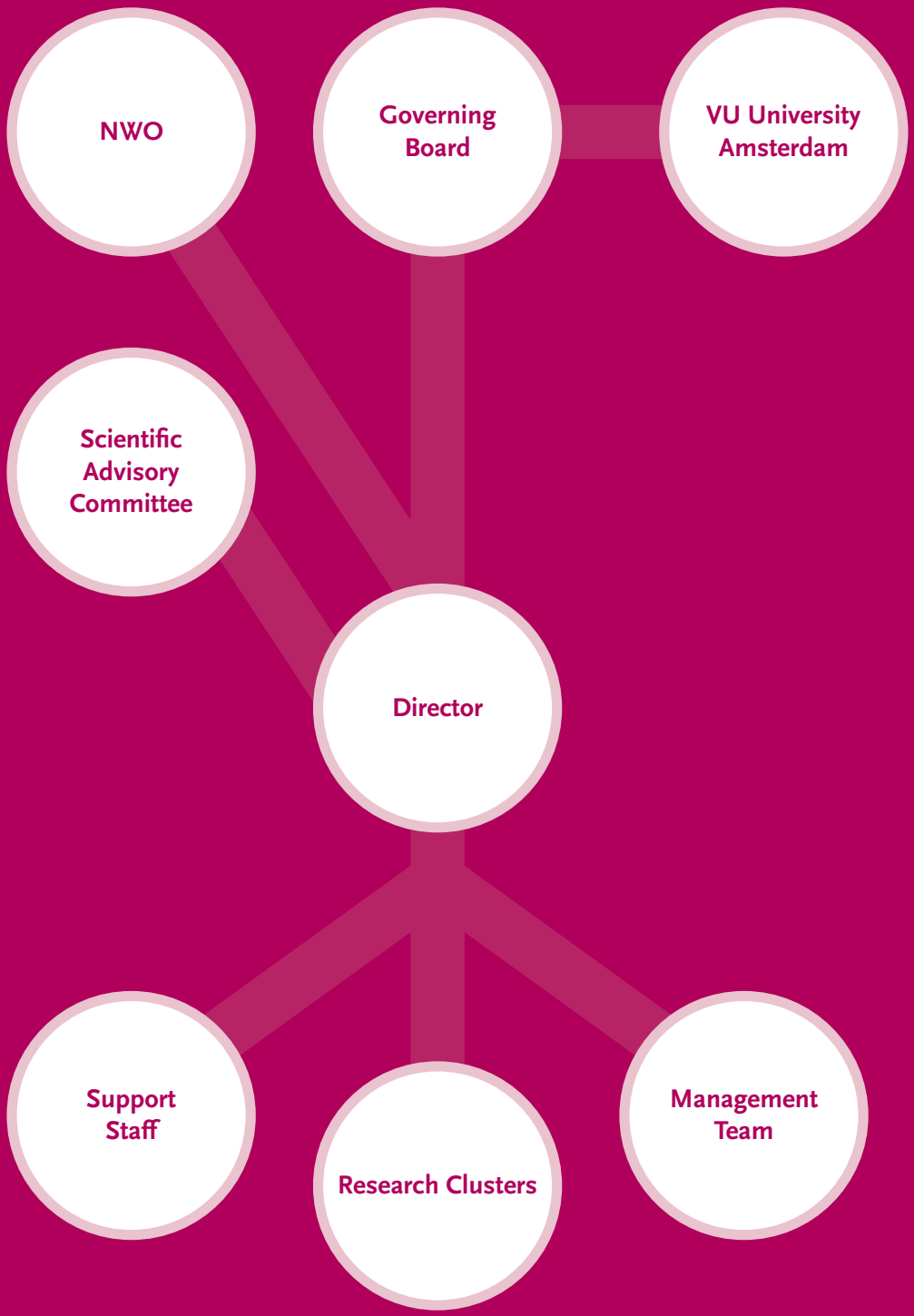
NSCR Board

Prof. Ybo Buruma (chair)
Prof. Arno Akkermans
Prof. Kees Brants
Dr Janine Janssen

Scientific advisory committee (SAC)

Prof. Marcelo Aebi - University of Lausanne, Switzerland (chair)
Prof. Henk van de Bunt - Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands
Prof. Felipe Estrada - Stockholm University, Sweden
Prof. Candace Kruttschnitt - University of Toronto, Canada
Prof. Friedrich Lösel - University of Cambridge, UK / Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany
Dr Almir Maljevic - University of Sarajevo, Bosnia Herzegovina
Prof. Daniel Nagin - Carnegie Mellon University, USA
Dr Diettrich Oberwittler - Max Planck Institut Freiburg, Germany
Prof. Rick Rosenfeld - University of Missouri, St. Louis, USA
Prof. Clifford Shearing - Griffith University, Australia / University of Cape Town, South Africa
Prof. Terence Thornberry - University of Maryland, USA
Prof. David Weisburd - Hebrew University, Israel

Formal structure NSCR



Netherlands Institute for the Study
of Crime and Law Enforcement

Visiting address
De Boelelaan 1077a
1081 HV Amsterdam
The Netherlands

Postal address
PO Box 71304
1008 BH Amsterdam
The Netherlands

Tel: +31 20 59 85239
E-mail: info@nscr.nl
Website: www.nscr.nl

Images: Shutterstock.com, DJI

The Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (**NSCR**) is a national research institute of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (**NWO**).

Netherlands Organisation
for Scientific Research