Annual Report 2017

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Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement



Introduction

This is the 2017 annual report of the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR). The year 2017 was quite a busy year with preparations for the organisational reshuffle through which NSCR became part of the Institutes Organisation of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), and NSCR being evaluated in September in the six-yearly SEP evaluation round.

Over the year, NSCR's research activities expanded over our different research clusters, with topics ranging from intergenerational continuity in offending, artificial intelligence and Empirical Legal Studies, to sanctions, extremism, and cybercrime. In the various clusters, we addressed our three leading questions: into the life course of criminals, spatial patterns in crime and interventions. We acquired a number of highly competitive grants, hosted events and conferences, and were quite a beehive with numerous national and international fellows.

This annual report provides a sample of our work in the various clusters and publications over the past year, selected to give readers an impression of our work, as well as more 'technical' information on staff, budget, publications, and organisational structure. More information can be found on our website and in our two-monthly newsletters.

I thank all our scientific and support staff, as well as all our collaborators, from Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU), other national universities and European and international research institutes, for helping in making this institute such a vibrant, welcoming and exciting place. A special word of thanks goes to our scientific advisory committee and to our board, whose members have supported us over the course of many years.

Catrien Bijleveld Director

NSCR research: excellent and world leading

In 2017, the NSCR was evaluated by a panel of independent international experts, according to the Standard Evaluation Protocol (SEP). The NSCR research was assessed as world leading/excellent.

A committee of six national and international experts visited the NSCR in September 2017. The evaluation is part of the six-yearly cycle in which all NWO institutes are assessed with regard to scientific quality, societal relevance and viability. The committee characterized the NSCR as a world-class institute, where socially relevant research is conducted in a stimulating multidisciplinary environment, focused on collaboration.

Remarkable according to the evaluation committee, is the high level of scientific commitment and productivity among all employees. This is in contrast to the usual pattern in which one strong member or one research group dominates the productivity level of an institute. The committee believed that the institute has a clear added value in the Netherlands, internationally, in Europe and beyond. and also internationally in Europe and beyond.

Read the full NSCR-standard-evaluation-protocol-2011-2016.



How offense and personality characteristics influence labour market opportunities

Offenders with a Dutch name are more likely to be receive a positive reply on their job application than similar candidates with a migrant background and a clean criminal record. This was shown by research from NSCR, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU), the Radboud University (RU), and Utrecht University (UU).

Employment is an important factor in minimizing or even preventing further criminal activity in ex-offenders. When ex-offenders are employed they are integrated into society, their social relations and networks improve, and their overall psychological well-being is increases. Yet, ex-offenders face many barriers when entering the labour market.

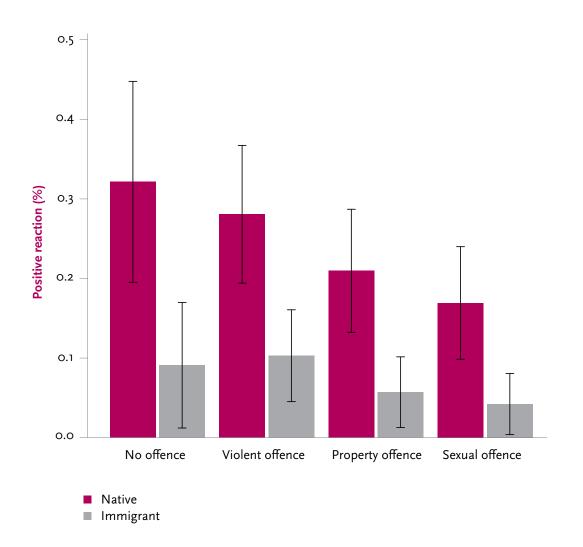
Criminal record negative signal

One of these barriers is the cost-benefit analysis by potential employers. According to the jobmarket signaling model developed by Spence (1973) employers consider hiring as an investment under uncertainty. Unemployment and a criminal record are seen as negative signals, which could lead to the decision not to hire ex-offenders. Another barrier is the so-called taste-based discrimination model (Becker, 1957). According to this model, potential employers may not hire ex-offenders because they feel animosity against former criminals. In addition, Phelps (1972) describes that employers could also base their decision to hire on group-level information, such as ex-offenders having on average lower productivity or less motivation to work.

Ethnic minorities with no conviction even lower chances

In the present study, the influence was tested of a criminal record on employment chances. An experimental design was used and approximately 500 résumés and motivation letters sent in response to vacancies on the internet. All résumés were identical except for properties that were systematically varied such as the stated offense type (no offence, violent offence, property offence or sexual offence), duration between previous conviction and this application, and ethnicity of the applicant.

The results show no effect for type of offence on employment chances. However, a strong effect is found for ethnicity. Ethnic minorities with no conviction were even found to have lower chances of receiving a positive reaction compared to applicants with a Dutch name and a conviction for a violent offence.



Publication details and further reading

Van den Berg, C., Blommaert, L., Bijleveld, C. & Ruiter, S. (2017). Veroordeeld tot (g)een baan. <u>Hoe delict- en persoonlijkheidskenmerken</u> <u>arbeidsmarktkansen beïnvloeden</u>. *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie*, 59 (2), 113-135.



Research Agenda The human factor in cybercrime and cybersecurity

NSCR drafted a Research Agenda to bring together interested researchers and to stimulate research on the human factor in cybercrime and cybersecurity.

With the digitization of society, crime is also increasingly digital. This means new offenses, such as hacking databases and taking down websites or networks. Also we see traditional forms of crime where IT plays an increasingly important role, like internet fraud and cyberstalking.

A new type of offender?

Digitization raises all sorts of questions for traditional crime theories. For example, are we dealing with the 'same old offenders' who simply moved their activities online, or are cybercriminals a new type of offender with particular characteristics and motives? Which personal and situational characteristics provide an increased or decreased risk of cybercrime victimization? Which actor is suitable to protect potential victims: the police, commercial cybersecurity companies, or Internet Service Providers (ISP's) and hosting providers?

Collaboration with 26 partner organisations

The NSCR worked closely with researchers from nine universities, four universities of applied sciences, and organisations such as the Scientific Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Ministry of Security and Justice, Statistic Netherlands (CBS), TNO, Dutch National Cyber Security Center (NCSC), Dutch National Police, Dutch Public Prosecution Service, Dutch Probation Service and the Netherlands Council for the Judiciary, who all contributed to this Research Agenda on the Human Factor in Cybercrime and Cybersecurity.

Innovative research methods and datasets

The Research Agenda gives an overview of the state-of-the-art in research on the role of the human factor in cybercrime. In addition, examples are given of the research questions and innovative research methods and datasets, that are needed for future research on the human factor in cybercrime and cyber security, as well as the most pressing questions future research should address.

Publication details and further reading

Leukfeldt, R. (Ed.) (2017). *Research Agenda, The Human Factor in cybercrime and cybersecurity.* Eleven International Publishing, Den Haag.

Intergenerational Legacies of the Genocide in Rwanda and Community Based Sociotherapy

Configuration Chart Chart

In Rwanda, the genocide and its legacies are still omnipresent, with the tragic past shaping the lives of present and next generations. Funded by NWO-WOTRO, NSCR and the Community Based Sociotherapy Program (CBSP) investigated the intergenerational legacies of the 1994 genocide, collaborating with the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR) and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

A first aim of the study was to investigate *how* the genocide, its aftermath and related events are transmitted within families to future generations. The second aim was to explore how sociotherapy may intervene in processes of intergenerational transmission in Rwanda. The study used a naturalistic experimental design.

Direct and indirect pathways of intergenerational transmission

Legacies of the 1994 genocide, its aftermath and related events appear to be transmitted to the second generation within families through direct and indirect pathways, which are interrelated and interact in multiple ways. Direct pathways of intergenerational transmission concern the ways in which the genocide and related events are reflected upon, reconstructed and explicitly communicated (or not) to the second generation. Indirect pathways of intergenerational transmission are the ways in which the genocide affects the second generation's socio-ecological environment, and through that, the child. The research specifically focused on communication (or lack thereof) as the direct pathway of intergenerational transmission, and poverty as an example of the indirect pathway.

Silencing of the past

Silencing may be a deliberately chosen strategy, for example for mothers not to show their struggle. Silence as a way to 'let go of the past' is also a way to be able to live peacefully together and to focus on the future. The Community Based Sociotherapy Program facilitates direct, verbal communication about difficulties with regard to daily life struggles. Directly confronting the past and sharing traumatic experiences enables victims to 'relativize', or normalize, their suffering, seeing that other people also suffer and may even be worse off. Open communication about the genocide and its legacies can lead to children's increased understanding of their present struggles.

Economic downfall obstructs future opportunities

Poverty is a salient example of an indirect intergenerational pathway. Economic downfall as an (in)direct result of the genocide, its aftermath and related events hampers citizens in their daily lives and obstructs opportunities for the future, most poignantly for children, whose basic needs may be unfulfilled and who may be unable to attend school as they must contribute to family income.

'Silencing may be a deliberately chosen strategy'



Sociotherapy stimulates cooperation and socio-economic initiatives

The study showed that sociotherapy stimulates group-based cooperation and socio-economic initiatives. This in turn enables people to potentially improve their economic conditions and eventually alleviate poverty and economic hardship.

Publication details and further reading

Berckmoes, L.H., Eichelsheim, V., Rutayisire, T., Richters, A. & Holá, B. (2017). How Legacies of Genocide Are Transmitted in the Family Environment: A Qualitative Study of Two Generations in Rwanda. Societies, 7 (3), 24.



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.

Palm print comparison: Value for police investigation and trial of criminal cases

Little attention has been paid in the existing literature to the added value of palm prints compared to fingerprints and other types of forensic evidence. NSCR and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam conducted a study on the use of palm print comparisons in the investigation and trial of criminal cases. The study has been commissioned by the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the ministry of Justice and Safety.

The researchers used a variety of methods. Data on the use of palm print comparisons were collected, interviews were conducted with police officers, prosecutors and experts in dactylography, a legal comparison was made with the regulations on the use of palm print evidence in surrounding countries, and court decisions in criminal cases based on dactylographic reports focusing on palm print comparison were analyzed, as were the case files of a number of these decisions.

Clear advantages

The findings show that palm print comparisons are not used often due to the Dutch law that requires both permission of a prosecutor and serious grounds for taking palm prints from a suspect and comparing them to the database of palm prints (HAVANK). Palm print comparison however appears to have notable advantages over other types of forensic evidence, such as DNA and fingerprints. The report lists these advantages, and recommends that the use of palm print comparison can be allowed on a larger scale.

Uncertainties inherent in palm print comparison

Nevertheless, dactylography, including palm print comparison, is not a hard science. Different experts may judge matches between traces and prints differently. The researchers conclude that process participants, including the courts, should be more aware of such uncertainties inherent in palm print comparison, and should clarify them in their decisions and judgements.

Publication details and further reading

Malsch, M., Van den Berg, T., Hornman, M. Lammers, M., De Wilde, B., & Stevens, L. (2017). *De toepassing van handpalmafdrukken voor de opsporing en vervolging*. Research commissioned by the WODC. Amsterdam, NSCR and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.



Virtual burglary: Exploring the potential of virtual reality to study burglary in action

Virtual Reality (VR) has promising features to create real-world circumstances in which burglars choose their targets. NSCR researchers are examining if VR might be a valid methodology to study the influence of guardianship on burglar decision-making.

Methods currently used to understand the decision-making process in burglars are targeting patterns, targeting characteristics, interviews and surveys with offenders. Although these methods have given researchers valuable information on the decision-making process, each method has distinct limitations to the information that can be gained from these methods.

High ecological validity

A new method is necessary that can bypass these limitations. VR has promising features to be this method. In VR, any real-world situation can be recreated, such as the circumstances in which burglars normally choose their targets. By simulating this target-selection, ecological validity is high, and the decision-making process can be directly observed.

Virtual reality in burglar decision-making

In addition to this, there is also high experimental control. By simulating a real-world decision-making process that can be studied directly, we have the potential to confirm and expand current knowledge on these processes. The Virtual Burglary Project has the goal to study this use of virtual reality in burglar decision-making. Specifically, the project focuses on the influence of various forms of guardianship on burglars' decision-making, given that guardianship has consistently been found to influence burglars but experimental evidence for this effect is non-existent.

Responses to manipulations

In the current study, incarcerated burglars in four prisons in the Netherlands are exposed to several VR worlds in which guardianship is manipulated. Responses to the manipulations are recorded via the computer and via responses to questionnaires. Data-collection started in 2017. The project moved to the University of Twente in 2018.

Publication details and further reading

Van Gelder, J.L., Nee, C., Otte, M., Demetriou, A., Van Sintemaartensdijk, I., & Van Prooijen, J. W. (2017). <u>Virtual burglary: Exploring the potential of virtual reality to study</u> <u>burglary in action</u>. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 54 (1), 29-62.

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 collaborate with researchers from other faculties. In September 2016, NWO and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam signed a new 10-year contract to extend the successful collaboration between VU and NSCR.

The impact of this renewed contract is clearly visible in our research, output and staff. Four new PhD projects started in 2016, in collaboration with the Faculties of Law, Social Sciences, Faculty of Behavioural and Movement Sciences, and the Faculty of Business and Economics. These collaborations are conducted under the umbrella of the interfaculty research institute A-LAB (the Amsterdam Law and Behaviour Institute), that has over the years stimulated numerous other research initiatives.

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.



Is there a right-timeright-place for street robbery?

It seems obvious that street robbers prefer to attack their victims at the right time and the right place. Theory expects them to know that the attributes that make places attractive for street robbery fluctuate over daily and weekly cycles. After all, the ideal spot for late-night robbery may be a worthless hunting ground in the early morning light.

NSCR researchers used a comprehensive dataset containing detailed information about nearly 13,000 street robberies in Chicago to test this seemingly obvious but so far untested hypothesis.

Busy places and cash money

From prior work it was known that street robbers prefer to attack close to their homes and in areas where they do not stand out due to their ethnic background. It is also known that they prefer busy places that bring many people together, such as the environs of transit stations and schools, and that they prefer places where cash money is exchanged, including not only retail businesses but also illegal markets for drugs and prostitution. It was therefore expected that places with these characteristics would attract street robbers at specific times of the day and specific days of the week, but not at other times and days. Alternatively, all places might be equally attractive throughout the day and the week.

No significant temporal variations

The expectations proved to be false. Almost all attributes included in the analysis were equally likely to attract street robbers during all hours of the day and all days of the week. There were almost no significant temporal variations. The only exceptions were secondary schools, which attracted street robbers specifically during the mornings and afternoons of weekdays, the regular opening times of these schools.

Just preference for familiarity

The findings demonstrate that there is no right-time-right-place for street robbery. Similar research by others that was conducted in the city of Philadelphia seems to confirm these findings. A possible explanation is that street robbers simply perpetrate robberies in areas where they pursue their own daily activities, areas that are close to their home, where they do not stand out, where many people gather and a variety of cash economies are found. However, street robbers' preference for familiarity does not appear to depend on daily or weekly time cycles.

Publication details and further reading

Bernasco, W., Ruiter, S., & Block, R. (2017). Do Street Robbery Location Choices Vary Over Time of Day or Day of Week? A Test in Chicago. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 54 (2), 244-275. Open Access publication.



Exploring anti-poaching strategies for wildlife crime with a simple and general agent-based model

Understanding and preventing wildlife crime is challenging because of the complex interactions between animals, poachers, and rangers. Agent-based modelling (ABM) is a promising formal modelling technique that may be particularly suited to study the complexity of wildlife crime.

In an ABM, each individual agent makes autonomous decisions, reacting to its environment and the behaviour of other agents. We developed a simple, general agent-based model of wildlife crime that allows us to explore the effectiveness of anti-poaching strategies, even before they are implemented. The general, abstract approach was done intentionally to keep the model from getting too complex, yet with rules that result in realistic behaviour of the animals, poachers, and rangers.

Virtual protected area

NSCR researchers illustrated the model by applying it to rhino poaching in South Africa. The model simulates an abstract, virtual protected area populated by rhino-agents. They also create ranger-agents who patrol inside the protected area, searching for poaching activity. Poacher-agents try to break into the virtual park to hunt for rhinos. With the agents in place, it is possible to study how an increase in patrol effort and different anti-poaching strategies affect the number of poached rhinos.

Fence patrol more effective

The researchers compared two different patrol strategies: standard patrols (within the park), and fence patrols (around the perimeter). The model provides general insight in how the different strategies influence the behaviour of rhino poachers. The results show that fence patrols are more effective in preventing wildlife crime than standard patrols. Strikingly, even deploying more ranger teams does not increase the effectiveness of standard patrols compared to fence patrols.

General conclusions within the complexity of wildlife crime

The model can be used to derive general conclusions about the emergence and prevention of wildlife crime. It can also be tailored to create scenarios, which allows researchers and practitioners to understand more of the dynamics in specific cases. The model should be regarded as a first step to understand the complexity of wildlife crime. The model is publicly available and built with free software to allow other researchers and practitioners to make further improvements or develop extensions.

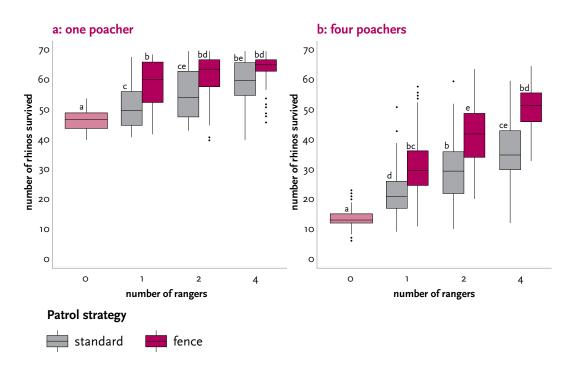


Figure 1. Results of the patrol strategy comparison presented in boxplots. The left plot shows the result of a virtual park with one poacher and the right plot shows the result of a park with four poachers. The poacher-only scenarios are represented by the boxplot when no rangers where present. The number of surviving rhinos is on the y-axis for both plots.

Publication details and further reading

Van Doormaal, N. (2017). <u>Exploring Anti-poaching Strategies for</u> Wildlife Crime with a Simple and General Agent-Based Model. *Progress in Artificial Intelligence*, EPIA 2017, Lecture Notes in Computer Science, volume 10423.

NSCR Practitioners in Residence

NSCR promotes structural exchange with policy, practice, and the media since 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, in several visits. 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'.

The Practitioners in Residence next 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 2017, NSCR welcomed five Practitioners in Residence: Peter Versteegh (The Hague Police), Elsbeth Stoker (Volkskrant), Sjaak Essers (former staff member Ministry of Security and Justice), Judith Swinkels (Parliament), and Paul IJmkers (Dutch Permanent Representation at the EU, Brussels).

Leaving the bank of mum and dad: Financial independence and delinquency desistance in emerging adulthood

An important criterion for achieving adulthood according to today's emerging adults – young people between the ages of 18 and 25 – is achieving financial independence from parents. NSCR researchers examined how achieving this 'new' marker of adulthood relates to delinquent behaviour.

Within life course criminology it has been well established that entering adult roles, such as marriage and employment, leads to desistance from delinquent and criminal behavior (e.g., Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2010; Uggen & Wakefield, 2008). However, traditional markers of adulthood, such as marriage and parenthood, are being increasingly postponed by young adults in their 20s.

Gaining financial independence

NSCR researchers examined how financial independence from parents relates to delinquent behaviour. They hypothesized that gaining financial independence, i.e., no longer receiving financial support from parents, will lead to a decrease in delinquent behaviour but that other factors may play a moderating role in this.

Fewer delinquent offences

In order to test their hypothesis they used the TransAM data. This longitudinal dataset was collected from a general population sample of 970 Dutch emerging adults, aged 18–24 years, living in Amsterdam between 2010 and 2014. Fixed effects models were employed to examine the effect of within-person changes in financial independence on self-reported delinquency. Results indicated that when participants were financially independent from their parents they reported committing fewer delinquent offences in the subsequent 6-month period compared to when they were financially dependent on their parents.

Important marker of adulthood

Contrary to expectations, this effect was not moderated by individuals' education or employment status, or by their living situation, i.e. regardless of whether participants were in education, in work, living with their parents or living independently, financial independence had a desistance effect. The researchers conclude that financial independence should be viewed as an important marker of adulthood that results in behavioural change and argue for the updating of life-course theories of desistance to include 'new' markers of adulthood.

Publication details and further reading

Hill, J. M., Van der Geest, V. R., & Blokland, A. A. J. (2017). Leaving the bank of mum and dad: Financial independence and delinquency desistance in emerging adulthood. Journal of Developmental and Life-Course criminology, 3 (4), 419-439.

NSCR staff (in fte) 2017 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	12,28	7,14	0,84	0,00	20,26
Fellows	0,00	0,00	0,4	0,00	0,4
PhDs	0,00	4,44	4,33	0,00	8,77
Junior researchers	0,00	4,18	0,00	0,00	4,18
Support staff	2,46	1,89	0,00	0,99	5,34
total	15,69	17,65	5,57	0,99	39,90

Parental imprisonment and premature mortality in adulthood

Every year, the parents of thousands of Dutch children are sentenced to prison. This may have negative consequences for the well-being of these children. NSCR research shows that children with a parent in prison have significantly increased mortality risks during their own adulthood.

Earlier research has shown that children who experienced the imprisonment of a parent, more often commit crimes and have more mental health problems. Research among American toddlers and Danish teens also shows a correlation between parental imprisonment and premature death. The new NSCR study goes a step further by looking at mortality during adulthood (between 18 and 65 years) of people who experienced the imprisonment of a parent during their childhood.

Mortality rate more than double

The study showed that these children had died significantly more often during their own adulthood – in 6.9% of cases – than children with non-criminal parents (3.2%). A significant difference was also found compared to children of parents who were criminal but who did *not* go to prison (4%), even after controlling for the types and number of crimes by the parents. This suggests that the increased mortality risk has to do with the parent's imprisonment and not simply with the parent's criminal behavior.

Consecutive generations studied

The NSCR Researchers used the Transfive Study, a study of offending over five consecutive generations. The starting point of this dataset are 198 boys who had been placed in a reform school between 1911 and 1914 because of problem behavior or because their parents did not adequately care for them. In the Transfive Study, the complete criminal records and demographic data of all descendants of these high-risk youths have been collected. The current study used two consecutive generations of the data set: for 919 parents (on average born in 1932) the NSCR studied how their criminal behavior and imprisonment was associated with premature mortality among their 1241 offspring (on average born in 1960).

More attention for children of detainees

This study shows that children of prisoners are a vulnerable group and suggests that more attention may be warranted for their health. In addition, the criminal justice system should consider the negative consequences of imprisonment for the children of detainees.

Publication details and further reading

Van de Weijer, S.G.A., Smallbone, H.S. & Bouwman, V. (2018). <u>Parental Imprisonment and</u> <u>Premature Mortality in Adulthood. Journal of Developmental and</u> *Life-Course Criminology*, 4 (2), 148-161.

NSCR sources of income in 2015, 2016 and 2017

Income 2015-2017 in k€	2015	2016	2017
NWO	1.676	1.870	2.184
VU, cash & in-kind contributions	494	396	468
Direct funding	2.170	2.266	2.652
NWO	451	422	443
Other subsidy providers	119	164	194
Research grants	570	586	637
Contract research	150	224	262
Other	216	188	190
Total	3.106	3.264	3.741



Chimps and people console victims of aggression in similar ways

Post-aggression consolation is assumed to occur in humans as well as in chimpanzees. Systematic evidence on consolation in human adults is rare, however. NSCR researchers used surveillance camera (CCTV) footage of the immediate aftermath of nonfatal robberies to observe the behaviors and characteristics of victims and bystanders.

A security camera recorded four gunmen in black clothes with their faces covered by scarves as they ran into a supermarket in Amsterdam. The camera observed them as they threatened a female employee with a gun. It recorded her quietly handing over the money.

Crime caught on camera

After the incident just described had ended and the robbers had left, a female employee left her position at the tobacco encounter at the other side of the store and walked across to embrace her colleague. She hugged and held the victim in her arms for a very long time, moving her back and forth, as if the victim was a baby. The victim started crying. NSCR researchers used this footage, and footage of other robberies caught on camera to study the behavior of bystanders and victims.

Socially close bystanders more likely to soothe

Based on an analysis of surveillance camera footage of the immediate aftermath of nonfatal robberies, codings of the behaviors and social characteristics of victims and bystanders, findings showed that bystanders who were socially close to the victims, for example a colleague, were more likely than strangers to soothe the victims. Women were also more likely to console victims than men.

Evidence for naturally occurring consolation behavior

The patterns of human adult consolation resemble post-aggression consolation in chimpanzees, and suggest that emotions of empathic concern are involved in consolation across humans and chimpanzees. While consolation behavior in humans was previously only studied in children, this study is the first to provide systematic evidence for naturally occurring consolation behavior in human adults.

Publication details and further reading

Lindegaard, M. R., Liebst, L. S., Bernasco, W., Heinskou, M. B., Philpot, R., Levine, M. & P. Verbeek, (2017). Consolation in the aftermath of robberies resembles post-aggression consolation in chimpanzees, *PLOS ONE* 12 (5), 0177725.

NSCR Organisation

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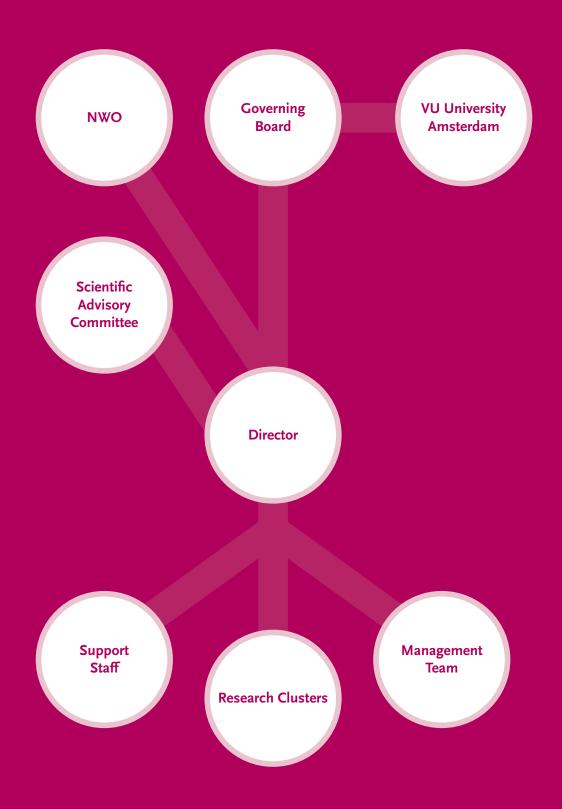
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