



# Illicit Networks Workshop

14<sup>th</sup> annual meeting

**December 9-10, 2024**

**Leiden University, The Netherlands**

Maximizing knowledge exchange among researchers, investigators, and policymakers in using network analysis to further understanding of gangs, organized crime, and corruption



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**Universiteit  
Leiden**  
The Netherlands



**14<sup>TH</sup> ILLICIT NETWORKS WORKSHOP**  
**LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS - DECEMBER 9<sup>TH</sup> AND 10<sup>TH</sup>**

**Day one – December 9<sup>th</sup> 2024**

**08:30 Coffee & Registration**

**09:00 Welcome INW 2024**

**09:15-11:15 SESSION I – DRUG TRAFFICKING NETWORKS**

**09:15-09:45 *The evolution of transnational cocaine and heroin flows and the factors that affect them: A network perspective***

Philip Screen, Transcrime – Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Miliono, Italy

**09:45-10:15 *Transnational Drug-Related Organised Crime: A Network Perspective***

Irma Vermeulen, National Investigations & Special Operations unit, National Police of the Netherlands

**10:15-10:45 *The Role of Financial Facilitators in a Criminal Network***

Danijel Tadić, National Investigations & Special Operations unit, National Police of the Netherlands

**10:45-11:15 *Mechanics of the Maze: Deciphering the Financial Flow of Organised Drug Trafficking in China***

Shujing Shi, University of Cambridge, UK

**11:15 Morning tea**

**11:45-13:15 SESSION II – ONLINE ILLICIT NETWORKS**

**11:45-12:15 *Identifying Communities and Contextual Celebrities in a Large-Scale Darknet CSAM Forum Communication Network***

Frederic Gnielka, Medical School Berlin, Germany

**12:15-12:45 *The Influence of Social Network Characteristics on the Choice of Communication Platforms in an Underground Forum***

Raphael Hoheisel, Tom Meurs, Abhishta Abhsishta, Erik Tews, Marianne Junger, University of Twente, The Netherlands

**12:45-13:15 *Breached: analysis of the stolen credentials network***

David Decary-Hetu, University of Montreal, Canada

**13:15 Lunch**

**14:00-15:30 SESSION III – PRACTICAL PROBLEM WORKSHOP**

**PARALLEL SESSION A**

14:00-14:45 ***Criminal Power System: Viable Analytical Concept or Policy Vehicle?***

Peter Klerks, Public Prosecution Service of the Netherlands, and  
Police Academy of the Netherlands

14:45-15:30 ***Scoping Intrusive Investigation Powers Through Social Network Analysis***

Salomé Lannier, University of Luxembourg, Maud Benichou Duhil de Benaze,  
University of Bordeaux, France

#### **PARALLEL SESSION B**

14:00-14:45 ***What is Needed for a Local Security Network to Defeat a Local Organized Crime (Meso)Network?***

Ruben Boomsma, National Police of the Netherlands, Henk Ferwerda, Bureau  
Beke, Arnhem, The Netherlands

14:45-15:30 ***That's Fine in Theory: Practical Challenges in Developing Evidence Informed Interventions for Network Involved Youth***

Seán Redmond, University of Limerick, Ireland

15:30 **Afternoon tea**

16:00-18:00 **SESSION IV – MAFIA NETWORKS AND ARMS TRAFFICKING**

16:00-16:30 ***Integrating Networks in Mafia "Familiness": Intergenerational Changes and Changing Ties in Cross-border 'Ndrangheta and Mafia-type Families in Australia***

Anna Sergi, University of Essex, UK

16:30-17:00 ***Using Stakeholder Value Networks in the Examination of Illicit Market Vulnerabilities: A Feasibility Study***

Felipe Aros-Vera, Ohio University, Stacie Petter, Wake Forest University, Gisela  
Bichler, California State University San Bernardino, US

17:00-17:30 ***Multiplexity in a Dutch Firearms Trafficking Network: Exploring Telecommunication***

Fenna van der Wijk, National Police of the Netherlands, University of Groningen,  
Gijs Huitsing, University of Groningen, Freddie Kootstra, National Police of the  
Netherlands, René Veenstra University of Groningen, the Netherlands

17:30-18:00 ***The Confluence of Crime: Mapping the Nexus Between Arms and Drug Trafficking in the Caribbean***

Yulia Yarina, Manon Blancafort, Small Arms Survey

18:00 Closing remarks by INW

18:10 Drinks

19:00 Conference dinner (pre-registration required)

**Day 1 – poster session** (posters will be up during morning and afternoon breaks)

***The Greentown Project: Twinsight Methodology***

Catherine M. Naughton, University of Limerick, Ireland

***Illegal fishing in the Indian Ocean***

Jade Lindley, The University of Western Australia Law School

***From Exposure to Action: Investigating the Tipping Point of Youths' Exposure to Involvement in Organized Crime***

Julie Erber, Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement, Marjolijn Das, Brenda Bos, Jan van der Laan, Statistics Netherlands, Paul Nieuwbeerta, Arjan Blokand, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

**Day 2 – December 10<sup>th</sup> 2024**

08:30 Coffee and registration

09:00-11:00 **SESSION I – TERRORIST NETWORKS AND OUTLAW MOTORCYCLE GANGS**

09:00-09:30 ***No (Wo)Men is an Island – Examining Female German ISIS Networks in Syria***

Alexander Schiele, University of Essex, UK, Berlin School of Economics and Law, Germany, Sofia Koller, CEP Germany, Carlotta Sallach, Central European University, Vienna, Austria

09:30-10:00 ***Navigating Beyond The Digital Safe Haven: Mapping The Course Of Salafi-Jihadi Online Movements Outside Rocket.Chat Through URLs Social Network Analysis (SNA)***

Alessandro Bolpagni, Ali Fisher, Federico Borgonovo, Giulia Porrino, Italian Team for Security Terroristic Issues and Managing Emergencies – ITSTIME, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart

10:00-10:30 ***The Impact of New Chapters on the Social Structure of the Hells Angels in British Columbia***

Martin Bouchard, Krysta Dawson, Alysha Girn, Simon Fraser University

10:30-11:00 ***Brothers in Crime: Co-offending, Hierarchy, Status, and Mentorship in Three Generations of Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs***

Arjan Blokland, Ida Adamse, Sjoukje van Deuren, Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement

11:00 **Morning tea**

11:30-13:00 **SESSION II – KEYNOTE LECTURES**

11:30-12:00 **Prof. Dr. Marcus Felson**, School of Criminal Justice, Texas State University, US

12:00-12:30 **Prof. Dr. Klaus von Lampe**, Police and Security Management  
Berlin School of Economics and Law, Germany

12:30-13:00 **Discussion**, moderated by Edward Kleemans, Vu University, Amsterdam

13:00 **Lunch**

13:45-15:15 **SESSION III – EGO NETWORK EXPOSURE AND CO-OFFENDING NETWORKS**

13:45-14:15 ***Examining Exposure to Violence, Victimization and Vulnerabilities to Victimization in Social Networks: The Case of Sexual Exploitation of Young People in the Netherlands***

Ieke de Vries, Arjan Blokland, Leiden University, The Netherlands

14:15-14:45 ***Networks of Violence and Co-Offending in the United Kingdom***

Paolo Campana, Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, UK

14:45-15:15 ***Mapping the Geospatial Dispersion of Crime Events in Co-offending Networks using Relational Hyperevent Models***

David Bright, Deakin University, Australia, Jürgen Lerner, Universität Konstanz, Germany, Giles Oatley, Federation University, Australia

15:15 **Afternoon tea**

15:45-17:45 **SESSION IV – POLICE, POLICE INTELLIGENCE AND OPEN SOURCE INTELLIGENCE NETWORKS**

15:45-16:15 ***The Dream Team: Combining Social Network Analysis and Expert Insights to Disrupt Irish Criminal Networks***

Alejandro Dinkelberg, Catherine M. Naughton, Eoin O'Meara-Daly, John Reddy, Sean Redmond, P'adraig MacCarron, University of Limerick, Ireland

16:15-16:45 ***Benefits and Risks in the Use of Open Source Intelligence to Investigate the Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Goods***

Silvia Rodríguez-López, University of A Coruña, Spain

16:45-17:15 ***Testing the Reliability of OSINT Network Data for Investigating Organized Crime Infiltration of Legal Businesses***  
Niles Breuer, University of Oxford, UK

17:15 **Closing remarks by INW**

**Day 2 – poster session** (posters will be up during morning and afternoon breaks)

***Connecting the Dots: Utilizing Crime Scripting to Leverage Multimodal Data and Innovative Techniques in a Meaningful Manner***

Thom Snaphaan, Avans University of Applied Sciences, The Netherlands

***Missing the Mark? Identifying Child Sexual Abuse Material Forum Structure and Key Players Based on Public Posting and Private Messaging Networks***

Rebecca Reichel, Medical School Berlin, Anton Daser, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Frederic Gnielka, Medical School Berlin, Alexander F. Schmidt, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, Germany, Arjan Blokland, Leiden University, The Netherlands, Robert J. B. Lehmann, Medical School Berlin, Germany

***Veins of Vice: Mapping the structure and Dynamics of China's Organised Drug Trafficking***

Shujing Shi, Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, UK

## Presenters INW 2024 (in order of presenting)



**Philip Screen** is a Ph.D. candidate of the XXXVIII cycle of the International Ph.D. in Criminology at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan and a junior researcher at Transcrime. He graduated with Honours in Criminology from Flinders University, Australia. Phillip has delivered research projects for the South Australian Police, and the South Australian Magistrates Court. Phillip also spent a few years working as a Principal Research Consultant in South Australia. His research interests concern transnational crime, organized crime and criminal networks.



**Irma Vermeulen** MSc MA is a researcher at the Netherlands Police, Unit Expertise and Operational Support / Unit National Investigations and Special Operations, focusing on drug-related serious and organized crime (SOC drugs). She is a member of the project group responsible for the quadrennial national strategic assessments of the Netherlands Police on SOC drugs. As an external PhD candidate at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Faculty of Law, Department of Criminology, she is conducting research on closed encrypted communications networks in relation to drug-related organized crime.



**Danijel Tadic** is a researcher international affairs at the Netherlands Police. Amongst other he applies Social Network Analysis on criminal networks, researches excessive violence of serious and organized crime and the impact of international developments on security issues. He has a background in international relations and has worked for many years on the rule of law issues in the EU neighboring countries.



**Shujing Shi** is a PhD candidate at the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge. She holds an M.Sc. in Criminology from the University of Pennsylvania and a B.A. in Criminology from Durham University. Her PhD research focuses on organised crime and drug markets, with an emphasis on the group dynamics and operational mechanisms of organised drug trafficking networks. In addition, her broader academic interests include drug policy, evidence-based policing and community corrections.



**Frederic Gnielka**, is currently working as a research assistant at the Medical School Berlin in the EU-funded project ARICA (Assessing Risk Indicators of Child Sexual Abuse).



**Raphael Hoheisel** is a PhD candidate at the University of Twente in collaboration with the Dutch Police. He has a background in engineering and computer science with a focus on cyber-security. At the moment his research focuses on the decision-making process of malicious actors, studying what influences their choice of certain tools/services/infrastructure.



**David Décary-Héту** has a Ph.D. in criminology from the Université de Montréal (2013). He first started as a Senior Scientist at the School of Criminal Sciences of the Université de Lausanne before moving to his current position as an Associate Professor at the School of Criminology of the Université de Montréal. The main research interests of Prof. Décary-Héту focus on the impacts of technology on crime. Through his innovative approach based on big and small data, as well as social network analysis, Prof. Décary-Héту studies how offenders adopt and use technologies, and how that shapes the regulation of offenses, as well as how researchers can study offenders and offenses. Prof. Décary-Héту is the Chair of the Darknet and Anonymity Research Centre (DARC) that was funded by the John R. Evans Leaders Funds from the Canada Foundation for Innovation. His team collects and studies data from all types of offenders who use anonymity technologies such as the darkweb, cryptocurrencies and encryption.



**Peter Klerks** (PhD), Dutch political scientist and criminologist, works in the law enforcement domain since 1993. He became strategic consultant at the Public Prosecution Service in 2010, advising the Board of Procurators General on criminal investigations, organized crime control and intelligence. Since 2000 Dr. Klerks has also been a senior researcher and principal lecturer at the Police Academy of The Netherlands. He held positions at Erasmus University Rotterdam and Leiden University and has been on the Amsterdam city council. He coaches multidisciplinary Organized Crime Field Labs and has published extensively (ORCID: 0000-0002-4363-3444).



**Salomé Lannier** is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Luxembourg in criminal and digital law. She is giving Master lectures in “Criminal law and cyberspace”, including one on the fight against CSAM, and Bachelor lectures in “Criminal law” (sexual offenses; exploitation offenses). Her core research interest lies in the fight against human trafficking, a gender-based approach to law, and the legal framework around sex work.



**Ruben Boomsma** Team chef of the BT Nieuw-West-Noord, Amsterdam, Netherlands Police



**Sean Redmond** is an official in the Department of Justice, Ireland. Seán is assigned to the School of Law, University of Limerick (UL) where he is leading a collaborative research project to develop the evidence base to inform youth crime policy. From 2012-2016 Sean worked in the Research and Evaluation Unit of the Department of Children and Youth Affairs with the lead responsibility for evaluation. Over the last 25 years Sean has held positions as; Head of Young Offender Programmes Irish Youth Justice Service; Assistant Director of Children's Services for a national NGO; Director of PACE, a prisoners' resettlement service. Sean is a registered social worker and holds a Doctorate in Governance.



**Anna Sergi** is Professor of Criminology and Organised Crime studies at the University of Essex, where she also obtained her PhD in Sociology. She previously graduated from King's College London and the University of Bologna. She specialises in the mobility of mafia-type groups, namely the Calabrian 'ndrangheta, with specific focus on intergenerational changes and innovations across generations. She published extensively in peer-reviewed journals but also in books, for a total of 7 monographs. She also is a specialist on illicit trade via seaports, specifically cocaine trade. In 2023 she won the Early Career Award by the European Society of Criminology.



**Fenna van der Wijk**: PhD student at the University of Groningen, Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences, Department of Sociology. Her PhD research focuses on gaining insight into (international) illicit firearms trafficking through the application of crime scripting and social network analysis. In the context of her PhD she also works at the Dutch Police, Unit North-Netherlands, Service Regional Information Organisation (DRIO), Department of Analysis & Research (A&O), Groningen.



**Yulia Yarina** joined the Small Arms Survey in May 2023 as a Project Assistant. At the Survey she is mainly engaged in research on small arms proliferation in the Caribbean and Ukraine as well as on global firearms holdings. Yulia is a development practitioner with a background in human rights, development, armed conflicts, and trade. She has experience in research on human rights, trade, and armed conflicts, mainly employing qualitative methodologies such as surveys and interviews as well as legal analysis. Yulia previously worked at the Geneva UN office of Amnesty International, the Eastern Europe and Central Asia Division of DCAF, the WTO, as well as the University of Geneva. She holds a Master's degree in International Affairs from the Graduate Institute of Geneva and a diploma in law from Humboldt University with a focus on international and trade law.



**Catherine Naughton** is the PI for the StableLivesSaferStreetsHub, an all-Ireland policy-led research hub in youth justice funded by the Shared Island Initiative (2022-20260). Since 2017, Catherine has worked with the Research into Policy Programmes and Practice (REPPP) Project at the University of Limerick, a partnership between the University and the Department of Justice. Catherine is a research fellow on the Greentown project and research lead for the implementation of the Yellowtown trial site. Catherine has an MSc and PhD in Psychology (2017).



**Felipe Aros-Vera** is an Associate Professor of Industrial and Systems Engineering (ISE) and Director of the Center for Advanced Systems and Transportation Logistics Engineering (CASTLE) at Ohio University. He holds a Ph.D. in Transportation Engineering from the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI), and a M.S. and B.S. on Engineering Sciences from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Dr. Aros-Vera's research spans the fields of Humanitarian Logistics, Human Trafficking, and Transportation Engineering. His research uses network modeling and optimization to analyze resilience of transportation and other critical infrastructure networks and design of interdiction strategies; and statistical analysis (econometric models and AI based algorithms) to identify and quantify key variables that influence the risk for human trafficking at the country, and state levels. Dr. Aros-Vera collaborates with multiple universities, private sector, and institutions including the Traffik Analysis Hub and the Northeast Ohio Human Trafficking Task Force.



**Jade Lindley** joined the UWA Law School in 2016 having previously worked in research within state and federal government including the Corruption and Crime Commission and the Australian Institute of Criminology. Jade periodically consults to various bodies of the United Nations and presented at the twenty-fifth session of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in Vienna in 2016. Jade was awarded her PhD from the Australian National University, and was a visiting scholar at the University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology.



**Julie Erber** is a first-year PhD candidate at the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement. In my PhD research, I focus on youths' exposure to and involvement in organised crime. I will take a quantitative approach using network data available at Statistics Netherlands. The data offers insights into family-, household-, classmate-, colleague-, and neighbourhood networks across the whole Netherlands, which enables us to study social influences contributing to organised crime involvement among youths.



**Alexander Schiele** is a PhD student at the University of Essex, a lecturer at the Berlin School of Economics and Law and an associate fellow with the Berlin Institute for Safety and Security Research working on counter-terrorism policing and terrorist networks.



**Alessandro Bolpagni** is a research analyst at ITSTIME. He has an MA in European and International Policies at UCSC and a Postgraduate Master in Middle Eastern Studies at ASERI. He specialised in digital HUMINT and OSINT/SOCMINT, oriented particularly on Islamic terrorism. He focused on monitoring terrorist networks and modelling recruitment tactics in the digital environment. He has produced operational reports and lectures for training and education purposes for companies, research centres, and law enforcement agencies.



**Martin Bouchard** is a Professor at the School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University and the former Director of the ICCRC. Dr. Bouchard received his PhD in Criminology from the University of Montreal, and completed postdoctoral work at the University of Maryland. His work focuses on the organization and dynamics of illicit markets and on examining the impact of social networks in various criminal career outcomes. He also published extensively on street gangs, organized crime, and methodologies to estimate the size of illicit markets. His interest in cybercrime includes examining the structure of online criminal networks, as well as the role of the Internet in facilitating co-offending and criminal innovation.



**Arjan Blokland** is senior researcher at the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement and Full Professor at the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, Leiden Law School, Leiden University, The Netherlands. His research interests include, amongst others, criminal careers and life-course criminology, sexual violence, and criminal networks.



**Marcus Felson** is the originator of the routine activity approach and of *Crime and Everyday Life*. He has also authored *Crime and Nature*, and serves as professor at Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas. He has a B.A. from University of Chicago, an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, and has received the 2014 *Honoris Causa* from the Universidad Miguel Hernandez in Spain. Professor Felson has been given the Ronald Clarke Award by the Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis group, and the Paul Tappan Award of the Western Society of Criminology. He has been a guest lecturer in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Scotland, Spain, South Africa, Sweden, and Switzerland. He has applied routine activity thinking to many topics, including theft, violence, child molestation, white-collar crime, and corruption.



**Klaus von Lampe** is professor of criminology at the Berlin School of Economics and Law in Berlin, Germany. He has previously been a professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York. His research interests include the conceptual history and theory of organized crime, as well as empirical manifestations of organized crime, including the illegal cigarette trade and underworld power structures. He is the author, co-author and co-editor of numerous publications on organized and transnational crime and corruption. For his book 'Organized Crime: Analyzing illegal activities, criminal structures, and extra-legal governance' he has received the Outstanding Publication Award from the International Association for the Study of Organized Crime.



**Edward Kleemans** is Full Professor at the Department of Criminology, Faculty of Law, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Netherlands (Full Professor in Serious and Organized Crime and Criminal Justice) and conducts research into organized crime and cybercrime activities and the interaction between offenders and the criminal justice system (including policing issues). Until 2013, he was Head of the Crime, Law Enforcement and Sanctions Research Division (CRS) of the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC), Ministry of Security and Justice, the Hague, the Netherlands.



**Ieke de Vries** is an Assistant Professor of Criminology at the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. She received her Ph.D. at Northeastern University (Boston, Massachusetts) and was previously appointed as an Assistant Professor in the College of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Florida State University (Tallahassee, Florida). Her research interests include human trafficking and other hidden or hard-to-observe crime types.



**Paolo Campana** is a Professor of Criminology at the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge (UK). His work specialises in organised crime, human trafficking, migrant smuggling, violence and mechanisms of illegal governance. He has a strong interest in the application of network analysis techniques to the study of organised forms of criminality.



**David Bright** is a criminologist and forensic psychologist. His research interests include criminal networks, organised crime, and illicit markets (e.g., drugs, firearms). He runs the Deakin Covert Networks Lab which conducts ground-breaking research using social network analysis and related approaches to study organised criminal groups and terrorist groups. Professor Bright has been Chief Investigator on six consecutive Australian Research Council (ARC) funded projects in addition to projects funded by industry and government.



**Alejandro Dinkelberg** has a background in economics and environmental system science. By that his focus moved to social networks and through modeling dyadic influence in small networks towards social psychology. His research interest consists of social network analysis, opinion dynamics and design of agent-based models. At the University of Limerick he targets the bridging between approaches of social psychology and computational models. Besides defining models of social dynamics, that includes the analysis of the network structure and attitude formation.



**Silvia Rodríguez-López** is a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at the University of A Coruna (Spain) and a visiting researcher at the Universidade do Minho (Portugal) from October 2024. She holds a PhD in Law from the University of A Coruna, where she presented her thesis on human trafficking-related corruption. She holds an LLM in “International Law: Crime, Justice and Human Rights” from the University of Birmingham (UK), and has been a visiting scholar at the Max Planck Institute for International and Comparative Criminal Law in Freiburg (Germany) and the Willem Pompe Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology at the University of Utrecht (Netherlands). Her research interests include labour exploitation, corporate criminal liability, organised crime, gender issues, media treatment of crime, and the use of AI in the criminal justice system.



**Niles Breuer** is a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Oxford. His current research focuses on investigating the network structures of organized crime groups like mafias and drug trafficking organizations using open-source intelligence. His research interests also include criminal infiltration of legal markets, criminal network disruption, and terrorism. Recent research projects have investigated criminal and terrorist groups in Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and Turkey.



**Tom Snaphaan** is postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at the Department of Criminology, Criminal Law and Social Law at Ghent University. He is member of the Institute for International Research on Criminal Policy (IRCP) since January 2018, as well as member of the knowledge and research platform [Privacy, Information Exchange, Law Enforcement and Security \(PIXLES\)](#) since its foundation in 2018. His current research interests are new and emerging data sources (big data), (quantitative) research methods, artificial intelligence, environmental criminology and the financial aspects of organized crime. Thom combines his part time position at Ghent University with a position as Associate Professor of Applied Data, Crime & Security Science at the Centre of Expertise Safe & Resilient Society of Avans University of Applied Sciences (the Netherlands).



**Rebecca Reichel** is currently working as a research assistant at the Medical School Berlin in the EU-funded project ARICA (Assessing Risk Indicators of Child Sexual Abuse). She holds a M.Sc. in Psychology from the Humboldt-University Berlin (Germany) and a M.Sc. in Investigative Forensic Psychology from Bournemouth University (United Kingdom). Her research interests include investigative interviewing, risk factors for sexual offending, stalking, adolescent behaviour, and victim reporting.