

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE EFFECTS OF COVID-19 ON
GUARDIANSHIP AND JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY: A ROUTINE ACTIVITIES
APPROACH

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The Coronavirus pandemic has sparked fear and confusion among the masses and altered the daily lives of billions across the world. The modification of individuals' lifestyles due to this crisis has opened the window for further testing of the Routine Activities Theory. This criminological theory states that likelihood of crime increases when there is a convergence of a motivated offender, suitable target, and lack of a capable guardian (Cohen and Felson 1979). While previous studies have been conducted on this theory, the pandemic offers a unique set of circumstances that allow a more in-depth evaluation of guardianship as a factor in juvenile delinquency. The strict lockdown procedures and shift from in-person to online work and school can lead to a more concrete understanding of how guardianship directly affects juveniles' choices regarding delinquent behavior. The present study proposes that high school students in Baltimore City be surveyed to determine their experience of changes to guardianship and subsequently the variation in their delinquent behaviors to examine whether a correlation seems apparent. The study will increase understanding of the role guardianship plays in

delinquency, such as whether mere presence within the home is enough to deter delinquent behavior, the impact of the pandemic on various communities, and could provide insight for delinquency prevention and future crisis management.

THE EFFECTS OF COVID-19 ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: A ROUTINE
ACTIVITIES APPROACH

By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On March 11, 2020, life as it once was came to an abrupt halt as the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 a global pandemic (AJMC 2021). By the end of March, over one hundred countries had implemented either full or partial lockdowns altering the lives of billions of individuals (Dunford et al. 2020). Two years later, measures are still in place to limit the spread of the virus, and lasting impacts still plague countries trying to get back on track. The protocols and, more specifically, the strict lockdowns experienced by many countries have significantly altered the daily routines of individuals worldwide. These differences in routines and lifestyles have consequences that may not even be fully understood yet. Therefore, now more than ever, social science research is imperative to understand the lasting repercussions of this event.

In the United States specifically, drastic changes began to occur on March 19, as multiple states began to follow the lead of California by implementing strict stay-at-home orders (AJMC 2021). The biggest shift to the routines of Americans was the shift from in-person to online work and school. These transitions led to an increase in time spent at home for many, except for medical personnel or those deemed essential workers who were at the forefront of the fight against the virus. Shockingly, these lifestyle changes can still be felt today, in 2022. For example, a study conducted by Start Standing's Ryan Fiorenzi (2021) reported that prior to the pandemic, only 3.6% of the U.S. workforce worked from home compared to the 42% of the U.S. workforce that worked full-time at home as of June 2020. While this report shows the changes in routines that occurred during the pandemic, a report by Google (2021) quantifies the lasting impact of this pandemic. The report states that as of October 6, 2021 there was still a 5% increase in the

time spent at home and a 23% decrease in Americans going into work. The pandemic's lasting impact makes studying more indirect consequences of the phenomenon vital.

While research in an abundance of fields has bloomed during the pandemic, other disciplines have lagged. Due to the nature of the pandemic, medical science research has increased drastically; however, it is also important to focus attention on social science research as the pandemic has had such a drastic effect on the human experience (Middlemass 2020). Furthermore, the pandemic offers a unique set of characteristics that researchers can use to better understand specific phenomena due to the ability to control for more variability in individuals' lives. This is especially true for criminological theories, as Stickle and Felson (2020) describe the pandemic as a time that allows for the testing of criminological theories like never before. Therefore, researchers must take advantage of the current climate of the world to better understand social issues that can have implications for further research and criminological insight (Middlemass 2020).

The present study will focus on the impacts of the pandemic on guardianship and consequently juvenile delinquency to fill in this gap in pandemic research. Since juvenile delinquency is correlated to later offending in adulthood, addressing how the pandemic might have impacted delinquency is imperative to be able to predict crime trends and prevent crime in the future (Richards 2011). While crime rates in the United States have been declining drastically since their peak in the 1990s, the rate of crime within this country is still 379.4 per 100,000 for violent crime and 2,109.9 per 100,000 for property crime, according to Uniformed Crime Report data collected by the FBI in 2019 (Gramlich 2020). These national crime rates emphasize that room for improvement in decreasing crime rates is still crucial to address, which can only be achieved through

increased knowledge of what impacts crime and delinquency. This study will attempt to expand on the knowledge already available regarding the effect of supervision on juvenile delinquency. It will also look more in-depth at Routine Activities Theory as it applies to changes that occurred to people's routines as a direct result of the lockdown. The lockdown, in this case, will refer to the period when school and most employment activities were conducted virtually. In the following sections, a thorough discussion of Routine Activities Theory (RAT) and juvenile delinquency will take place to provide a foundation of knowledge that is the basis for this study. These concepts will be examined in terms of how they may have been affected by the pandemic before proposing a methodology to address the research questions. After proposing the methodology and analysis for this study, its potential implications will be hypothesized before concluding with future directions of related research topics.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Routine Activities Theory

While there is a multitude of theories aimed at explaining delinquent and criminal behavior, the theory that will be applied to the current study is Routine Activities Theory (RAT). RAT was created in 1979 by Cohen and Felson to describe situational components that increase the risk for crime to occur. The theory posits that for a crime to occur, there needs to be a likely offender, a suitable target, and a lack of a capable guardian (Cohen and Felson 1979). The theory is a widely cited and accepted theory in criminology created when societal norms were transitioning as women began to join the workforce and spent less time at home (Cohen and Felson 1979). As society goes through another major shift, it is important to examine how this theory can be applied to the current climate and a movement back towards the home. The subsequent sections will detail the components of RAT, with the role of guardianship being the main focus.

Over the past few decades, considerable research has been conducted on RAT to further clarify and understand the components of the theory. Multiple facets of guardianship have been evaluated in past research, so it is necessary to provide a clear definition of guardianship in the context of this study. While Cohen and Felson originally used the term capable guardianship in their theory, this concept has, over time, been arranged into three subdivisions (Hollis, Felson, and Welsh 2013; Eck 1994; Felson 1995). These subdivisions are guardians, place managers, and handlers (Hollis et al. 2013; Eck 1994; Felson 1995). Guardians refer to those who look after the targets of crime, whereas place managers are described as people or tools that protect the place that is being targeted (Hollis et al. 2013; Eck 1994; Felson 1995). Handlers, instead, are

defined as persons who supervise potential offenders in an attempt to prevent them from engaging in criminal behavior (Felson 1995; Hollis et al. 2013; Tillyer and Eck 2011; Eck 1994). However, where considerable research has been aimed at understanding guardians and managers to prevent crime, less attention has been given to the effectiveness of handlers.

The concept of handlers has most greatly been explored by Felson himself, and multiple key components of the term that are relevant to the currently proposed research are discussed in his 1995 piece. In this piece, Felson describes two types of handlers. Intimate and non-intimate. Intimate handlers are those who have an emotional attachment to the potential offender and whose physical distance from the offender and knowledge of the potential offender's whereabouts affects the behavior of the potential offender (Felson 1995). In the case of this study, most intimate handlers will be parents but could also be other legal guardians such as grandparents, or older siblings. Non-intimate handlers are those that may know the potential offender by name or recognize them but are not directly responsible for deterring delinquency (Felson 1995). These non-intimate handlers can also influence behavior and include community members such as coaches, neighbors, and teachers (Felson 1995). As routines change, and in this case, as there is a shift back towards the home, the amount of contact between juveniles and both types of handlers may significantly affect the level of control handlers have on juveniles.

The most recent study focused on synthesizing existing knowledge of Routine Activities Theory was conducted in 2013 by Hollis, Felson, and Welsh. In this paper, the authors provided a definition of guardianship that aligns with the meaning of the term handler described above. Hollis et al. (2013:76) defined a guardian as "the presence of a

human element which act - whether intentionally or not - to deter the would-be offender from committing a crime against an available target". This definition of guardianship could be used to describe both types of handlers, however, for the current study it will be used to describe intimate handlers. As a note, since the term guardian is more commonly used and understood, from here on out, it will be the term explicitly used to refer to the concept of an intimate handler.

Guardianship and Crime

There has been considerable research conducted on guardianship and crime rates; however, it has not been examined in a context where there has been such a substantial change in supervision in a short amount of time. Before exploring how the changes in routines caused by the Covid-19 pandemic are applied to the theory and guardianship specifically, it is worth briefly discussing what is already known about the effects of guardianship on crime. A meta-analysis on parental monitoring and supervision on crime, summarizing findings from over a hundred studies, concludes that parental monitoring has the strongest correlation to juvenile delinquency (Hoeve et al. 2009). It is important to note that both parental monitoring and parental involvement have been correlated to delinquency in youth (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 1986). What is interesting about the present study is that the mere presence of a guardian versus the level of involvement of a guardian can be examined; therefore, understanding which is more significant is a potential outcome of the study. Since it is known that both monitoring and involvement impact juvenile delinquency, it is relevant to discuss how the pandemic may have affected these factors.

Changing Routines and Guardianship

As mentioned above, the changes to daily life that the pandemic caused significantly impact the level of contact between juveniles and guardians. Prior research has examined some forms of supervision that impact delinquency, and how the pandemic has affected these forms of supervision will be discussed. While the focus of this study is not on non-intimate guardians, it is still important to understand how differences in the level of contact between juveniles and non-intimate guardians could have been a factor in delinquency variation. First off, there is a sizeable difference in non-intimate guardian contact juveniles may have experienced since lockdown began. As a reminder, lockdown in the present study refers to when school shifted to an online environment and extracurricular activities were canceled. With school taking place at home, students came into less physical contact with teachers, and therefore supervising and disciplining students became increasingly challenging. This, coupled with the fact that some students may not have had guardians ensuring they were attending their online classes and issues with technology or wifi that many lower-income families experienced, impacts the level of supervision teachers can have even more (Schintler and Stabile 2020).

Another aspect of non-intimate guardianship that was severely affected was the availability of structured activities. Unstructured activities are described as activities without a plan for how to spend the time and without the supervision of an authority figure (Osgood et al. 1996; Osgood and Anderson 2004). While the lack of structured activities available decreased during the pandemic, it is not being suggested that there was an increase in unstructured socializing since some juveniles may not have been leaving their homes to spend time with friends. However, because there was an increased risk of engaging in unstructured socializing during the time, it is worth noting that studies

have found that unstructured socializing, no matter if it is with delinquent peers or not, is significantly correlated to delinquency (Osgood et al. 1996) Also, with the decline in structured activities, there was more time for leisure, even within the home. This in and of itself can be troublesome if combined with lack of guardianship because, as many criminologists have argued, "idle hands are the devil's workshop" (Hirschi 1969:22). These are how the change in routines may have affected delinquency due to a lack of non-intimate guardian contact. However, since the focus of the current study is on intimate guardians, the discussion will now shift to how the pandemic may have influenced the guardianship levels of intimate guardians.

The pandemic changed adults' lifestyles in terms of employment drastically. As discussed above, it became an unprecedented time when many jobs were shifting to an online format so employees could work from the safety of their homes. For others, though, such as medical personnel or those deemed essential workers, it may have increased the time spent out of the home as worker shortages often led to longer shifts. Research conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that for people aged 42 to 46 who had jobs, 29.6 percent of them reported an increase in the number of hours they worked per week (Auginbaugh and Rothstein 2022). While the bureau did not specify whether this increase occurred at home or in the office, it still shows that those employed were working more and therefore potentially supervising less. For those not employed, though, this became a period of economic hardship as companies had to lay off thousands of workers. During March of 2020, citizens on temporary layoff nearly doubled, and unemployment increased from 1.4 million to 7.1 million (US Bureau of Labor Statistics N.d.). While there are different scenarios families face, the most important aspect to

focus on is whether these changes affected the capable guardianship of juveniles. For those working at home or were unemployed, evaluating whether the mere presence of being in the home versus engagement with the juvenile will be assessed to see which has the larger effect. For those working outside the home, whether childcare could be afforded to ensure supervision versus those who had to leave juveniles at home unattended will be examined to see what kind of effects the pandemic had on rates of supervision.

Juvenile Delinquency

It is important to understand what juvenile delinquency is and how it is defined in research as it is the focus of this study. First, a juvenile in this study will be defined as anyone under the age of eighteen, which follows what most states consider a juvenile by law (Bates and Swan 2021). Juvenile delinquency, in this research, is defined as “an act committed by an individual under the age of 18 that violates the penal code of the region in which the act is committed” (Bates and Swan 2021:5). It also includes status offenses or acts that, while not considered criminal, are frowned upon by society (Bates and Swan 2021). There are common behaviors that are considered delinquent. The National Youth Survey conducted in 1979 was one of the first longitudinal self-report surveys conducted on juvenile delinquency and included offenses surrounding assault, damage of property, school issues, drug and alcohol-related offenses, and sexual offenses. These categories of offenses were also the focus of Felson’s (1995) examination of juvenile delinquency, as they were seen as more common among youth than more serious offenses. For this reason, the survey being proposed will focus on similar delinquent activities, especially regarding school misconduct and substance use.

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

Research Questions

Two main questions are addressed by the present study. The first is “how has the supervision of juveniles changed during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic?”

Secondly, “how have these changes in supervision affected juvenile delinquency?” The goal for these questions is to understand the impact of the pandemic on the routines of households and whether that had a substantial impact on offending or the delinquency of young people.

Methodology

Context

The target city for this study will be Baltimore, Maryland, due to a few factors. First, prior to the pandemic, Baltimore had the fourth highest violent crime rate in the country, with a rate of 1.859 per 100,000 people, according to the FBI's 2019 Uniformed Crime Report Data (Fieldstadt 2020). In addition, post lockdown research has shown that violent crime in the city is on track to set records (Simpson 2021). This data shows how pervasive the crime issue is in Baltimore City, emphasizing the need to study potential factors contributing to crime and delinquency.

Baltimore has a wide range of neighborhoods on a socioeconomic scale. There is great variability in median household income from households making below \$31k to households making more than \$122k annually (DataUSA 2019). There is also a large minority population in Baltimore, MD, with 61.8% of residents being African American and 5.67% being Hispanic (DataUSA 2019). Baltimore's poverty level is 21.2%, with 70% African Americans living below the poverty line, 17% white individuals, and 5% Hispanic individuals (DataUSA 2019). Studies show that COVID-19 disproportionately

affects low-income and underserved communities for various factors (Tai et al. 2021). These factors may include guardians working jobs deemed essential, less availability of technology and consistent wi-fi for schooling, inability to afford in-home child-care, general financial instability, and lack of adequate healthcare (Tai et al. 2021; McNeely, Schintler and Stabile 2020). In high-income neighborhoods, parents may also have had essential jobs such as medical professionals; however, these households are more likely to be able to afford child-care and to be able to provide a place conducive to online school where teachers may still be able to supervise in some capacity. Since there is a variety in socioeconomic status in Baltimore, disproportionate effects of the pandemic can be further examined by making it the target city.

Sample

To examine the effects of supervision on juvenile delinquency, a survey will be administered to high school students across Baltimore City, Maryland. Self-report surveys are commonly used when studying juveniles, with Bates and Swan (2021:59) even claiming, "for the purposes of discussing delinquency trends and delinquent behavior in general, self-report surveys are the most reliable data collected sources". When compared to official crime statistics, self-report surveys can sometimes show discrepancies; however, because not all crimes are reported, self-reports can expose undetected or unreported crime and delinquency (Bates and Swan 2021). A common limitation of self-report surveys and a specific consideration for this study will be the concept of memory error. Since juveniles will be asked to recall events from over a year ago, there is a chance that memory errors could occur. For this reason, the wording of survey questions was carefully constructed to attempt to get the most accurate responses

possible. Research shows that using autobiographical events in surveys can increase the ability to recall information accurately (Belli 2010). Therefore, respondents will be prompted to answer survey questions based on how the answers to the questions have changed since school moved to an online format. The reasoning for asking participants to respond based on when school went online is because that was a major shift in juveniles' lives, creating an autobiographical event that may increase their ability to recall this time in their life accurately.

Another consideration is diversity within the sample to gauge differences among backgrounds. To ensure a diverse group of juveniles is administered the survey, the survey will be provided to both public and private high schools randomly selected in Baltimore City. This will allow for a large sample size to be surveyed as Census Bureau data reports that there are nearly 24,000 students enrolled in public high schools in Baltimore city and approximately 3,600 students enrolled in private high schools (Statistical Atlas N.d.). Using data from private and public high schools will allow for a diverse range of socioeconomic statuses and experiences among the juveniles to be surveyed. High school students were chosen as the survey respondents for two main reasons. The first is because data has shown that crime and delinquency peak during the high school age range and up to around twenty years old, as evidenced by the age-crime curve (Richards 2011). Also, at this age, concepts of delinquency, supervision, and socioeconomic status can be more easily understood by the respondents. In order to understand how changes in supervision affect rates of delinquency, respondents will be asked to answer the following questions about how their level of supervision and delinquency varied once a strict lockdown was put into place.

Measures

Independent Variable: Guardianship

The primary independent variable that will be examined is guardianship. Guardianship, or supervision, which will be used interchangeably to refer to the same concept, will be operationalized using survey questions from the Fragile Families & Child Wellbeing survey (Princeton University 2017). This survey was created to examine the effects of unmarried births on youth from 1998 – 2020. For the current study, however, only survey items pertaining to parental supervision will be utilized. In addition, since there is an increase in non-traditional family structures and since the study is not focused on what type of caregivers create the strongest effect, survey questions will be more general and use the term parent or guardian. While the questions are modeled off the Fragile Families Survey, they are not directly from the study, since wording was changed slightly to better reflect how supervision changed. Respondents will be asked a series of questions regarding their guardians' supervision, presence, and engagement, both prior to online schooling and after online school was implemented. Exact survey question examples can be found in the appendix.

Dependent Variable: Juvenile Delinquency

Understanding the effects of supervision on juvenile delinquency is the main goal of the present study. Therefore, the outcome measure will be the level of delinquency reported before and after school transferred to an online format. The themes used to measure delinquency include drug and alcohol use, school attendance, conduct problems, assault, theft, and anti-social peer associations. These conceptualizations for delinquency were chosen because they are associated with an increased risk of delinquent behavior or

represent what society deems delinquent behavior for youth. The questions for this aspect of the survey will be derived from the Assessment of Crossover Youth in Maryland, which was administered between 1989 and 2014 to youth who at some point had come into contact with dependency and delinquency systems (Young et al., 2017). While increases in delinquency may be expected due to what is known about the age crime curve peaking in the late high school years, since the survey is referring to a very specific time frame, it may not be as salient of a limitation to the results of this study. Specific survey items to address delinquency are also attached in the appendix.

Control Variables

Control variables will also be assessed and will mostly pertain to demographic characteristics. For example, questions regarding the respondents' gender, age, grade level, whether they are enrolled in a public or private school, and their socioeconomic status will be included. It is important to ask certain demographic questions since there is evidence that gender and socioeconomic status play a role in both crime and delinquency (DeLisi and Vaughn 2015). In addition, to better contextualize the answers received for the guardianship variable, students will be asked whether their parent or guardian was employed before and after school went online and whether a parent or guardian who was employed worked in-person or at home during the time school was online. These control factors allow for further context of the responses and a more nuanced understanding of the proposed topic.

Chapter 4: Proposed Analytic Strategy

The proposed survey includes multiple variables that will be used to understand how the pandemic affected supervision and consequently may have affected delinquency. The main independent variable is parental supervision, and the main dependent variable is juvenile delinquency. The variables included fall under the category of either ordinal or categorical. Since there are multiple variables and variable types, the proposed project will require a multivariate regression to be utilized in order to understand the effects of multiple variables on each other.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The present study proposes a survey that would further research on the Routine Activities Theory of criminology. By examining how the COVID-19 pandemic may have caused variations in guardianship and, therefore, could impact juvenile delinquency, the effect of supervision on delinquency can be studied like never before. Due to the unique circumstances of the pandemic, researchers must capitalize on the opportunity to not only further theory but also use results to decrease crime rates in the future and better understand the societal impacts of major events such as the pandemic.

Limitations

As in any study, there are some limitations that should be addressed. The first major limitation is that while Covid could have had a significant impact on guardianship, it also could have considerable implications for the suitability of targets and the motivation of potential offenders. The theory claims that the three components need to converge for crime to be most likely to occur. Therefore, with economic hardship increasing and the potential for many businesses to be left unattended, the other components of the theory could have a considerable impact on whether delinquency occurs. Also, because the other two components are not being evaluated, it will be unclear, if there was an effect from the other components, which had the largest impact. While these will not be further explored within this study, it is something for researchers to keep in mind and will be addressed later in the future directions section.

Another limitation is that this study only focuses on the effect of intimate guardians on juveniles. As explained before, non-intimate guardians, or those in the community who might know the juvenile but are not directly responsible for controlling

their behavior, also can affect delinquency (Felson 1995). However, measuring the change in contact with these types of guardians is outside the scope of this study. Therefore, if there were effects from this type of guardianship, it cannot be evaluated using this study.

There are also a few limitations that should be addressed in terms of the methodological approach. First, as was mentioned briefly in the methods section, there is a chance that the responses will not be completely accurate due to memory error. This is a common limitation faced when asking respondents to remember events that happened in the past. However, by using a major event in the juvenile's lives to base the responses on, minimizing the effect of memory error was attempted. Another limitation with self-report surveys, in general, is that not all respondents may be completely truthful about them. For this reason, it is emphasized on the survey that responses will be completely anonymous. Also, while this is a potential limit, research suggests that, for the most part, people are generally forthcoming with reporting (Krohn et al. 2010). While these limitations exist and are important to acknowledge, this study is still significant because it provides many potential implications and further research avenues.

Implications and Future Research

The direct implications of this study would be a better understanding of the role guardianship plays in juvenile delinquency. The study will allow for more in-depth knowledge of the difference in effect the mere presence of a guardian has versus the level of involvement the guardian provides. In this study specifically, the effect the pandemic had on these implications can be evaluated, which could allow for better prediction of social issues that may arise as consequences of major crises. Also, due to the nature of the

control questions, whether disadvantaged communities experienced disproportionate effects in this context can be evaluated to some extent. This would further what researchers have already learned about how the pandemic has had a larger impact on underprivileged communities.

The pandemic offers a distinct research opportunity to observe traditional criminological theories. There are even multiple future avenues of testing for Routine Activities Theory that could be beneficial to look into next. As stated previously in the paper, although this study focused specifically on the guardianship component of Routine Activities Theory, there is also an abundance that could be learned about the other two components of the theory. There has been preliminary research on how trends on which types of crimes were being committed during the pandemic differed, which supports the notion that the different social contexts affect crime committal (Rosenfeld and Lopez 2021). For example, crime reports showed that while residential burglaries decreased due to increased time spent at home, car thefts increased as more people left their cars unattended at home when they may have previously been in secure parking facilities while individuals were at work (Rosenfeld and Lopez 2021). However, more research could be conducted on this topic, such as differentiating between adult and juvenile offenders and how crime types changed based on what they viewed as more suitable targets for the types of crimes commonly committed by their age group.

The pandemic could allow researchers to understand better how motivated offender status has changed. For example, has property crime increased at a higher rate than violent crime due to the financial strain many experienced as a consequence of the pandemic? By evaluating all three components in the theory, which has the most

significant impact on criminal offending can be examined. In turn, this could have policy or program implications and help guide researchers on the most important aspect to focus on for crime prevention in the future.

Also, longitudinal studies could be conducted to address the pandemic's lasting impacts on crime and delinquency. Understanding how major events such as the pandemic affect different social issues can allow governments to be better prepared in the future if another worldwide event such as this occurs. Crisis management and preparedness are so important, but to be best prepared, past events must be evaluated from all sectors to predict the consequences of events and be able to respond with evidence-based practices. Therefore, this study and continued research addressing the pandemic, crime, and other social issues is important for researchers and academics to undertake.

Overall, this study aims to further what is already known about the Routine Activities Theory and the effect of guardianship on juvenile delinquency. It is important to address this topic as it is known that those who are deemed delinquent can become offenders later in life. Therefore, to increase the ability to promote evidence-based practices aimed at decreasing crime, it is critical to study the effects the pandemic has had on the juvenile population. The pandemic affected billions worldwide; therefore, the results of research conducted on its lasting effects on society have serious wide-ranging implications that should not be overlooked.

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Appendix – Sample Survey Items

Guardianship	
Item	Score
1. My parent or guardian has been home more.	1=disagree, 2=slightly disagree, 3=no change/neither agree nor disagree, 4=slightly agree, 5=agree
2. My parent or guardian knew what I did in my free time more often.	1=disagree, 2=slightly disagree, 3=no change/neither agree nor disagree, 4=slightly agree, 5=agree
3. My parent or guardian made sure I completed my schoolwork more often.	1=disagree, 2=slightly disagree, 3=no change/neither agree nor disagree, 4=slightly agree, 5=agree
4. I was home with my parent or guardian more often.	1=disagree, 2=slightly disagree, 3=no change/neither agree nor disagree, 4=slightly agree, 5=agree
5. Did you feel that your parent or guardian knew who your friends were/whom you hung out with most often before school went online?	1= rarely, 2=sometimes, 3=unsure, 4=most of the time, 5=always
6. Do you feel that your parent or guardian knows more about who your	1=no, 2=unsure/no change, 3=yes

friends are/whom you hang out with most since school went online?	
Guardianship	
Item	Score
7.How often have you spent one or more hours per day with a parent or guardian?	1=not at all, 2=once or twice a month, 3=a few times the past month, 4=a few times the past week, 5=every day or nearly every day
8.Did the number of days you spent at least an hour a day with a parent or guardian increase or decrease since school went online?	1=decreased, 2=no change, 3=increased
Juvenile Delinquency	
9.Before school went online did you use any illegal substances such as drugs or alcohol?	1=yes, 2=no
9a.If yes, do you feel that your usage increased or decreased after school went online?	1=increased, 2=no change, 3=decreased, 4=not applicable
9b.If no, did you start using illegal substances after school went online?	1=yes, 2=no, 3=not applicable

10. Have you been late for class more or less often since school switched to an online format?	1=more, 2=about the same/no change, 3=less, 4=not applicable (if never late for class)
Juvenile Delinquency	
Item	Score
11. Have you skipped class more or less since school moved to an online format?	1=more, 2=about the same/no change, 3=less, 4=not applicable (if never skipped a class)
12. How would you rate your frequency of theft since school switched to an online format?	1=increased, 2=about the same/no change, 3=decreased, 4=not applicable (if never committed this offense)
13. How would you rate your frequency of assault since school switched to an online format?	1=increased, 2=about the same/no change, 3=decreased, 4=not applicable (if never committed this offense)
14. Did you spend more or less time hanging out with your friends before school went online?	1=more, 2=about the same/no change, 3= less
15. Do your friends get in trouble formally or informally often?	1=yes, 2=no