

DOI: 10.52547/jep.2.2.239

## **Crime Rates and Criminal Justice Policies in the Advent of COVID-19 Pandemic: Some Criminological Issues**

Mehrdad Rayejian Asli<sup>1</sup>

---

### **ARTICLE INFO**

*Article history:*

Date of submission: 24-03-2021

Date of acceptance: 29-10-2021

---

*JEL Classification:*

K4

K42

K420

*Keywords:*

COVID-19 Pandemic

Economic Crimes

Crime Rates

Criminal Justice Policy

Prison System

---

### **ABSTRACT**

The present article focuses on some significant aspects of COVID-19 outbreak from the perspective of criminology, as a specific discipline in social and criminal sciences. As a criminological enterprise, two main topics are considered in the light of the aim and scope of the present journal in the field of economics and politics from a comparative viewpoint between Iran's and world's Data, as appropriate. These topics include the issues of criminal justice policy which encompass the impacts of COVID-19 pandemic on criminal policies relating to or arising from crime rates, emphasizing on economic crimes, and in area of criminal justice system, focusing on the prison system and prevention of crime. The article concludes that the current pandemic has serious impacts on crime rates and criminal justice policies based on the assumption that 'disease' alongside 'crime' endanger physical and mental aspects of human health.

---

## **1. Introduction**

The coronavirus disease that was named as COVID-19, has entailed many impacts and consequences within the recent two years since the late 2019. Thereafter many scientific research and studies have been carried out from the

---

1. Assistant Professor of Criminal Law & Criminology at the Institute for Research and Development in Humanities (SAMT), Deputy of Research and Dean of Human Rights Department in UNESCO Chair for Human Rights, Peace and Democracy, Shahid Beheshty University, Tehran, Iran, E-mail address: m.rayejian@samt.ac.ir (Corresponding Author)

various aspects including social, cultural, economic, and psychological effects and or dimension of the pandemic. Among these several aspects, a criminological enterprise, as an interdisciplinary approach, seems to be proper to explore some significant sides of the current pandemic. In its content and methodology, criminology enjoys concepts, theories and data of several scientific spheres including law, psychology, sociology, and economics.

By using a descriptive-analytical methodology, based on reports and data from a number of different countries around the world, the current research focuses on some significant topics of criminological aspects of COVID-19 pandemic from a comparative viewpoint. As an applied dimension of the criminological enterprise, issues of criminal justice system are discussed in this research. Criminal justice defined as “the methods by which a society deals with those who are accused of having committed crimes” (Garner, 2009: 431) or those who are the criminal, in fact. Accordingly, criminal justice policy demonstrates that how concepts, theoretical perspectives and empirical insights from criminology, sociology, psychology, law and economics can be used and applied to subjects relating to crime, security, social order and criminal justice institutions. One of the concepts arisen in criminal justice policy is crime rates, i.e. the number of crimes during a period of time in a particular place (e.g. in a society, country, etc.). Another issue in criminal justice policy is the function of prison system as a main part of the criminal justice system. It is an institutional side of criminal justice policy that typically composes three main components (Garner, 2009: 431): law enforcement (police, sheriffs, etc.), the judicial process (prosecutors, judges, and defense lawyers), and corrections (prisons, and other penal institutions).

Considering the above-mentioned issues, the article seeks to answer the question how could a natural phenomenon like an epidemic disease (COVID-19, in this research) impact on criminal justice policies? For this purpose, the contents of research consist of two main parts.

Part one explores crime rates’ issue, emphasizing upon economic crime, during COVID-19 outbreak. The explaining hypothesis of this part is that the current pandemic may impact on crime rates in all, and economic crime rates in particular.

Part two examines the impacts of COVID-19 pandemic on criminal justice policies which have been adopted by governments in the advent of the outbreak. These policies are addressed in the light of a new paradigm named ‘epidemiological criminology’. The focal point of criminal justice policies in this part is the prison system in terms of impact of the pandemic on its function and goals. The hypothesis of this part is that COVID-19 outbreak plays a significant role on management of criminal justice systems, particularly concerning the prison population and crime prevention measures. The problematic point of research is to explore the criminal effects of the current pandemic based on the key concept ‘crime/criminality’ as an essential subject of study in social and criminal sciences.

## **2. Crime Rates’ Issue with Emphasizing on Economic Crimes During COVID-19 Pandemic**

Investigating the criminal effects of COVID-19 pandemic in the light of a criminological perspective requires the study of criminality. As a standard definition, criminality is defined as the body of offences and/or crimes committed or occurred in a definite society during a particular period of time (Gassin et al., 2011: 94).

### **2-1. Crime Rates’ Issue: An Overview**

One of the most important issues resulted from the above definition is rates of crime. According to definition of Cambridge Dictionary (2021), crime rate means “the number of crimes that are committed during a period of time in a particular place”. From the criminological viewpoint, crime rates vary based on variables such as population, different times and places (Durrant and Ward, 2015: 205) as well as types of crime. Crime rate issue is studied at two level by criminologists. One level relates to causal processes underlying the crime rate variations (Ashton, 2018: 229). Another one concerns applied and practical dimension of criminological enterprise that impact on policy making, particularly in the area of crime policy or criminal justice policy. In accordance with the first level, based on the theories of sociological criminology, the correlation between the COVID-19 pandemic and

criminality could be explained. These theories require that while the number of crimes in a definite society depends on a relative consistency, the natural and/or social phenomena such as agricultural or financial crisis or a political revolution may impact on the rate of crime in every society (Fattah, 1997: 218). Thus, disease outbreaks or lockdowns, e.g. COVID-19 pandemic, may have such an impact.

## **2-2. Crime Rates' Issue: The Case of Economic Crimes**

In addition to global data about crime rates variations, particularly in relation to the type of crime, during the current pandemic, one of the significant reports concerns economic crime rates. In criminal sciences, economic crime is typically defined as “a nonphysical crime committed to obtain a financial gain or a professional advantage” (Garner, 2009: 425). For criminologists, there are mainly two modes of economic crimes. The first style is usually referred to as ‘white-collar crime’ which is the financially motivated, nonviolent crime committed by individuals, businesses and government professionals, and consists of fraud, embezzlement, tax violations and other types of enterprise, organizational or corporate crimes (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2019: 861). The second style of economic crime is commonly called ‘organized crime’, sometimes used as transnational organized crime (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2019: 825), which is to provide illegal goods and services or to provide them in an illegal manner, including types of trafficking or smuggling (e.g. in persons, drugs, weapons etc.) (Garner, 2009: 425).

With respect to the first style, some reports show that how has COVID-19 affected white-collar crime during lockdowns in a number of countries. In relation to crime rates issue, for example, UK experienced a constantly landscape of frauds by white-collar criminals who sought to abuse of precarious conditions occurred during the pandemic. These types of white-collar enterprise crime included COVID-related e-commerce frauds such as fake or non-existence personal protection equipment (Summers, 2020). They also include cybercrimes, e.g. phishing, as regards the personal details of the furlough scheme. The commentators conclude that the increased white-collar crimes caused by the COVID will apply across all sectors of businesses unless

they equip themselves by protective procedures to mitigate the risks of this type of economic crimes (Summers, 2020).

In relation to the second style, transnational organized crimes like money laundering and the tapping of public funds have entailed consequences for the economy, business and society. The COVID-19 pandemic, as a contemporary crisis, may provide an opportunity for activities of organized crimes as well as for criminal organizations to gain power and even to find new ways to pursue their objectives. The Covid-19 crisis may aggravate the economic impact of organized crime and money laundering. In this regard, having cognizant of the ability of mafias to infiltrate the legal economy, and the even more dangerous threat this poses at a time of pandemic, Italy has called on Europe to act against their activities, with enhanced monitoring systems and immediate judicial responses (European Economic and Social Committee, 2021). As an international non-governmental organization, the Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime reports an emerging challenge relating to the impact of COVID-19 pandemic on organized crime. Components of the emerging challenge are as follows (Global Initiative, 2020: 2-8):

- COVID-19 is slowing and constraining transnational organized activities so that these activities take time to reconstruct.
- Criminal groups as perpetrators of transnational organized crime has quickly exploited the disruption caused by the pandemic to spread their activities.
- Criminal groups have targeted the health sector for their exploitative activities.
- Due to the growth of using online networks in lockdowns, cybercrimes such as fraud and disinformation have been transformed into an industry.

As a domestic case study in comparison with the world's data, crime rates have increased in Iran in the advent of COVID-19 pandemic, in all. The growth of criminality has become a crime wave in some areas like economic or enterprise crimes (Roshanfekar, 2021).

Notwithstanding these findings, UNODC has specifically studied the impact of COVID-19 on human trafficking as a significant type of

transnational organized crime. It shows that the enforcement measures like quarantine and travel restrictions has impacted in decreasing human trafficking because of the increase of security measures such as police presence and monitoring. Yet, these measures may drive such criminal activities further underground, at the same time (UNODC, n.d.).

Even so, considering all the relevant reports and data from around the world, the first hypothesis of the present research is proved according which the rate of economic crimes has been increased during the current outbreak.

### **3. The Issues of Criminal Justice Policies During COVID-19 Pandemic**

Examining the impacts of current pandemic on criminal justice polices is another aspect of the criminological enterprise of this research. Beyond of this, measures and policies such as quarantine and social distancing which have been adopted by governments during the current outbreak may have a converse effect on criminality and its relevant criminal justice policies. For example, while the reports and data show some differences and variations in volume and distribution of crime as a result of measures like quarantine and social distancing, criminologists conclude that the COVID-19 has caused a decline in many types of crimes (Lederer, 2020). Thus, if the conclusion is accepted, then criminal justice policies might tend towards tolerance and leniency. All of these impacts could be explored at three levels from the perspective of criminal sciences.

#### **3-1. COVID-19 Lockdowns in the Light of Epidemiological Criminology**

One aspect of criminal justice policies in the advent of COVID-19 relates to the lockdowns' problems. While these restrictions have mainly been effective to reduce the spread of the current pandemic, they have caused problems and challenges. Since the epidemiological evidence supports these lockdowns and restrictions (Perra, 2021:1), such an evidence seems to be redefined by a new paradigm in criminal sciences called 'epidemiological criminology'. It is described as a bridge between two fields of studies in public health and criminology (Akers and Lanier, 2009: 397). It seeks to give the criminology a

more practical precept than its theoretical dimension in studying crime and criminality. Epidemiological criminology highlights practical dimensions of criminology, focusing on an intersections between criminal justice and public health (Akers and Lanier, 2009: 399). Alongside the objective of the present research what necessitates utilizing epidemiological criminology in relation to COVID-19 is globalization. COVID-19 as a global concern with many impacts and consequences on human and social life, particularly in the area of crime and its control and management requires a multidisciplinary approach to tackle any probable problems and challenges. Among various epidemiological measures and policies, quarantine is an important case. It is defined as a restriction on the movement of individuals, and even objects, being intended to prevent the spread of disease like pandemics. The term 'quarantine' applies to diseases and illnesses where prevention of their infection is aimed by restricting the movement of those exposed to an epidemic condition (Dictionary.com, 2021).

One of the significant problems of the COVID-19 quarantines is the rising in domestic violence. From an epidemiological perspective, domestic violence is among external factors adding stress and isolation and when it mixes to the current pandemic it could increase various strains on peoples (Peterman et al., 2020: 6-9). According to the report of United Nations Population Fund on Ukraine, quarantine esp. during the COVID-19 outbreak is unsafe because of receiving reports of alarming rises in domestic abuse as a typical country facing lockdowns and movement restrictions due to the pandemic (United Nations Population Fund, 2020). Similar reports show that stay-at-home orders issued by governments mask the brutal reality of domestic abuses not only against spouses but also versus children in family relationships. For these vulnerable groups, quarantine as an epidemiological measure is no safety as well as no vacation and for some of them, it is described as the hell (The New York Times, 2020). The significance of the problem has been to an extent that the UN Secretary-General António Guterres urged governments to put women's safety first as they addressed the crisis (United Nations, n.d.). In addition to these reports, some research assess the therapeutic planning with

victims of domestic violence as even more challenging during quarantine of the pandemic. While distance is the primary strategy for many victims of domestic violence, quarantine plays a converse role by imposing restrictions beside their abusers. Thus, victims have fewer options during the quarantine, including job choices, fewer treatment options and, conversely, more financial and social restrictions. Such research suggest a therapeutic planning by finding an excuse to stay with another close family member or friend (Nightingale, 2020).

Such problems may bring to some challenges for criminal justice system and other agencies relating to the system. One challenge could be a conflict between governmental organs and public organizations in policymaking for criminal effects of the current pandemic (e.g. domestic violence during the quarantines). As a domestic case study, some reports about family violence and disputes in Iran are remarkable. The contradictory statements and statistics show a paradox in this area. The paradox could be found not only among the authorities of State Welfare Organization (SWO) but also between SWO and other governmental organizations like Police. Thus, while some authorities of SWO reported the growth of family disputes amid the COVID-19 outbreak, some law enforcement officials rejected this report arguing a drop in many family conflicts during the lockdowns (Bagheri Rad, 2020).

Another challenge may be attributed to the issues of public health and the essence of family. From the public health viewpoint, as the health of society is the special subject of government regulation and support, particularly in terms of preventing an infectious disease like COVID-19, an end to the quarantine may endanger human health by increasing possibility of the outbreak. From the essence of family viewpoint, since the job of the family is to turn out contributing human beings through essences including acceptance, belonging, connectedness, unity in diversity, at-homeness, and empowerment, imposing quarantines, particularly by stay-at-home orders, may imperil the safety of family members due to be victimized in domestic violence. Consequently, while society seeks to preserve its citizens from risks and dangers of a catastrophe like the current pandemic by adopting measures such as quarantine and stay-at-home, they act into reverse by creating a



dilemma which is sometimes called ‘a double pandemic’ (Bettinger-Lopez, 2020).

### **3-2. COVID-19 Pandemic *versus* the Prison System**

Following the spread of the current outbreak in the late 2019, the issue of prison system became a major concern for governments as well as for the public in many countries around the world. This concern seems to be remained afterwards. In 2020, some of countries released a part of their penal population from prisons (Scott and Sim, 2020c) and some other countries faced with problems such as prison riot (Zeveleva, 2020).

#### **- COVID-19 Impact on Penal Population**

According to a research in UK, the government released over 4,000 prisoners on April 2020 alone (Scott and Sim, 2020c). The decision was adopted as an emergency measure for the COVID-19 pandemic. Notwithstanding the decision, some authorities reported a number of prisoners and prison staff deaths in 2020 (Scott and Sim, 2020c). British scholars acknowledge that the best decision for the criminal justice system is to adopt a dual strategy called ‘bifurcation (Scott and Sim, 2020b). Bifurcation is a penological concept upon which criminal sanctions are applicable to offenders based on circumstances such as their dangerousness, the seriousness of their committed crimes, etc. Accordingly, incarceration is imposed on more dangerous criminals, and community sanctions are applied for less dangerous offenders (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2019: 79). The bifurcation strategy of the UK government, thus, has required a reduction in the overcrowded penal population by releasing a part of the prisoners, on the one hand, and a compartmentalization measure for the prisoners within the prison system, on the other hand (Scott and Sim, 2020c). However, this policy has been criticized severely because of its dehumanizing nature and harmfulness to the prisoners’ physical and mental health (Scott and Sim, 2020b). As a comparative domestic case study, such a dual strategy does not appear to be addressed by the Iranian government. In the absence of sufficient reports and statistics, two directives about prison furlough and other measures to prevent the spread of COVID-19 among the

prisoners which were issued by the Judiciary in March 2020 are remarkable.<sup>1</sup> While the directives could demonstrate a penal policy based on decarceration, there are no reliable data and statistics that show an effectiveness to contain the COVID within the prison system.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, in UK, the opponents of the dual strategy have referred to 110 COVID-related prisoner death between December 2020 and January 2021 and concluded that the current outbreak in the prison system has caused serious physical and psychological impacts on prisoners and their families, and thus, on the society as a whole (Scott and Sim, 2020b). To this challenge, an argument about failure of the prison system in deterrence of potential offenders, rehabilitation of actual criminals (the prisoners), and prevention of recidivism could be added. Therefore, COVID-19 pandemic vs prison system seems to be a double game loss.

#### ***- COVID-19 Impact on Prison Riots***

Prison riot is another challenge for governments in facing the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on a survey of 18 countries in Latin America,<sup>3</sup> 11 cases of prisoner riots have recorded in spring 2020 amid the COVID-19 outbreaks among which prisoners' die or kill has been reported in 6 countries (Elinson and Gurman, 2020). Another study shows that just about 108 prisoners from 15 countries have died or been killed in the COVID-related prison riots on April 2020 alone (Zeveleva, 2020). These riots occurred in 36 countries, mostly among the prisoners, and in rare cases, among the prison staff. For example, according to a report from the US, the COVID-19-fueled tensions inside the state prisons and jails have been unfolded in the form of riots and

---

1. According to one of the directives (The Head of the Judiciary, No. 9000/214056/100, 98/12/07), a monthly furlough was provided, considering the New Year vacations in Iran. Another directive (The Head of the Judiciary, No. 9000/214260/100, 98/12/07) took non-custodial measures, including to avoid arrest warrant or detention order and using alternatives to imprisonment e.g. differed sentences, probation with respect to necessity of adopting appropriate methods in preventing the spread of COVID-19, particularly within the prison system.

2. According to the report of the Judiciary's spokesman about the latest situation of prisoners during the pandemic, by June 2020, more than 3.700 prisoners were released based on the pardon provision and 20,000 prisoners with a few rest of sentence have enjoyed furloughs leading to release and other measures such as parole and probation (Tasnim News, 2021).

3. List of countries included Venezuela, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Belize, Paraguay, Panama, Colombia, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Argentina, Guatemala, Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, Bolivia, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic (Robbins, 2020).

strikes (Elinson and Gurman, 2020). By Apr. 2020, 175,000 inmates and 85 staff have tested positive and 8 prisoners have died in the federal prison system. The situation had led to tensions and standoffs, including riots and strikes, among prisoners and guards (Elinson and Gurman, 2020). The COVID-related penal policy vis-à-vis the prison system is described as a pathological situation based on the finding of such research and studies. It has sometimes been called as hyperisolation in prisons which causes a global phenomenon namely the prison protests and riots (Zeveleva, 2020). This situation could be comparable with the lockdowns like quarantine in prisons, but with a significant difference according which isolation imposes more deprivation on the prisoners than the quarantine in prisons, because isolation, particularly in its hyper form, even deprives prisoners who have no COVID symptoms or diagnostic testing. Among the COVID-related protests and riots, there are some trivial cases that cause or precipitate the event. The penal system's bans regarding visitation, personal hygiene and health-care services, food, and exercise and sport that are recognized as the rights of prisoners at international level (e.g. in the Nelson Mandela Rules, 2015), are certain examples of these cases (Zeveleva, 2020). As a domestic case, due to a lack of comparative data about Iran, just based on the statements of spokesman of the Judiciary on April 2020, some cases about escape of prisoners in a few cities amid the COVID-19 outbreaks were reported (Khabar Online, 2020).

#### **4. COVID-19 Pandemic versus Crime Prevention**

The issue of crime prevention is another aspect of the relationship between the current pandemic and criminal justice policies. Crime prevention is simply defined as any actions or measures taken or adopted by the state, public, or private sectors of the society to determine or reduce criminality or crime. In the literature of criminology, 'crime prevention' may be used interchangeably with 'crime reduction' (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2019:196-199) that is sometimes referred to reactive measures and actions to respond the occurrence of crimes.

With respect to the issues of criminal justice policies during COVID-19 pandemic, one approach to the relationship between the crime prevention and the COVID-19 outbreak is the crime rates' issue that was discussed before (see no. 2) as a criminal impacts of COVID on amount of criminality in the advent of the current outbreak around the world. By integrating the data of crime rates' issue into the measures of crime prevention, an expectable finding could be the effect of preventive measures on decreasing crime rates. This finding may be rejected by the variation of the impact of COVID on the rate of crimes that has been documented in some research. Accordingly, as Stickle and Felson (2020: 525) says, "Several researchers have made initial examinations into how crime rates have fluctuated in the advent of COVID-19", and in the meanwhile, and except for certain types of crime like economic or enterprise crimes,<sup>1</sup> the COVID-19 has caused a reduction in many types of crime around the world (Lederer, 2020).

From the perspective of crime prevention models, measures and policies such as quarantine and stay-at-home may result in opportunity-based prevention in which peoples play a significant role to preserve themselves and their property by situational measures and activities, including surveillance and monitoring (Colquhoun, 2004: 51). This type of prevention can help governmental agencies, particularly the criminal justice system, in management and control of crime. Yet, the pandemic causes some surprising cases of prevention types that have been unprecedented or unexampled. One unique sample was occurred in the Salt Lake City's Police (SLC Police) in 2020. The police issued an announcement due to the confirmed case of COVID-19 from community spread in spring 2020 (Salt Lake City COVID-19 Information, n.d.). Based on the announcement, SLC Police asked all criminals to cease their nefarious behaviors or activities until further notice.

---

1. In addition to economic or enterprise crime rates that were discussed before in the present paper (see no. 2.2.), there are other types of crimes (e.g. interpersonal crimes) that are impacted by the COVID pandemic. For example, see the below report that excludes homicides and shootings from the data of all types of crimes in the US (Abrams, 2021).

The police appreciated the criminals' anticipated cooperation in halting crime, and assured letting them know when they could return to their normal criminal enterprise. Such a peculiar measure which could be called 'a request-based' or 'an agreement-based' prevention is among extraordinary occurrences in the advent of catastrophes or disasters like COVID, and in correspondence with Stickle and Felson (2020: 534), may impact criminological theories in the future.

## **5. Conclusion**

The COVID-19 pandemic has reflected many social, cultural, economic, and psychological impacts and consequences among which its criminal impacts could be defined as a criminological endeavor that the present research sought to explore certain aspects of such an enterprise. In addition to effects of COVID on economies and policies, it has significant impacts on crime and criminality. Meanwhile, changes in crime rates is a remarkable issue in the criminological project of the current research. Despite the reports and statistics that explain a fluctuation in the rate of many crimes towards a drop in all, more dangerous economic or enterprise crimes (e.g. fraud or cybercrime) and less dangerous interpersonal crimes (like domestic abuses or family conflicts) are in high ranking of crime rates and criminal statistics. With respect to the interactions of COVID pandemic and criminal justice policies, it should be recalled that the current outbreak has unconventional and/or extraordinary consequences affecting governmental policies or strategies. Amongst these consequences and outcomes, the prison system is a suitable target for an analysis with regard to tensions and crises including outbreak among prisoners or intimates, as well as the issue of prison protests and riots. These problems and events could be a witness for the argument that intensive communications, esp. close physical contacts in restricted spaces, including in prisons, may result in a phenomenon which is called by epidemiologists as 'cluster amplification' (Scott and Sim, 2020-a). Meanwhile, the COVID-19 is a serious danger to the most vulnerable people in society, especially those who

are exposed the underlying health problems. This reality could be a warning for governments about dangers of infectious diseases like COVID-19 for inmates or prisoners. In these circumstances, and based on criminal sciences, particularly epidemiological criminology, and penology, reducing the overcrowded prison by measures such as releasing and furlough seems more proper than authoritative strategies like compartmentalization and single-cell accommodation (Scott and Sim, 2020-b) in order to decrease the estimated number of prisoner deaths due to the current pandemic.

The concluding remark resulted from these facts and data is that not only COVID, as a natural phenomenon, has inevitable effects on individual and collective aspects of human life, and thus, has become the catastrophe of the Third Millennium, but also it has direct impacts on crime/criminality, as the social phenomenon of throughout of human history, as well as on criminal justice policies to control, respond and manage this unavoidable part of social life.

## Reference

- Abrams, D. S. (2020). "Crime in the Time of COVID". *Crime and Criminal Justice: Econofact*. Available at <https://econofact.org/crime-in-the-time-of-covid> (March 30, 2021).
- Akers, T. A. and Lanier, M. M. (2009). "Epidemiological Criminology: Coming Full Circle", *Am J Public Health*, 99(3): 397–402.
- "A New Covid-19 Crisis: Domestic Abuse Rises Worldwide: The Interpreter". *The New York Times*. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/06/world/coronavirus-domestic-violence.html> (April 14, 2020)
- Ashton, M. C. (2018). "Mental Ability", in Ashton, Michael C. *Individual Differences and Personality*. Third Edition. Academic Press (Elsevier Inc.).
- Bagheri Rad, S. (1399, Ordibehesht. 27 [2020, May. 17 A.D.]). "Raast va Doruq-e Afzaayesh-e Khoshoonat-e Khaanegi dar ruzhaa-ye quarantine" [in English: "The Truth about Increase in Domestic Violence in Quarantine"]. Mehr News. Available at <http://www.mehrnews.com/news/4926214>
- Bettinger-Lopez, Caroline, Bro, Alexandra (2020). "A Double Pandemic: Domestic Violence in the Age of COVID-19", *Council on Foreign Relations*. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/double-pandemic-domestic-violence-age-covid-19>
- Cambridge Dictionary, *crime rate*. Available at <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/crime-rate> (October 25, 2021)
- Colquhoun, I. (2004). *Design out Crime: Creating Safe and Sustainable Communities*. 1<sup>st</sup> Published: Routledge.
- European Economic and Social Committee. Related Press releases*. Available at <https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/news-media/press-releases/europe-must-act-single-country-against-organised-crime> (11/03/2021)
- Dictionary.com, *quarantine*. Available at <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/quarantine> (October 23, 2021)

- Durrant, R. Ward, T. (2015). "Social-Structural and Cultural Explanations", in Durrant, R. Ward, T. *Evolutionary Criminology: Towards a Comprehensive Explanation of Crime*. Academic Press (Elsevier Inc.), doi.org/10.1016/C2012-0-00324-9
- Elinson, Z. and Gurman, S. (2020). "Prisoners Riot as Coronavirus Tensions Rise". *The Wall Street Journal*. Available at <https://www.wsj.com/articles/prisoners-riot-as-coronavirus-tensions-rise-11586469284> (April 9, 2020)
- Fattah, E. A. (1997). *Criminology: Past, Present and Future*. London & New York: MacMillan Press LTD.
- Garner, B. [ed.] (2009). *Black's Law Dictionary*. Ninth Edition. USA: Thomson-West.
- Gassin, R., Cimamonti, S. & Bonflis, Ph. (2011). *Criminologie* (in English: *Criminology*). 7e ed. Paris: Dalloz: Precis Broche.
- Global Initiative (2020). *Crime and Contagion: The Impact of a Pandemic on Organized Crime*. Switzerland: Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime.
- Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Trafficking in Persons: Preliminary findings and messaging based on rapid stocktaking* (n.d.). UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Available at [https://www.unodc.org/documents/Advocacy-Section/HTMSS\\_Thematic\\_Brief\\_on\\_COVID-19.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/Advocacy-Section/HTMSS_Thematic_Brief_on_COVID-19.pdf)
- Inter-Agency Statement on Violence against Women and Girls in the Context of COVID-19* (n.d.). United Nations. Available at <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Women/WRGS/Inter-AgencyStatementVAW-and-COVID.pdf>
- Lederer, E. M. (2020). "Crime Rates Plummet around the World as the Coronavirus Keeps People Inside". *Time Magazine*. Available at <https://time.com/5819507/criminal/>
- Maajeraa-ye Faraar az Zendaan-e Saqez, Daadrasi-ye Corona, va Baazdaasht-e Soltaan-e Sookht [in English: The Story of Escaping from Saqez Prison, the Corona Trial and the Arrest of the Oil King], Khabar Online. Available at <https://www.khabaronline.ir/news/1373912/> (19 Farvardin, 1399/7 April, 2020).



- McLaughlin, E. and Muncie, J. (2019). *The SAGE Dictionary of Criminology*, Fourth Edition, SAGE Publications.
- Nightingale, L. (2020). "Helping Domestic Abuse Victims during Quarantine". *Psychotherapy*. Available at <https://www.psychotherapy.net/article/domestic-abuse-during-quarantine>
- Perra, N. (2021). "Non-pharmaceutical interventions during the COVID-19 pandemic: A review". *Physics Reports*. 913: 1-52, doi: 10.1016/j.physrep.2021.02.001
- Peterman, A. et al. (2020). "Pandemics and Violence against Women and Children". *Working Paper 528 on behalf of the Gender and COVID-19 Working Group*. Center for Global Development (Washington DC).
- Roshanfekr, P. (2021). *Moqadame-ye Mehvar-e Vizhe: Paaydari va Naapaydari-ye jaame'e-ye Iran dar Aayene-ye Corona* (in English: The Introduction of Special Theme: Stability and Instability of Iranian Society in the Mirror of Coronavirus). Iranian Sociological Association. Available at <http://www.isa.org.ir>
- Salt Lake City COVID-19 Information* (n.d.). Available at <https://www.slc.gov/mayor/covid-19/>
- Summers, J. (2020). "How is COVID-19 affecting white-collar crime risks and enforcement? Special Report: White-Collar Crime". *Financier Worldwide Magazine*. Available at <https://www.financierworldwide.com/how-is-covid-19-affecting-white-collar-crime-risks-and-enforcement> (July 2020)
- "Ra'eisi baraa-ye Zendaaniyaan che Kard?" [in English: "What did the Head of the Judiciary for the Prisoners?"] *Tasnim News*, at <https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1400/03/15/2515794/> (Khordad 1400/June 2021 AD).
- Robbins, S. (2020). "Coronavirus Unrest Sparks Surge in Riots in Latin America's Prisons". *Insight Crime*. Available at <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/coronavirus-unrest-prison-riots/> (July 22, 2020)

- Scott, D. and Sim, J. (2020a). "Coronavirus and Prisons: the need for Radical Alternatives". *New Socialist: Theory and Strategy*. Available at <https://newsocialist.org.uk/coronavirus-and-prisons-need-radical-alternatives/>
- Scott, D. and Sim, J. (2020b). "Reflections on COVID-19, Prisons and Legal Activism". *Harm & Evidence Research Collaborative* (Open University). Available at <https://www.open.ac.uk/researchcentres/herc/blog/reflections-covid-19-prisons-and-legal-activism>
- Scott, D. and Sim, J. (2020c). "The coronavirus pandemic and prison policy". *Open Learn: Research in time of Covid-19*. Available at <http://fass.open.ac.uk/schools/school-social-sciences-global-studies/blogs/covid-19>
- Stickler, B. Felson, M. (2020). "Crime Rates in a Pandemic: the Largest Criminological Experiment in History". *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45: 525-536.
- The Directive to All Judicial Authorities*. The Head of the Judiciary, No. 9000/214056/100, 98/12/07
- The Directive to All Judicial Authorities throughout the Country*. The Head of the Judiciary, No. 9000/214260/100, 98/12/07
- United Nations Standards Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (*the Nelson Mandela Rules*). Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 2015, A/RES/70/175.
- "When quarantine is unsafe: Domestic violence survivors seek help in Ukraine". *United Nations Population Fund*. Available at <https://www.unfpa.org/news/when-quarantine-unsafe-domestic-violence-survivors-seek-help-ukraine> (April 15, 2020)
- Zeveleva, O. (2020). "Prison Riots and the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Global Uprising?" *Gulag Echoes in the Media*. Available at <https://blogs.helsinki.fi/gulagechoes/gulag-echoes-in-the-media/> (April 15, 2020)