

NICRO

*NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR CRIME PREVENTION
AND REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS*

Shoplifting 111 **Controlling the Loss**

by

Keith Dill Nunes

*NATIONALE INSTITUUT INSAKE MISDAAD-
VOORKOMING EN REHABILITASIE VAN OORTREDERS*

NIMRO

(i)

SHOPLIFTING : CONTROLLING THE LOSS

A Report to Business Management

Criminological Pilot Research Study
in the Cape Town central business district
for the financial year July 1, 1971 - June 30, 1972,

carried out

in behalf of NICRO

by

KEITH DILL NUNES

B.Soc.Sc.(Law), Dip.Law, L.Dip.Afr.Admin.

(ii)

N I C R O - N I M R O

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR CRIME PREVENTION AND REHABILITATION
OF OFFENDERS (W.O. 313)

NATIONALE INSTITUUT INSAKE MISDAADVOORKOMING EN REHABILITASIE
VAN OORTREDERS (W.O. 313)

PATRON-IN-CHIEF

The State President

PATRON

The Honourable The Chief Justice

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

The Hon. Mr. Justice J.H. Steyn

DIRECTOR

Mr. R. Graser

NICRO

404/407 Benzal House, 3 Barrack Street,
P.O. Box 10005, Cape Town, 7905, South
Africa, Telephone No.41-2362.

Autumn, 1974.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NICRO wishes to record its thanks to I.B.M. South Africa (Pty.) Limited, in particular Mr. Felix Holzer, who kindly donated the programming of the data. This enormously helpful contribution by commerce to criminological research in South Africa augurs well for the future. Indicative of community responsibility and, more important for our purposes, of a willingness for community involvement, it is much appreciated. Also to the management of our participant stores. Also to Mr. Frank Stuppel of Foschini Limited who made available his small library on store security, and who is representative of the many here and abroad (ranging from members of the British House of Commons to the Argus foreign correspondent in Rome, Italy, to Criminology Institutes) who assisted NICRO in building up a veritable storehouse of information on the subject for future use.

The researcher wishes to record the general accessibility of the Hon. Mr. Justice J.H. Steyn, NICRO National Chairman, the Director, Mr. Roland Graser, and the Assistant Director, Dr. Thea Toussaint van Hove. Also the help, with gratefulness, of Mr. André Beugger of NICRO who not only assisted him with the initial encoding and in working out statistical data, but also drew up all the graphs for the study. Also to Miss M.E. van Dalen. Finally, the NICRO secretaries, Mrs. J.M. Bothma and Mrs. H. Maasdorp must be thanked for their contribution on a manuscript often requiring deciphering.

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION	1.
Position prior to the Research	2.
Survey Findings	4.
PART I: THE APPREHENDED OFFENDER	4.
PART II: THE OFFENCE OF SHOPLIFTING	8.
PART III: SANCTIONS APPLIED	10.
Store Action	10.
Legal Action	14.
PART IV: THEFT CONTROL	18.
PART V: DISCUSSION	19.
The Offender	19.
The Offence	22.
Store and Legal Sanctions	24.
PART VI: CONCLUSION	25.
PART VII: RECOMMENDATIONS ON PREVENTION AND CONTROL	26.
Premises	26.
Suggestions for Store Management	26.
Suggestions for Store Personnel	36.
ANNEXURE "A": SHRINKAGE PREVENTION	46.
ANNEXURE "B": QUESTIONNAIRE	51.
FOOTNOTES	58.

oooooo0oooooo

INTRODUCTION:

The twentieth century advance of the discipline of social science, in particular its branches of criminology and penology, may be said to have established as a truism that punishment varies according to the discovery of the causes of crime.¹ No longer do we, in the West at least, see draconian measures as the answer for crime. For this young science has, in lessening our areas of ignorance, brought to light that Dostoevsky's perceptive title of Crime and Punishment is now insufficient for the field we ought to cover. And the dimension of Correction has been added. Thus in South Africa NICRO, for example, calls its journal Crime, Punishment and Correction. Correction means effective treatment by the agencies in our criminal justice system which is both rational and civilized. The humane approach has thus at least been adopted by our courts in their application of the criminal law in the dispensation of criminal justice.^{1(a)}

Shoplifting's possible magnitude as a crime problem in our society has roots, it seems, in the development in the field of commerce of stores with open displays, since originally stores displayed their wares behind high-topped counters and closed cupboards or open shelves beyond the customer's reach.² But the extent whereby the relatively novel self-service system, with its psychological orientation towards "unconscious", tempting, impulse buying, contributes to the problem, has yet to be investigated. Criminology has, however, at least established that remedial action, be it in the form of a specific crime prevention campaign, such as S.T.E.M., Inc., ("Shoplifters Take Everybody's Money"),³ or a rehabilitation programme or even penal legislation, must go apace with present knowledge on both shoplifting and the control of crime. Without an appreciation of the criminological perspective, and better still the firm footing of research, to establish the facts of shoplifting in South African stores, is to put the proverbial cart before the horse.

It is in this light that NICRO initiated this pilot project on shoplifting, obtaining the help of no less than 11 commercial establishments in the city of Cape Town, viz:

A. Central Business District (c.b.d.):-

Clicks Store (Pty.) Ltd.

Edgars Stores Ltd.

Foschini Limited.

Garlicks Limited.

O.K. Bazaars Ltd.

Stuttaford & Co. Ltd.

Truworths Limited.

Woolworths (Pty.) Ltd.

B. Outside the c.b.d.:

Checkers Supermarkets
Pick-N-Pay Stores Limited
Punky's (Pty.) Ltd.

Ten of the eleven stores actually responded to our questionnaire, almost a "house full". Unfortunately data from only three of the respondent stores in the c.b.d. could be utilised. This was due basically to the recognition by the management of these three stores that shoplifting is a store crime problem requiring some form of record keeping.

The three stores constituting the sample do however significantly represent the "class" store and the "mass" store as distinguished by Cameron.⁴ We may define the class store as one which appeals to the style of life, status or prestige of customers. The mass store is one which appeals to the lowest common factor of customers. The market stance of the store is thus linked to the social situation of the customer population.⁵

Our approach has been to attempt to determine the nature and extent of shoplifting from the victim's or store's point of view. Causes are obviously relevant here, both in devising shoplifting prevention measures and in correcting shoplifters. The period selected was the financial year July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972.

What was the position in South Africa regarding shoplifting prior to this research?

Contrary to the international field,⁶ it would appear that no scientific research has been undertaken either in South Africa or on the continent of Africa as a whole. This modest effort would, therefore, in our knowledge, be a first contribution towards the formulation of a scientific approach utilising our knowledge in the social sciences.

At best we may draw attention to two factors in the previously existing picture, (a) the official index of shoplifting offences, and (b) the cost of shoplifting, on an annual basis.

(a) Annual Statistics on Shoplifting:

Nationally, let alone provincially or by city, there are to date just no official statistics on shoplifting. Nor on staff pilferage. Nor on the Rand-cent amount involved.

Basic statistical data on shoplifting - i.e. offences reported to the police, number of prosecutions and convictions - is thus absent though included under the heading of theft in the official statistical reports to a degree.⁷ Obviously this excludes the number of shoplifting offences known to the police, or convictions, per 1 000 or per 100 000 population. And an official crime rate in respect of shoplifting is thus non-existent.

What about the dark figure on shoplifting, i.e. crime not known to the criminal justice authorities? Since an answer would pre-empt our findings we have considered this aspect under the discussion immediately following the survey.⁸

(b) Annual Cost of Shoplifting:

A survey of news reports reveals a wide, if not erratic, variation. The annual cost of shoplifting to business is variously given as ranging anything from R50-million at the one end of the scale, to R150-million, at the other end of the scale;⁹ "crystal ball" figures, as Security World Magazine would put it,¹⁰ or guess-estimates at most. What was the basis for the calculation? We know of no reports collated from the nation's stores. Indeed, only the figure of an annual R50-million cost appears to be worth taking note of along with a culprit responsibility breakdown attributing 25% to customer theft, 62% to staff theft, and 13% to other avenues.¹¹ For it, at least, was based on in-the-field security services by a member of the private police industry; albeit that their services did not brief them for a nation-wide store account. For the rest the figures should be stated as mere suppositions and since they are not clearly stated as such they can only have one result: alarm and a concomitant call for draconian measures. Thus the state of affairs for the public discerned by Dr. Karl Menninger will not be abated; namely:

"Perhaps our worst crime is our ignorance about crime, our easy satisfaction with headlines and the accounts of lurid cases; and our smug assumption that it is all a matter of some tough "bad guys" whom the tough "good guys" will soon capture"¹²

That this will continue is surely patent from the news reports which are alarmist if not misleading.^{12(a)} They do not even deal with the conviction rates. And it is on these figures that Dr. James M. Midgley has stated:

"Journalists have seized these statistics and sensational and alarmist reports about crime waves and organised underworld activities have been common. The ordinary citizen naturally expects an answer. Something must

be done, is the common cry, but those who utter an excited call for action often forget that remedy implies an adequate understanding of causation".¹³

A sober assessment of the problem of shoplifting thus warrants an account of the apprehended offenders, the offenders reported to the police, the prosecuted offenders, the convicted offenders, and resultant scientific projections of the dark figure involved. Then, too, we must appreciate the causes of shoplifting before we can take really effective remedial action. For in the final analysis shoplifting prevention does not only depend upon effective store policing methods but rather also upon how the shoplifter is dealt with after being caught. Action to combat shoplifting without proper and prior scientific research is, as Mr. Justice J.H. Steyn has put it, in connection with the broader crime picture, merely a shot in the dark!

What were our Findings?

Two distinctions may be drawn at the outset. The first concerns the data-capturing methods of the stores. Of course this only relates to those stores who do not only acknowledge the problem of shoplifting, but also resolve voluntarily to utilise the criminal justice system to deal with the problem. Other store managements aver that they have no shoplifting in their stores; still others state that shoplifting is like wastage due to a broken milk bottle where the resulting mess should be cleaned up quickly to continue marketing without wasting time by recording such a loss. Both result in no records being kept of shoplifting, whether by denial or the profit motive, and are thus not subjects of this research. The three stores who form our sample thus unwittingly keep a register of scientifically valuable data though unfortunately not always together with follow-ups on final criminal justice dispositions. The second distinction is thus concerned with this data. We may thus look at (i) the offender, (ii) the offence, (iii) the store sanctions and the criminal justice sanctions, and (iv) theft control.

I. THE APPREHENDED OFFENDER:

The total number of shoplifters apprehended in the three stores was 374 cases, for the year of the study (i.e. mid-1971 to mid-1972), two cases being excluded for errors. The table shows their distribution by age-cohort:

TABLE: AGE AND SEX OF THE APPREHENDED STORE OFFENDERS.

	Males		Females		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
7-12 years	33	16,26	9	5,26	42	11,23
13-14 years	23	11,33	4	2,34	27	7,22
15-17 years	43	21,18	33	19,33	76	20,32
18-20 years	24	11,82	28	16,37	52	13,90
21-30 years	39	19,21	41	23,98	80	21,39
31-40 years	16	7,88	28	16,37	44	11,76
41-50 years	8	3,94	7	4,09	15	4,01
51-60 years	4	1,97	4	2,34	8	2,14
61-78 years	7	3,45	9	5,26	16	4,28
Unknown	6	2,96	8	4,68	14	3,74
T o t a l	203	100,00	171	100,00	374	100,00

Sex: Contrary to popular belief that shoplifters are females, shoplifting offenders may be said to be males, or shoplifters may be said to be of both sexes. For the percentage of males, being 54%, may either be seen to be slightly higher than that of females, being 46%, or the difference (8%) may be said to be too low to warrant a distinction on this level. Studies abroad in Helsinki,¹⁴ Philadelphia,¹⁵ and Midtown-U.K.,¹⁶ and even Chicago perhaps,¹⁷ however confirm a high incidence of males, thus favouring the latter assertion as we do.

Age: Overall the offenders have an average age of 24 years, and a mean age of 43 years. But there is an upward trend in age among female shoplifters who have an average age of 26 years to the males 21 years, and a mean age of 44 years to the males 42 years. Abroad the noted Finnish study confirms this.¹⁸

A disturbing factor is that more than half the shoplifting population in the study comprises minors, i.e. the young below 21 years of age. For minors total 52,67% in the shoplifting population, to which fourteen unknown cases (3,74%), even adding the two cases (0,53%) excluded for erroneous data (4,28%), would make no difference if included as adults who comprise 43,58% only. That minors constitute the bulk of shoplifters is confirmed by the Helsinki study.¹⁹ Also the highest proportion of boys, as in Helsinki,²⁰ are below 15 years and represent 15% of the total shoplifters in our study. But while that study finds the sexes equally divided,²¹

our proportions are dissimilar and the boys (62%) are nearly twice as many as the girls (39%). Adults, on the contrary, have the women (55%) outnumbering the men (45%). Again this serves to confirm the trend for females to show an upward increase in age and for males a decrease with higher age.

Ethnic Group: White to non-white shoplifting constitutes 21,66% to 78,07% (unknown 0,27%). The Philadelphia study found the reverse with less Negroes committing shoplifting (48,2%) than whites (51,8%).²²

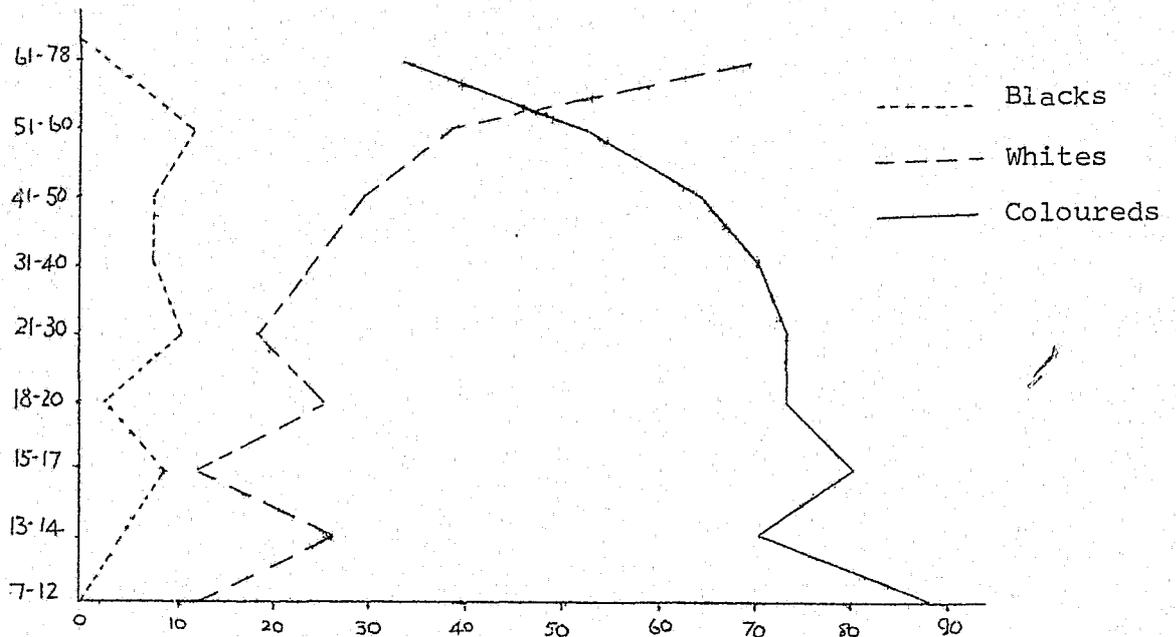
A breakdown here by ethnic group is more germane and instructive however. We now find that 72% of the shoplifters in the study are coloureds, 22% are whites, and 6% are blacks (Asians, included amongst the coloured ethnic group, being discounted as minimal).²³

The peak ages are however provided by the white ethnic group, where the average age is 31 years and the mean age 44 years. (The lowest ages are, however, not confined to a particular ethnic group. Thus the minimum average age is the 22 years for the coloured ethnic group, and the minimum mean age is the 33 years of the black ethnic group. In-between ages also follow suit in that for the average age it is the 25 years of the blacks, and for the mean age the 42 years of the coloureds. Thus whilst by average age the coloureds are closer to the blacks, by mean age the coloureds resemble the whites).

Our overall initial observation that more minors than adults commit shoplifting remains valid only for the coloureds as an ethnic group. Where minors represent 79% to 66% adults; whites being 17% to 26% and blacks 4% to 8%. By ethnic group the boys however usually outnumber the men while the women outnumber the girls: Thus for the coloured ethnic group there are 68% boys to 51% men and 49% women to 32% girls. But the black ethnic group is the reverse and for it we have the sole instance of 62% men outnumbering 38% boys and 63% girls outnumbering 38% women. Interesting that, taken diagonally (i.e. the 62% men to 63% girls and the 38% women to 38% boys), the percentage data is exactly corresponding but for one per cent.

Important is the fact that while there is a noticeable downward trend for both coloured and black shoplifters with an increase in age, whites contrarily show an upward trend. This is patent from the graph:

GRAPH NO. 1.



Social Class: This is a difficult concept to apply, especially by a layman in criminology or sociology, and in future we favour stores applying the Finnish study's criteria of social background, which is based on the occupation of the apprehended offender,²⁴ as a more specifically useful and precise concept even for the specialist.

Only data from the two class stores were isolated since the mass store in the instant study could only report that most of its shoplifters appeared to belong to the lower social class. The data here thus represents a proportion of 1:3 cases or 32%, eleven cases being excluded as unknown.

The greatest number of shoplifters are represented by the middle class, being 44% of the total. In-between we have the lower class 34%. The smallest number of shoplifters are from the upper class, representing 22%. Middle class adults and minors are equally divided representing 43% to 44%. Contrarily, lower class minors outnumber adults by 37% to 33% whilst higher class adults outnumber minors by 24% to 20%.

Modus Operandi: Rightly or wrongly, stores determine that shoplifters with sophisticated techniques are professionals and the rest are amateurs.

Amateurs outnumber professionals by 82% to 18%. A small incidence of professionals was generally found abroad in England where different criteria were applied.²⁵ The large number of amateurs shows marginally more minors than adults, 55% to 41%, (4% being unknown), and the small number of professionals marginally more adults than minors, 54% to 45%.

Gang influences, though more pronounced amongst the minor amateurs, (58% to 42% adults), is also pronounced amongst minor professionals, (53% to 48%). Overall the professionals prefer to operate in groups, (11% to 7% amateurs), while amateurs prefer to shoplift on their own, (66% to 16%). Professionals, interestingly however, appear to become less inclined to work in groups with an advance in age so that by middle age (51 years) they seem to give up group work completely.

Employee Dishonesty: Internal theft and fraud is popularly assumed to outdistance external theft by customer shoplifters. In our study, however, only 22 of the total of 374 were cases involving employee theft; a proportion of 1 in 16, or 5,88% of the total apprehensions. Storewise the break down is 2,01% for mass store A, 13,58% for class store B, and 13,64% for class store C. Even professional shoplifters (18%) in the study outnumber the employee pilferers (5,88%) by more than three times.

While the average age conforms with that for all offenders, the mean age of employee pilferers is 34 years - much younger than the 43 years mean age of all offenders.

Unfortunately the high number of unknown cases prevents a comparison of minors and adults vis-à-vis females but with respect to males it is an even division of 44% to 44% (11% being unknown). Again the overall unknown 32% prevents a comparison of all minors to all adults. Females, overall, however, constitute 59% and clearly outreach the males 41%. This is dissimilar to our remarks for the shoplifting population in the study as a whole.

II. THE OFFENCE OF SHOPLIFTING:

Merchandise Stolen:

The most popular goods is clothing (23% of the total classes), followed by food (17%). Other items were cigarettes (8%), sweets (8%), toileteries (5%), jewellery (4%). habadashery (4%), sunglasses (3%), toys (3%), glassware (2%), ornaments (2%), shoes (1%), cosmetics (1%), electrical (1%), hardware 1%), stationery (1%), and books (1%). Various and unclassified items constitute 14%, but interestingly enough, cash only constituted 3%.

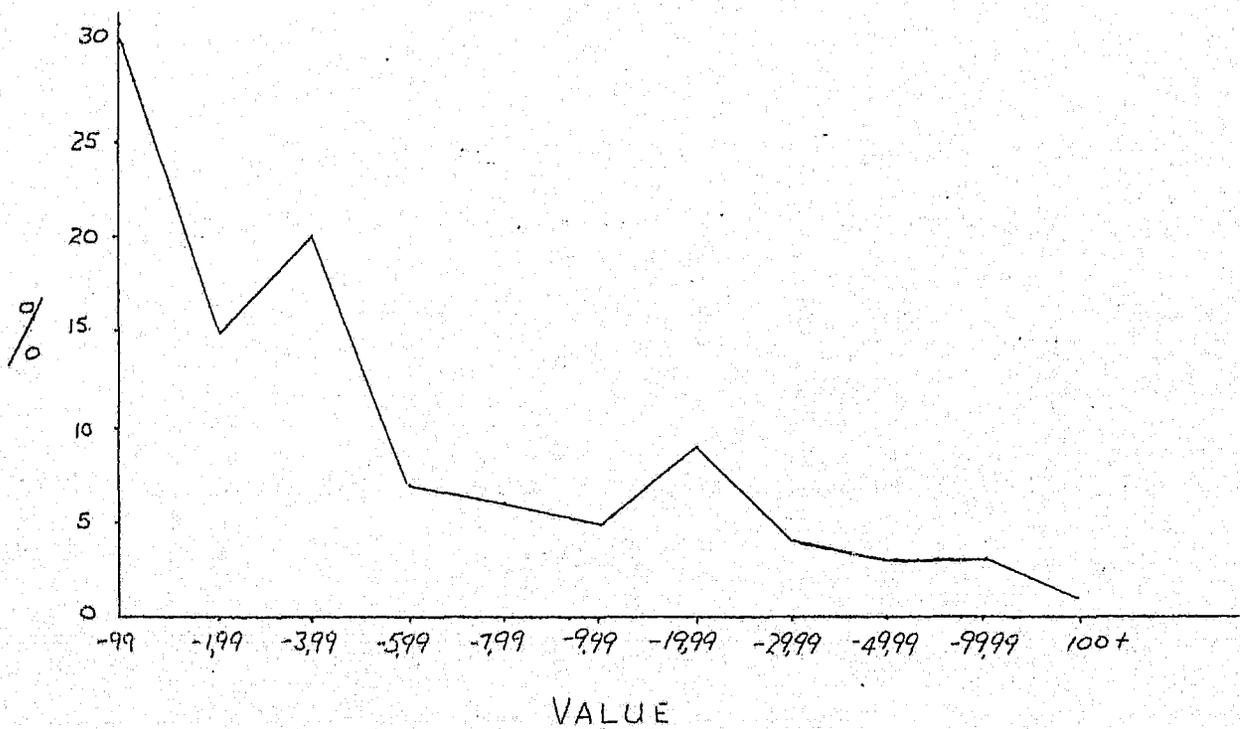
Store-wise there is however a differential distribution of losses. Thus for the most sought-after item - clothing - store A suffers 55% of the clothing losses, store B 21%, and store C 24%. For the second most sought-after item,

store A suffers food losses of 62%, store B 17% and store C 21%. Another example concerns sunglasses where store A suffers 8% of the losses, store B 83%, and store C 8%. Overall then too, mass store A accounts for 66% of all losses, class store B for 22%, and class store C for 12%. The overall merchandise loss (i.e. bar cash thefts) is 67%, 19% and 11% for the three stores respectively.

Cost: Between the two poles of the cheapest merchandise stolen amounting to R0,10c and the most expensive amounting to R417,00 gradations occur. The average value of the shoplifted items amounts to R9,69 and the mean value totals R208,55.

However, 65% of the thefts occur between the values of 10c to R3,99. This is evident from the graph which also shows clearly the peaking at the two levels of R3,99 and R19,99.

GRAPH NO. 2.

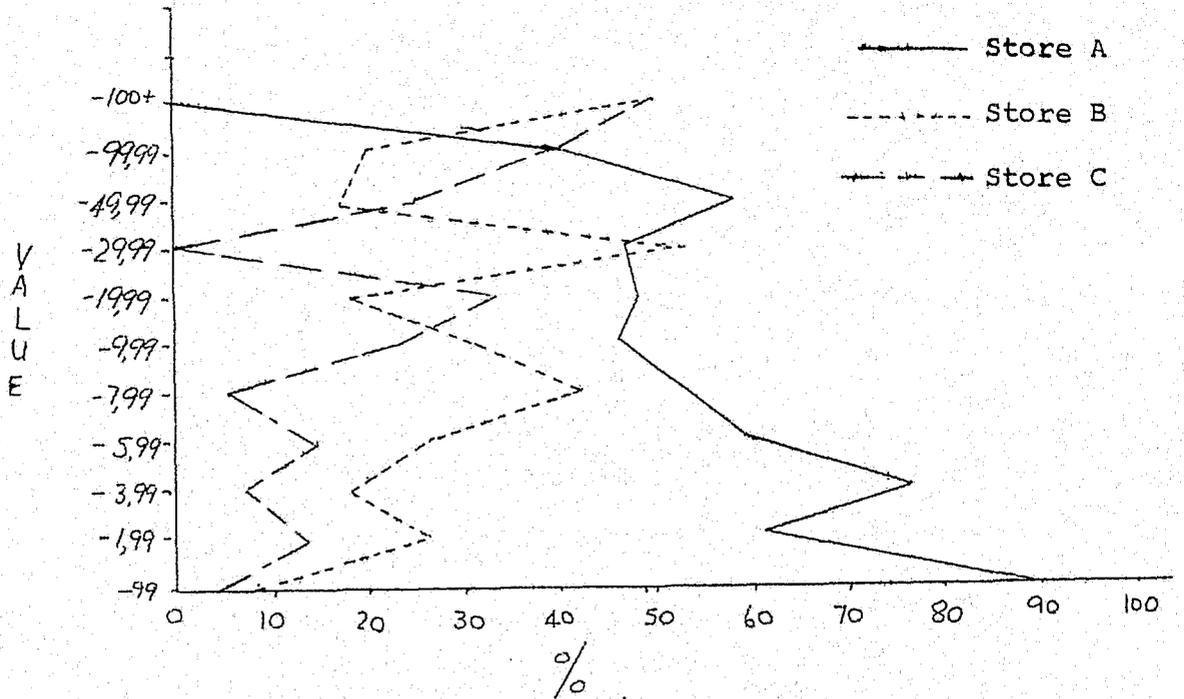


Generally then, the bulk of thefts occur with cheaper items but the total value implicated due to this combined with the vulnerability of expensive items amounts to the sum of R3 546,01.

Storewise contributions vary with the two class stores closer to each other, store B representing 20% and store C 12%, than to the mass store A, representing 68%. While this is the overall position, similarities cease

after the tag value of R5,99 as the graph shows.

GRAPH NO. 3.



Incidence: No common shoplifting rush-month would appear from an analysis by store; only a type of linking - thus while class stores B and C are similar as regards December and January (11% and 11-14% respectively), mass store A and class store B are similar in April and June (16-19% and 12-11% respectively).

Overall however the picture emerges that the all-age rush month is April. This contrasts with studies abroad which establish it for December²⁶ (or January²⁷).

III. SANCTIONS:

A distinction may be drawn between how the store itself sees and deals with the apprehended shoplifting offender and the criminal justice system on the other hand.

Store Action:

Stores adopt widely differing postures. Some interviewed stores maintained that they had no shoplifting and pilferage. Others, at the other end of the scale, proclaimed that all apprehended offenders were prosecuted. Somewhere in between these two poles was the store who, whilst admitting shoplifting and pilferage losses, declared that staff were

better employed in minding the store than in keeping time-consuming records. In short, store policy on shoplifting and pilfering vacillates.

Looking at the action taken against the 374 shoplifters apprehended in this study, we find: 1,60% (6 cases which includes 1 reported to employer and 1 reported to police) got away, 32,89% (123 cases which excludes the 1 escapee) reported to the police, 3,48% (13 cases) reported to parents, schools and to a husband, and 4,01% (15 cases which excludes the 1 escapee) shoplifting customers reported externally to their employers.

External agencies could potentially deal with 40,64% (152 cases), excluding the escapees, of the apprehended offenders. Internally the mass store and the two class stores would thus combined have had to deal with 57,75% (216 cases), or more than half the shoplifters, on their own in one way or another. Store sanctions were actually only meted out against 9,89% (37 cases) of the offenders, which includes 6 employees. The remaining 47,86% (179) are cases where, at worst, the evidence against the offender is insufficient and a proper case could not be made out and consequently the offender was given the benefit of this doubtfulness and let off scot-free, or, even worse, records are either not kept or if kept are unclear and these cases constitute an unknown factor useless for scientific analysis. The former would appear to be the position in respect of 60,89% (109 cases) of the remainder where these offenders were in fact considered from the point of view of police reporting and possible criminal justice action since prosecution was specifically catalogued as being declined on some or other ground. On the other hand a case could be made out in respect of the latter view, especially if we bear in mind that of the 12,29% (22 cases) apprehended employees only 40,91% (9 cases), or less than half, were actually booked as having been reported to their employer, in this case the stores in the study; 27,27% (6 cases), as stated above, were actually booked as having store sanctions applied to them though it was not stated that they were reported to their employer; 22,73% (5 cases) being unknown totally; and 9,09% (2 cases) were actually booked as reported to the police for their action.

Who are the offenders likely to be reported to external authorities for handling? Females predominate generally - in reports to police their figure is 56,10% (69 cases) to 43,90% males; to parents 66,67% (6 cases) to 33,33% (3 cases); to schools 33,33% (1 case) to 66,67% (2 cases); to husband 100% (1 case). Also specifically by tag value over R50,00, females comprise 78,57% (11 cases) to 21,43% males (3 cases).

The woman reported to her husband was 22 years old whilst reports to schools and parents were confined to minors but the police were called in for all ages up to 60 years.

Coloured ethnic group members predominate generally - in reports to the police, the major external agency, 78,08% were coloured (96 cases), 12,20% were whites (15 cases) and 8,94% were blacks (11 cases), 0,81% (1 case) being unknown. This is out of proportion in relation to the ethnic group distribution of all the offenders (374) where 72,19% are coloureds, 21,66% are whites, 5,88% are blacks (0,81% being unknown). Police reporting is also out of proportion in relation to the total whites to non-whites so reported, being 12,20% to 86,99% (unknown 0,81%), and the 21,66% white to 78,07% non-white shoplifting (unknown 0,27%). This discrimination, if we may call it that, is also found abroad in the Philadelphia study where indeed the reporting was really disproportional²⁸.

What are the grounds for reporting some shoplifters to the police and not others? Both the mass store and the two class stores declined to prosecute offenders in those instances where they were either drunk, juveniles or aged. (Obviously no decision could be taken as regards shoplifters who successfully escaped - albeit that one of that number was reported to the police and another to her employer).

Drunkenness as a ground for not reporting a shoplifter to the police amounted to 8 cases; of whom all were adults between the ages of 21-60 years but 87,50% (7 cases) were of the coloured and 12,50% (1 case) of the white ethnic groups.

Juveniles, minors more precisely, not reported to the police amounted to 103 cases. But this criterion was not uniformly applied; thus of the total number of minors apprehended for shoplifting (197), 52,28% were not reported to the police while 29,44% were so reported! The 52,28% minors not reported were predominantly of the coloured ethnic group being 87,38% to the 11,65% whites (12 cases) and to the 0,97% black (1 case).

Old age (60 years plus), we are informed, is also a criterion that may exclude bringing in the police to deal with a shoplifting case. But, no specific details to this effect were actually provided on the data sheets. Any findings by us would therefore amount to pure conjecture here.

Unfortunately, there is no data available on the trend-setting mass store though it is reported from this store that the sanctions of taking

guilt admissions, warning shoplifters and barring the store to them are employed. Scientifically no data was captured however and conjecture on our part is ruled out here too.

Class store data thus accounts for the thirty-seven cases, as stated above²⁹, in respect of which we may scientifically analyse the store action taken against apprehended offenders. This represents only 17,13% of the total offenders (216 cases) the combined mass and two class stores could rightly have handled on their own internally. What precisely was the store action dispensed? We may distinguish both the action taken and the recipients: First the customer shoplifters. On the one hand in respect of single penalties warnings account for 18,92% (7 cases); store barrings for 2,70% (1 case); and admissions of guilt for 32,43% (12 cases). On the other hand double penalties were applied in respect of 29,73% (11 cases) warned plus barred the store; 2,70% (1 case) credit account closed plus signing an admission of guilt; 2,70% (1 case) credit account closed plus store barring; 5,41% (2 cases) admissions of guilt plus store barring. The latter includes 40% (6 cases) shoplifting customers reported to their employees external to the stores in the study.

Exactly what significance reporting the total sixteen so-called customers who shoplifted to their employers has we do not know. All we can say is that in every case the two class stores were voluntarily requested to inform external employers due to the fact that apprehension occurred in that employer's working day (e.g. lunch-time) when consequently the employee might be posted as missing. Accordingly, this does not constitute a specific sanction applied by the stores in the study as such. Indirectly it may of course operate as a sanction against such deviant conduct.

A breakdown of the recipient shoplifters reveals the following: Age-wise more adults (23 cases) than minors (10 cases) were the focus, 62,16% to 27,03% (unknown 10,81%). Only as regards single sanctions could the position be regarded as about equal. Sex-wise the females (27 cases) were undoubtedly the focus, 72,97% to 27,03% males (10 cases). Ethnic-group-wise the whites (18 cases) were the focus, 48,65% to 35,14% coloureds (13 cases) to 16,22% blacks (6 cases). Combined non-whites constitute 51,35% to the whites 48,65% as regards the recipients of store sanctions. Thus there appears to be equal treatment by ethnic group.

Secondly, the employee pilferers. We have seen that really only 6 of the total 22 apprehended employee offenders, 27,27%, were subject to store sanctions³⁰ by the records.

Employees apparently had no double sanctions applied to them. Thus 9 (64,29%) were merely reported to their employer, whatever that entails, 5 (35,71%) signed admissions of guilt and, contrary to one store at least who maintained that employees were liable to instant dismissal in a clear case of theft or fraud, only 1 (100%) employee was dismissed according to our data.

A breakdown of the recipient pilferers reveals the following: Age-wise more adults (77,78%) than minors (22,22%) were so reported. Sex-wise there was no real difference in 55,56% males and 44,44% females being reported to the employer. The dismissed offender was a female adult. Ethnic-group-wise employees reported to the store were disproportionate, being 22,22% whites, 33,33% blacks and 44,44% coloureds. Also while the whites were adults the coloureds were minor and only the blacks were both adults and minors. The dismissed employee was a coloured person.

Legal Action:

We have seen that a major reason why 72,73% of the eleven stores³¹ did not capture data is because they either, at worst, deny the existence of shoplifting problems or, at best, vacillate in their control measures. The latter appears true even of the data in this study. Already, however, the one store, in the inordinately large percentage of the eight excluded stores, who failed to keep proper control records, at least, has been overtaken by events: a journalist recently, with the permission and dismayed disbelief of management, proved that she could shoplift at least R60,00 worth of merchandise from not one but several departments in a local Adderley Street store.³¹

How many of the 33,16% (124 cases) apprehended offenders reported to the police were actually prosecuted in the law courts? Not all offenders reported to the police end up in court in any criminal offence³². In this particular instance one offender escaped, though reported, representing ,81%; three charges were withdrawn, 2,42%, for lack of sufficient evidence or witnesses or both; six charges, 4,84%, were withdrawn against juveniles; and three charges, 2,42%, were not continued with for various reasons by the police. Excluding the escapee (a female of 45 years of unknown ethnic group) more were of the coloured ethnic group (9 or 69,23% to 3 or 23,08%), with more minors and more males, being 53,85% to 38,46% females and adults. Thus, all in all 88,71% (110 cases) eventually reached court.

Is there any correlation between the frequency of legal sanctions being resorted to, via police reporting, and the tag value of the shoplifted merchandise?

A graphic representation is perhaps the best way of dealing with this crisp question:

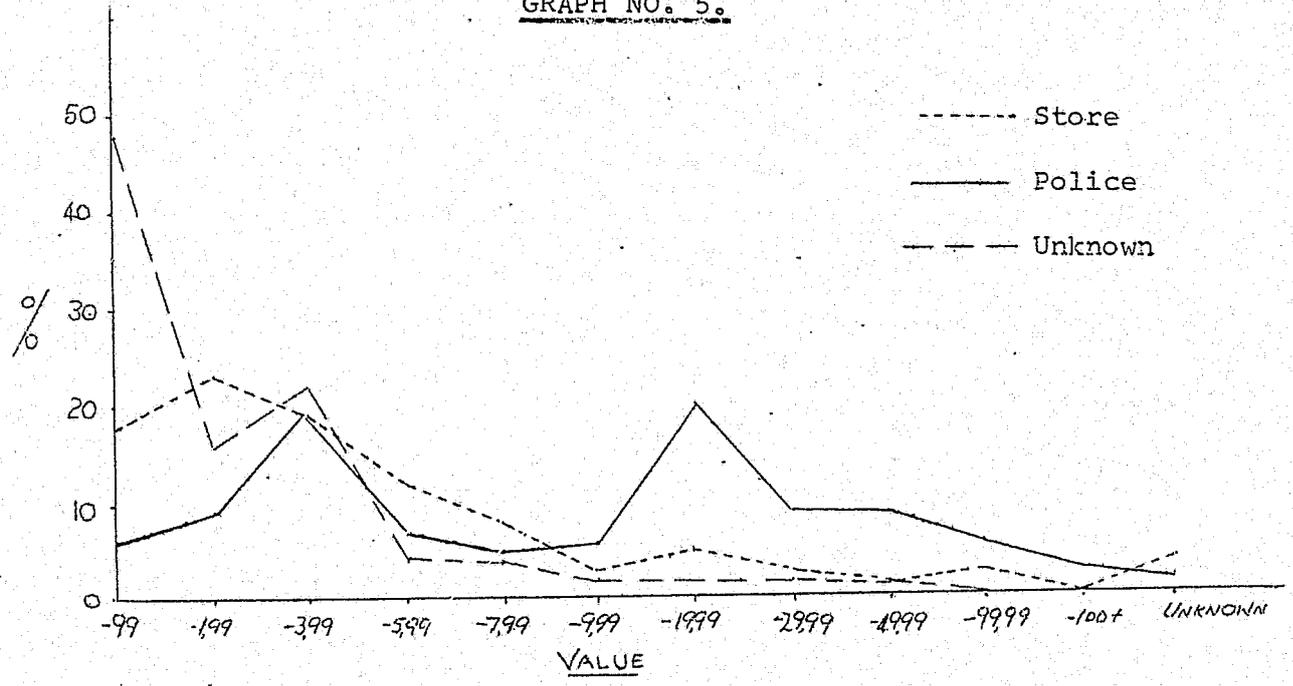
GRAPH NO. 4.



We may note that there is only an exact correlation between the tag values of R4 through to R7,99. Indications of correlations at the one pole of R0,10c to R1,99, and the other pole of R50,00 to R100 plus, perhaps serve to illustrate erratic policy since whereas in the former top value range store shoplifting outstrips police reporting, in the latter range it is police reporting which outstrips shoplifting. This is perhaps reinforced by the fact that whilst a peaking resemblance exists at R10,00 to R19,99 it is more apparent than real since this is the peak for reporting to the police while the peak for shoplifted items by tag value is at R1,00 to R1,99.

The erratic nature of the graph, though less pronounced, is further apparent from a second representation, together with the unknown cases.

GRAPH NO. 5.



The peaks at R2,00 to R3,99 are, however, not that of the store where it is found for the lower tag value of R1,00 to R1,99.

Both graphs would appear to point to an increased sense of alarm as regards more highly priced merchandise whereas in fact shoplifting, as indicated by the graphs, occur, as stated above, more frequently at lower tag values. Here in fact we see that the unknown cases are concentrated.

Heightened reporting by the higher tag values appear to be due to two factors, firstly, more females shoplifted such items, namely 78,57% females (11 cases) to 21,43% males (3 cases) in respect of tag values of R50,00 plus, and, secondly, it is perhaps easier or clearer to see the danger, to store profits and management, of one highly valued item than several lower priced items.

What was the outcome of the 29,41% (110 cases) of the total offenders who we know were definitely prosecuted.

We know that not all criminal cases of whatever offence result in the accused being found guilty, thus for any crime a proportion may be declared not guilty and discharged³³. However, stores fail to keep a proper follow-up system on legal action even where they do trouble to recognize shoplifting as a problem to be dealt with, in whole or in part, by turning over the offender to the police. Thus we only have data on 31,82% (35 cases), leaving 68,18% as an exorbitantly high unknown figure!

Our possible known legal sanctions thus represent a picture only for the two class stores.

In this total (31,82%), there are three unprocessed accused: a warrant of arrest having been issued in respect of two of them and one awaiting trial. The former were females and the latter a male. All the accused were adults however in the 31-40 age group. The awaiting-trial accused was of the white ethnic group and the two on the point of arrest were blacks however.

Legal sanctions are thus catalogued for 29,09% of the offenders from class stores B and C. The two class stores thus have 25,60% of their total shoplifters legally adjudicated, and together with the outstanding 3 cases (2,40%), represent a ratio for legal sanctions of 1 in 4 shoplifters being sentenced in a court of law. (The ratio is in fact higher, i.e. 1:3,5, but two of the offenders are employees, bringing the total figure down to 24% instead of the combined figure of 28%). The percentage for store C is 43,18%, representing a ratio of 1:2; for store B it is 19,75%, representing a ratio of 1:5.

Legal sanctions range from two, now old, favourites, incarceration and corporal punishment, the former a XIXth century³⁴, and the latter an ancient measure³⁵, but both popularly assumed panaceas for crime, and two alternatives, namely fines and the suspended sentence³⁶. We thus distinguish between punitive and non-punitive legal sanctions.

Non-punitive legal sanctions on the one hand hearten one since combined they comprise 75% to the 25% of the punitive sanctions employed, being used three times more often.

Suspended sentences were disproportionately applied by age cohort in relation to fines. Thus 70% minors attracted the former to 30% adults, and 92,86% adults to 7,14% minors the latter. So too by sex, 100% females received suspended sentences while 64,29% females to 35,71% males were fined. So too by ethnic group, thus while suspended sentences were received equally between coloureds and whites, 50% to 50%, it was not in proportion to their numbers, and only fines had this pretence where 50% coloureds to 35,71% whites to 14,29% blacks were so dealt with.

Fines, overall, however constitute the predominant sentence of the courts, being 43,75% of the total cases adjudicated upon. Here we are in keeping with developments abroad³⁷.

Punitive sanctions on the other hand still dishearten one: flogging, rightly, at least confined by our criminal code to males³⁸, was made to

apply in all five cases to minors (100%), while imprisonment, though not so confined by the code³⁹, applied in all three cases to females.

As regards the two employees who were booked for criminal justice action, both minors of the coloured ethnic group, the male was flogged but the female received a suspended sentence.

Finally, we should just note that by the tag values the punitive sanctions were in fact for the lowest amounts, the average value for imprisonment being R7,31 and the mean value R8,47; and for corporal punishment slightly higher at R13,06 and R16,45 respectively. Non-punitive sanctions however applied for the priciest items - thus the average tag value in respect of fines was R19,95 and the mean value R37,65; for suspended sentences it zoomed to an average tag value of R69,12 and a mean tag value of R209,18.

IV. THEFT CONTROL:

Stores may differ as to layout, area, and merchandise, but all basically adhere to the general principle, as abroad⁴⁰, that shoplifters are apprehended by the security officer who must actually observe the attempted or complete theft before an arrest.

Store A:

Two full-time male store security officers are employed. Training is provided by the company but no officer has any professional qualification in police science. Part-time staff are usually engaged over a sale or Christmas period and on Saturdays.

Immediately after 1 July, 1972, the period of the study, closed circuit television (CCTV) was installed, which is manned.

An external security organization keeps a check on staff through test buying. Staff use two entrances and exits. Staff purchases, by cash or credit, are collected from the counter to the staff parcels office and sealed. External parcels are deposited similarly at the staff parcels office.

Store B:

Two full-time female security officers are provided by a local security organization in the private police field. This external organization trains its own staff.

Staff generally are instructed in store security. Part-time staff may be engaged, usually students, to assist over rush periods. Staff use two controlled entrances and exits. Internal purchases may only be made on credit above R0,50c and are remitted to a control staff parcels depot for collection. Senior staff however take away their parcels but may be called on for a receipt. External parcels must be kept at the staff parcels depot.

No electronic devices are used, but case sheets are made out in all instances together with a photograph of the offender.

Store C:

One full-time female security officer is employed. Though not professionally trained in police science, this store detective has the advantage of decades of experience in the same store.

No electronic devices are utilized. Staff are generally trained in security and alerted by the store detective.

An external security organization checks on staff through test buying. One staff entrance and exit is maintained. Staff buy only on credit collected at a central point. External parcels are collected here as well.

V. DISCUSSION:

The Offender:

The 54% males in the study to 46% females may dispel the myth that shoplifters are females. This researcher submits that, notwithstanding the frequency of women in stores, at the very least, a shoplifter may be either male or female.

The employee proportion in these figures does not materially alter the position since, if anything, the number of females are reduced by there being 9 male (41%) to 13 female (59%) employees. Overall their 5,88%, or 1 employee pilferer to 16 customer shoplifters, suggests that the popular store assumption castigating the employee as the cause for most losses drastically requires investigation and perhaps revision.

Causes militating for shoplifting can, unfortunately, not be based on rock-fast study conclusions due to the relatively superficial data

available, The celebrated English authority on shoplifting, Professor T.C.N. Gibbens, endeavoured to make two enquiries: social⁴¹ and psychological⁴². So should we, it is submitted. This much the social sciences have taught us.

Social enquiry leads us to look at shoplifting as deviance. Deviance is symptomatic of societal malfunctioning⁴³. For the high rate of shoplifting is by members of the coloured ethnic group; 72%, more than treble whites' (22%), and more than twelve times blacks' (6%). Studies by both Professor S.P. Cilliers⁴⁴ and Dr. James M. Midgley⁴⁵ point to conditions that create social needs and the vicious circle of a social pathology which cannot be remedied due to blocked opportunities resulting from our cast-like South African social structure. Though totally Western-culture in orientation, coloured peoples still find social mobility only within their own ethnic group, i.e. horizontally but not vertically to the superordinate white ethnic group.

We may relate this to the demography of South Africa. The last official census report of 1970 gives the total Cape Peninsula, or metropolitan Cape Town, population as 1 096 597 people. The composition by ethnic group is 9,84% blacks, 34,52% whites, 54,62% coloureds, and 1,03% Asians⁴⁶. This demographic preponderance of coloureds in the Metropolis⁴⁷, let alone the Cape Province, where 86,78% traditionally live⁴⁷, does not belie the researcher's view to make the finding only apparent in the survey or even isolate it as an exception. No, for though by the last census of 1970, for a total of 21 448 169 people in South Africa, the coloureds are only the third largest ethnic group (9,41%), blacks being the largest (70,21%), whites the second largest (17,49%), and Asians the smallest (2,89%)⁴⁸, the coloured peoples have the highest crime rate in South Africa! The coloured crime rate, measured by the conviction rate per 100 000 of population of 7 years and over, is 8,2% or nearly three times the national average of 3,5%⁴⁹. The second highest rate is for the numerically largest blacks who account for 2,3%, thirdly the numerically smallest Asians 2,0%, and lowest the whites 1,5%⁵⁰. Admittedly this is for the period 1969-1970 since nothing more recent, which would cover the 1970 census period, is available. But we know of nothing, such as a vast social upliftment programme, that would have altered the picture substantially to portray a different picture a year, or even more, later. Research shows the same disproportionate crime rate when analysed demographically in the preceding periods⁵¹.

That over half the coloured shoplifters are minors (57,41%) is added cause for concern. The writer personally expresses the hope that the coloureds will be accepted as full citizens without delay. He specifically hopes that the first multi-racial Theron Commission on the Coloured Peoples⁵² will make a contribution towards removing all the blocked opportunities in their path and further contribute social programmes remedying the crime situation.

Psychological enquiry focuses on the psychopathology of crime and a search is conducted for multiple factors or complex motives sifting through all the psychological levels of the individual. All social relationships that conflict presently or have been resolved in a personally unsatisfying way from childhood on are analyzed⁵³. Without suggesting justice has two faces, namely that the first face of justice for the poor has relatively simple motives and that the second face of justice for the rich has complex and pathological motives⁵⁴ - we are looking for general explanations which may be applicable to a lesser or greater extent in a cross-cultural way. Thus while coloured ethnic group members posit more social needs, white ethnic group members, though of the same Western culture, but which is blocked for coloureds only, posit more psychological needs, it is submitted. This is how we would see the trend for white shoplifters to increase in age and in the female sex.

Though gynaecological symptoms do not by themselves show a systematic connection with shoplifting⁵⁵, the psychological aspects of tension and anxiety that accompany these states may present the store, with its present-day impersonality and anonymity, as a happier milieu for the woman shoplifter or place to work off her depression or frustrations or loneliness. Men may do so in the pubs or at rugby matches however⁵⁶. Thus the leading psychiatric authority on shoplifting already mentioned states:

"Many people spend money in order to relieve anxiety; in the shoplifter this may be exaggerated or arise very impulsively. Most shoplifters are women who would never steal from an individual; that they do so in shops is presumably due to the special environment and profusion of goods, and the feeling that the shop is anonymous and impersonal, unlikely to be seriously harmed by the offence"⁵⁷.

Of course the psychological aspects could pertain to coloureds and even blacks. But whites are better off economically in South African society⁵⁸ and assuredly the men pass this off to their wives, the better to be housewives as opposed to working-mothers.

Gangs and professionals do not appear to represent a problem yet in the study. Usage of the term 'professional' may be faulted though⁵⁹, since a professional is usually one who lives off his earnings⁶⁰.

The Offence:

No official statistics are available - as we saw at the outset⁶¹. Hopefully this will be remedied so that we may come in line with the United Kingdom where within no less than six-and-a-half months after the events statistics were available on shoplifting offences for the year 1971!⁶² The United States appear to be less fortunate here since, like South Africa⁶³, who, up to now, has included her shoplifting - but not her pickpocket offences - under the broad specific criminal law offences of theft, they include shoplifting under their broad criminal law concept of larceny⁶⁴. The general section of the Uniform Crime Report does however provide a graph on shoplifting in the U.S. over the last decade, showing it to have increased by 221%⁶⁵. But note this is a relative figure for the offence by urban centres⁶⁶.

Now what about the dark figure of shoplifting? Neither can the dark figure be calculated nor can projections be made for use or comparison further afield. This is most unfortunate. It is due to two, though easily overcome, reasons: firstly, as we know, there are no official statistics⁶⁷, and, secondly, stores fail to keep proper records, though shrinkage would be rendered accountable thereby, either because they turn a blind eye to "inevitable"⁶⁸ shoplifting or fail to keep proper records and archives. This is a great pity, the more so since dishonesty by both customers and employees is classed in criminology as a genuine 'victim-crime' as opposed to 'victim-less crimes' like motor-car speeding and 'consensual-crimes' like homosexuality and other types of sexual offences⁶⁹. A victim crime is pre-eminently suited for measuring the dark figure⁷⁰. The scientific technique employed is the survey as we have proceeded⁷¹. Victimisation surveys thus render accountability to the dark figure situation⁷². Sir Leon Radcinowicz, the celebrated criminologist, puts the dark figure for all crimes as high as 85%⁷³. Fairly strong evidence abroad puts it over 50% in respect of offences ranging widely from thefts, assaults and breaking offences⁷⁴. We have therefore missed an opportunity to add to this knowledge through no fault of our own. But hopeful we will all contribute to remedy the situation for next time. We must contribute since we know from this that crime indexes based solely on police-recorded crime is insufficient and dangerous both as regards crime prevention and offender rehabilitation⁷⁵.

Do the two most shoplifted items reflect physical, social, or psychological need or cold, selfish, calculating greed?

Clothing, making up 23% of the total, had an unequal ethnic group distribution of 71,26% coloureds, 19,54% whites and 8,05% blacks (1,15% being unknown). Similarly food, constituting 17%, was lifted by 61,90% coloureds, 28,57% whites and 9,52% blacks. This suggests that we are not off beam in looking for deeper reasons as we have endeavoured to do above.^{75(a)}

That the cheaper items are subject to the heaviest shoplifting, constituting 65% in the tag value range of R0,10c to R3,99, may be attributed to ease of opportunity and concealment.

The total amount implicated in the study was R3 546,01. This renders an average value of R9,69 per item and a mean value of R208,55. But this is only a proportion of losses estimated by the three stores together as being R135 000. Shoplifting appears to be only a drop in the ocean therefore: taking the dark figure at its maximum of 85%, we add R20 094,00 to R3 546,01, to get R23 640,01 as total. This represents 17,51% of the total losses. However, no account has been taken of conscience money received, goods whose possession has been retaken in a totally saleable condition or less damage.

Only when we have all stores operating a control system with full documentation can we get anywhere near an exacting cost of shoplifting to business directly in loss of profits and to the consumer indirectly in increased prices and to the employee in prohibitions on salary increases.

At present we have mere guesswork. Recent press reports of shoplifting costing our society between R80m and R140m is such⁷⁶. True, a business management principle holds that shrinkage between 2% and 3% of the gross annual turnover may mean good management. But to utilize this principle as the yardstick for shoplifting losses in South Africa is arbitrary to say the least.

We are inclined to believe that the recently attributed shoplifting annual amount of R80m to R140m was calculated in this way⁷⁷. We do know that the Institute of Grocery Distribution in the U.K. used this method of taking shrinkage as a percentage of annual turnover in their study⁷⁸. But they calculated it on the lower figure, 0,75%⁷⁹. A different criterion may thus yield a totally different result! Furthermore, surely shrinkage, which the principle elicits, does not equal shoplifting?!

What then is shrinkage? The Institute of Grocery Distribution defines it as:

"The difference between the value at selling price of the stock supplied to the shop, and the cash or stock revealed at stock-taking, allowance being made for price changes"⁸⁰.

They add, and this we say is surely the essence, that their report concerns itself with "unaccountable losses"⁸¹. Shrinkage thus ranges from two main losses, i.e. dishonesty and errors: Dishonesty internally by staff and externally by van salesmen, merchandisers, delivery men and customers. Errors due to inexperience, incompetence and other human factors⁸². Shoplifting by customers is thus only part of this whole. What is their contribution? What is the contribution of staff pilferage? Some of the eleven stores in our survey intimate either that they do not know or make a guess-estimate, e.g. 30% is attributed to customers and 70% to employees. (quite an indictment of their staff!⁸³)

Do store managements really not care to develop accountable systems? Do they really only have their eye on the main chance - increased profits? Do they really see shrinkage as inevitable - provided turnover goes up - overseeing losses? This was the opinion of The Guardian writer. She, Ms. Linda Christmas, had, in fact, already said it for us:

"Why all this guesswork? The accurate figures may well be difficult to arrive at, but surely not impossible. If the stores spent a little less time whipping up turnover, by whatever means, which includes bright lights and sweet music and all the other hidden persuaders, which Mrs. Shirley Williams, Shadow Home Secretary would, for one, like to see controlled, if not by law, then by a code of conduct, and a little more time promoting better management, evolving better systems of stock control, securing and training higher calibre staff, they would still end up with the same profits. Wouldn't they? And the danger would be removed from shopping"⁸⁴.

Store and Legal Sanctions:

If our survey established nothing else we know from the wide variety of opinions expressed by the management of all eleven stores, that at least vacillating policy is applied to shoplifting. What happens to a shoplifter thus depends on the store at which the offence is committed. Facts, especially in this section, were obscured, not intentionally, but rather by neglect. That we had data at all is due to the unwitting role of management in stores where we believe attempts are made in the right direction of the ultimate aim of all stores, namely, sound management.

That some in the end prosecute adds to this vacillating policy which Cameron abroad reports a court social worker as calling "sheer caprice"⁸⁵!

Concerning the store sanctions, we feel that greater use could be made of parental, school and spouse authorities.

Concerning legal sanctions, the writer is appalled that corporal punishment still has a legitimate role to play in criminal justice. In the Western world it has lost out⁸⁶; largely because in terms of our new knowledge we see that it fulfills only one of the four criminal justice aims accepted by our courts, being neither a deterrent, nor preventive, nor reformative, but only retributive. Most disheartening is that the young minor coloured offender rates flogging exclusively as punitive punishment form in five cases; non-punitive sanctions across the board do however hearten one with one fined, and seven receiving suspended sentences - but again two minor young offenders were imprisoned. Finally, we may note that flogging with a cane for juveniles is not consistent with civilized values.

The importance of a full appreciation of shoplifting as a problem, which implies properly researched facts of the South African situation, differing as it does demographically, is perhaps illustrated by the fact that as shoplifting is popularly assumed to be the preserve of women, they were the ones who bore the brunt of the store sanctions and the legal sanctions in general.

VI. CONCLUSION:

Finally, management generally sees the offence not as theft or fraud, which it correctly is by criminal law, but as shoplifting by customers and pilfering by employees. The writer interprets this attitude to confirm that shoplifting is really petty theft - perhaps calling for decriminalization and depenalization by means of the U.K. Law Society's Gazette's⁸⁷ call for such dishonesty to be dealt with by administrative measures. Whether or not this is called for, whether this is tacit recognition of the modern marketing and merchandising techniques of providing a "trolley to temptation"⁸⁸ via the psychology of impulse-buying or not, this much is clear: Stores who fail to recognise shoplifting as a crime problem, stores who deny that shoplifting occurs in their shops, stores who turn a blind eye to shoplifting while profits go up, stores who fail to prevent and rather detect crime, all contribute not only to a deterioration of the situation but add to the general crime problem⁸⁹!

It is high time that management see shoplifting as part of the general crime situation in South Africa and adopt a uniformly consistent stand based on the rock-fast fundamental principle of crime prevention. As a start we include the questionnaire used in the Finnish study as modified for our situation⁹⁰.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS:

Premises:

1. An integrated system of internal security, (as opposed to piecemeal solutions, amounting to random remedies), is management's first line of defence and attack in dealing with shrinkage. "Dealing with shrinkage", the Institute of Grocery Distribution concludes, "effectively offers the opportunity of substantially increasing net profit, in the majority of cases from 20 to 25 per cent and in extreme cases by as much as one third"⁹¹.
2. Reducing the guesswork in shoplifting means narrowing the area of unaccountable losses attributed to that portmanteau, hold-all term "shrinkage"⁹².
3. Prevention of shoplifting and pilfering is always better than mere detection. Effective counter-measures means uniform standards updated upon a regular annual review of properly kept stock records of both the store and legal measures applied to correct the situation.

To these ends the following proposals are put forward as general principles applicable basically to the wide range of stores in the light of the international experience.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STORE MANAGEMENT

A. Store Security Director:

An executive responsible to the store manager through the Managing Director only should handle the portfolio of security control. Security control in turn should dovetail with shrinkage control and with staff control.

The store security director should have the authority, the facilities and the budget to implement security control in a totally integrated way. This calls for a systems approach, covering the three important areas of retail losses: external losses (due to outside thefts resulting from shoplifting, bad cheques, burglary and robbery,

even riots); internal losses (due to breaches of trust by employees); and, mismanagement losses (due to incompetence, errors and inexperience occurring at the back door, in the store and at the checkout)⁹³. Within the overall context of store security, specific measures are made applicable to individual areas which back each other up to ensure that the combined result is an efficient scheme. Store security control should be examined from scratch for this. If the budget allows it professional security consultants, specializing in integrated security, should be assigned to do so. It will probably be worth it in the end.

A chief security officer should supervise the day-to-day task force of store detectives. Evidence to the Institute of Grocery Distribution states:

"The senior security officer needs to know company administrative arrangements and accounting systems. He should be of executive director level, have direct access to senior management and be included in discussions on proposed changes in systems and on the planning of new stores"⁹⁴.

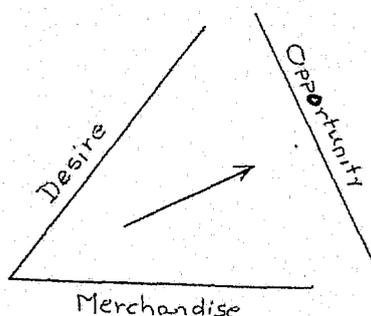
Store detectives, it is emphasized, should be university or college qualified in police science, or ex-police force or trained by the private security firms. Store detectives should be both plain-clothes and uniformed. Uniformed protection pays dividends⁹⁵. After all the emphasis should be on prevention and not detection. Store detectives should be "trained to work with (modern) deterrent and surveillance systems, and not in competition to them" as a leading international security organization puts it⁹⁶. Store detectives should further be trained "to recognise security-risk situations developing, and therefore be able to enlist the help of shop staff at all levels to stop thefts from occurring"⁹⁷.

The Institute of Grocery Distribution emphasizes:

"Security should be treated as a separate (management) function and security personnel given adequate status and be paid accordingly (regardless of any physical work they undertake as a part of their job). To be effective they need to know company administration arrangements and accounting systems (as well as the physical aspect of security)"⁹⁸.

The whole exercise should be one in sound management: Management translates the chances of misfortune accompanying marketing and merchandising undertaken in the hope of profit, into a calculated risk by attempting to foresee the negative possibilities, weighing these against the possibility of success and taking counter-action⁹⁹. Thus a

satisfactory outcome may be assured to a venture. And in the same way the uncertain or precarious situation resulting from risk of crime must be dealt with¹⁰⁰. If the key to good management is the identification of problem areas in commerce (the store) and a concomitant breakdown into manageable proportions, then this must be applied to shrinkage¹⁰¹. Focussing on the aspect of crime in shrinkage, Richard S. Cole¹⁰² utilises the triangle¹⁰³ of:



If we remove the opportunity to commit crime then that risk is removed. But, as he points out, the customer must be able to observe and handle the merchandise¹⁰⁴. Problems in removing the opportunity totally are thus encountered. Thus one must aim at balancing buying opportunities against crime opportunities¹⁰⁵. In practice this means that the opportunity for crime can only really be reduced and modified or, better still, controlled. This is where total store security comes in¹⁰⁶. Thus, as Cole says, your protection programme or security system is harnessed as a service to commercial productivity and not vice versa¹⁰⁷.

Crime loss management thus entails the concomitant steps of crime risk identification and security control undertaken in a total way by means of system analysis¹⁰⁸. The cost-effective formula, namely appropriating funds from the budget allocated for store protection in proportion to the risk identified, may usefully be employed¹⁰⁹. For, as Cole points out, not all things require to be protected equally¹¹⁰. One may employ the "tools" of risk avoidance (by good layout), risk abatement (by technological security aids and security staff), risk spreading (by store distribution), and risk transfer (to external security service, detectives and guards; the insurance carrier being excluded in respect of shoplifting other than by claims under fidelity guarantee policies in respect of pilfering by employees possibly^{111, 112}).

Crime risk management or store security control thus not only prevents losses but establishes customer and employee accountability and thereby shrinkage accountability. Crime risk management is thus good management since risks are likely to be higher in areas demanding reform due to bad management¹¹³.

B. Store Policy for Containing Shoplifting and Pilfering:

Store protection policy should be set out in an in-store manual, detailing the security rules and regulations to be observed by staff members during working time. Cole regards planned responses as imperative since he points out that if unplanned, the store may overreact to the crime and thereby constitute the most expensive response¹¹⁴.

Reasons for store policy are adduced by Cole to be that protection policy (a) guides decision-making, (b) orientates decision-making to the store objectives, (c) promotes consistency by ensuring equity across the border in decision-making, (d) minimises research as to the correct store position, (e) promotes decision-making at the lowest levels, (f) establishes staff performance requirements, (g) defines prohibited practices, and (h) determines when to return to higher authority for a better perspective of store operations as a whole¹¹⁵. Thus store protection policy, whereby store rules are established and enforced, is a sound management tool defining minimum store standards¹¹⁶.

C. Store Instructions for Containing Shoplifting:

The Institute for Grocery Distribution says: "Ideally one should set out separate instructions for controls at the back door; for direct deliveries; for containing staff dishonesty; for the checkouts; for customer pilferage; and for documentation"¹¹⁷.

Check-list points on shrinkage control in this regard, being outside our study, as compiled by the National Retail Merchants Association (NRMA), New York, are, however, contained in an annexure¹¹⁸. (NICRO, however, hopes to distribute the full NRMA Check List to stores). Insofar as the instructions relate to shoplifting and pilfering, these are detailed under appropriate sub-headings.

Shoplifting containment instructions should be posted behind the store counters¹¹⁹.

D. Physical Security:

1. Provide a shopping bag park or cloakroom for the customers' own shopping baskets, perhaps containing goods bought in other stores, in supermarkets and perhaps in stores prior to the shopping area¹²⁰.
2. Post tersely worded notices at self-service check-out points, reminding customers to check that all goods are presented for payment before leaving¹²¹.

3. Warning notices should be posted stating that (a) shoplifting is a crime, (b) detectives are employed to prevent crime, (c) surveillance and detection equipment or anti-theft devices are employed to prevent and detect crime¹²².
4. Notices aimed at prevention could usefully be reinforced by brief announcements over the public address system occasionally¹²³.
5. Expensive, high-loss items should be kept in a locked show-case¹²⁴.
6. Expensive, high-loss items should not be displayed near exits or entrances¹²⁵.
7. Floor displays should not be high enough to conceal shoppers standing upright¹²⁶.
8. Dummy displays or packages should be used on counters¹²⁷.
9. All small, easily concealed items should be displayed where they are easy to watch¹²⁸.
10. All small, easily concealed items should be displayed in small, easily watched quantities (e.g. jewellery, handkerchiefs, cosmetics) on the top of counters¹²⁹.
11. Systematic displays, by pattern or numbers of three, replaced after each sale, readily help to recognize missing items¹³⁰.
12. High-value items not kept in showcases should be chained or locked down¹³¹.
13. Store layout, both of the shop and the goods, must serve as an aid to surveillance. Good layout entails adequate lighting, few cross-aisles, hidden corners and side aisles. Display areas and aisles should be adequately spaced to avoid congestion and obscurity. The store should be so laid out that sales staff see all areas without difficulty¹³².
14. Valuable items should follow the jewellery shop rule of only letting the customer handle a specified number of items at a time. The number should be kept constant by replacing as the customer wishes to see another item¹³³.
15. Vulnerable and valuable areas should always be appraised and the merchandise rearranged or the surveillance methods improved, if possible¹³⁴.
16. Effective modern aids to surveillance and detection: CCTV; convex mirrors; two-way mirrors, especially in blocked or screened areas; chains actuating alarms if broken; electronic anti-shoplifting systems which

emit a microwave detected by a scanner setting off an alarm unless the reusable wafer is removed from the merchandise by the system's electronic detacher at the point of sale - are all useful to back-up the adequately trained store security officer¹³⁵.

17. All merchandise should be wrapped when paid for, indicating purchases made. Merchandise should be properly sealed to exclude a hiding place for stolen items¹³⁶.

18. Displays should be arranged so that items require minimal handling and are easily seen¹³⁷.

19. Small items should be arranged so that removal requires unhooking from a standard, leaving visible empty areas¹³⁸.

20. Merchandise being rung up or entered should be handled and examined by cashiers or sales staff for concealing stolen items¹³⁹.

21. Customers should be kept out of stockrooms. Reserve stock should be kept separate from the sales floor area¹⁴⁰.

22. Doors in and out should be limited. Emergency exits should be security equipped and marked "Emergency Exit - Alarm Will Sound If Opened". A burglar alarm should be added. Doors to non-selling departments should be labelled "Employees Only"¹⁴¹.

23. Merchandise should be recorded by serial number to aid in recovery and possible prosecution¹⁴².

24. Price-tag manipulation (ticket switching) requires two tags (one hidden), or machine marking, or tags destroyed by removal, or ultra-violet ink or crayon marking. Note that mark-ups or -downs should follow the procedure adopted¹⁴³.

25. Fitting rooms should (a) be kept away from exits, and (b) have curtains instead of wooden doors with the bottom cut off so that at least one foot shows off the floor. The fitting room area should itself (where possible) only have one doorway in and out¹⁴⁴.

E. Employees and Security:

1. Store personnel should be screened and carefully selected. Due regard should be given to character, especially integrity, ability, and other background information¹⁴⁵.

2. They should be given orientation in their job discipline, store loyalty and responsibility. Training should be provided in security,

including store policy on shoplifting, breaches of trust and penalties for theft and collusion. They should be trained to be vigilant and alert for shoplifting incidents and take in the detection of shoplifters and what to do next. Regular counselling should be arranged, perhaps by a competent outside professional security agency. Retraining by way of refresher courses should bring staff into line with newly devised store security procedures¹⁴⁶.

3. Store personnel, above all, should be trained in good salesmanship. Customers require store attention - shoplifters want store inattention!¹⁴⁷

4. One member of the sales staff should circulate the sales floor. Otherwise staff should be stationed in strategic locations to observe customers¹⁴⁸.

5. Employees should be encouraged to suggest methods or hints on store security¹⁴⁹.

6. Employees should be given incentives in crime prevention by being rewarded for their contribution to theft and trust breach reductions by means of salary or wage increases or bonus schemes. Losses could be offset by static salaries or wages, or even go further to offsetting losses by reductions¹⁵⁰.

The emphasis on honesty, and above all on participation, should reduce the possible stigma of betrayal that sometimes attaches to someone who "gives away" colleagues on the make¹⁵¹.

7. There should be strict procedures governing the handling and movement of both cash and stock to prevent collusion with customers, for example¹⁵².

8. There should be special procedures for all staff shopping applicable to both executives and staff personnel¹⁵³.

9. Spot checks should be made at the point of delivery, on each and every procedure concerning stock movement, and at the till¹⁵⁴.

10. A good relationship between store personnel and management is imperative for any successful store security system. Management concern for staff should be through good conditions of employment spelling out concessions, staff treatment and assistance. Furthermore, besides involvement in store security procedures to identify themselves with management, staff partnership schemes have been suggested to foster loyalty and create the awareness that shop losses affect their income¹⁵⁵. The suggestions in (5) and (6) above should also be noted in this regard¹⁵⁶.

11. Staff dishonesty is said to be directly proportional to bad management. It is thus imperative for sound management to give attention to staff employment conditions, not only for humanitarian motives, but because staff reputedly have greater criminal opportunities¹⁵⁷.

12. All staff personnel should have one controlled entrance and exit, preferably manned by a uniformed security officer. There should be no discrimination, for store solidarity and loyalty, from executives down¹⁵⁸.

Maintenance men and cleaners, both during and after store trading hours, should also have their admission and departure controlled by this guard¹⁵⁹.

F. Welfare Officer:

1. A professional social worker, employed as a personnel officer to the store, may effectively assist with regard to both customers and employees; if not in a preventative capacity as regards shoplifting and pilfering, then at least to ensure a humane approach on the part of the store. Aside from the professional thief who, correctly put, steals for a living, shoplifting and pilfering may evince a cry for help, representing as it does, a social or psychological need. In-store employees usually require professional assistance, prior to their trust breaches which, if forthcoming, acts as prevention. We do well to recall that Judge Steyn has said: "Treat people well and they respond"¹⁶⁰.

2. It is suggested that, for all detected and apprehended cases of employee and customer dishonesty, the store welfare officer should, upon reporting to the police, ensure that the relevant welfare authorities are informed via NICRO's local agency. The appropriate treatment, be it psychological or social help, may thus be harnessed appropriately as both a recidivist prevention and a remedial measure.

G. Prosecution Policy:

1. To render any form of nation-wide accountability and effective prevention measures all stores must uniformly report detected offenders to the police. Criminal justice in shoplifting cannot, as now, depend on the vacillating policies of a few stores the unlucky customer or employee may choose to enter.

2. In the United Kingdom, where similarly stores vary as regards procedure on detected customer or employee dishonesty, not all offenders

are prosecuted after being reported to the police¹⁶¹. An official caution, entered in police records, is often administered to juveniles and first offenders¹⁶²: This is considered more salutary than a storekeeper's warning which does not deter repetition of the offence or graduation to more serious offences¹⁶³. Compassionate and rational treatment can only really be made known after a look at the social and psychological background of the offender, together with his record, if any. Should shoplifting therefore evince a real social, psychological or physical need - entry into the criminal justice system, which is what reporting to the police means, is presently the point that this need can be established effectively on the offender's part and drawn to the attention of the relevant authorities and those professionally qualified for remedial action. Our criminal justice should follow suit adding the former¹⁶⁴.

3. Mr. Bob Curtis, a leading United States security consultant, is however against a policy of full prosecution¹⁶⁵. Thus he attacks the two main reasons given for it:

(i) Re: The Belief that Prosecution is a Deterrent for Others Committing Customer or Staff Dishonesty:

"This theory, though seemingly rational, has proved unsound in actual practice. In fact, some stores that have broadcast their policy of full prosecution have found that they had unwittingly attracted one large segment of neurotic thieves who steal to be caught, humiliated or punished"¹⁶⁶.

"... even if this policy did not attract a certain class of offender, it still has little to recommend it. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and criminologists have for more than 30 years recognised that fear of punishment does not deter people from crimes. Next to burglary, larceny (theft) is the most widespread crime in the U.S. Shoplifting cases have increased ... even though 'law enforcement agencies nationally charged more than twice as many offenders for larceny as for any other serious crime'. Thus, according to the F.B.I. uniform crime report, the crime prosecuted the most grew the fastest of all"¹⁶⁷.

"To the honest person this paradox makes no sense. Most people are convinced they would not commit certain crimes for fear of being punished. Nevertheless, punishment and the threat of punishment do not deter some people from doing forbidden things. The immediate consequence of possible death does not prevent many people from speeding, for example. Moreover, many individuals who commit crimes gamble on not being caught; and for most crimes, the odds are five to one in their favour. Those people who are caught are usually the luckless, hopeless criminals rather than their more brilliant and far more dangerous counterparts. The unfortunate criminal is often locked away in our outmoded jails where he is neither given adequate psychiatric care nor taught to play a constructive role in the community.

Upon his release he is confirmed in his anti-social behaviour and is likely to set about once more committing those crimes for which he was originally imprisoned. The system is destructive rather than constructive and serves only to perpetuate criminal activities"¹⁶⁸.

(ii) Re: The Belief that Prosecution Deters the Actual Offender from Repeating his Dishonesty:

"... the malfactor who is prosecuted is more apt to become permanently delinquent; his personality disability becomes a lasting affliction, injurious to himself and society. Instead of teaching the criminal how to avoid committing similar offences in the future, the present system confirms his belief in his own hopelessness and worthlessness. The individual who thinks he is bad is likely to live up to his own self-image"¹⁶⁹.

"Stores that undertake a policy of full prosecution may actually be increasing the community shoplifting rate ... Though prosecution is necessary in certain cases, the ultimate solution to today's rising crime is not the prosecution of all offenders. If we don't prosecute what is our alternative? According to Dr. Karl Menninger, the answer must come from therapy and rehabilitation"¹⁷⁰.

4. We have, however, only advocated full reporting to the police. Furthermore, we feel confident that the British scheme could be instituted. As regards the old, the absent-minded and the juveniles¹⁷¹, and others requiring compassionate treatment (established upon report by the police as to previous convictions and NICRO as to social and psychological conditions), mainly the first offenders, they could currently be processed within terms of Section 384 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955¹⁷². Section 384 lays down that upon complaint on oath to the Magistrate, a person who threatens injury to the property of another may be ordered to appear or arrested and brought before him for the enquiry into the complaint. The magistrate has power to bind over the person complained of to keep the peace. The section may also be used for violent conduct, threats of injury to the person, or for language or behaviour likely to provoke assault or a breach of peace. Either may occur in a private or a public place, thus the store environment is fully covered. Recognizances, with or without sureties, may be ordered up to R25,00 for a period up to 6 months upon penalty of 1 month imprisonment. Forfeiture of recognizance occurs upon breach of conditions imposed and operates like a civil judgment.

Binding Over to Keep the Peace is thus a handy section for stores but should only be proceeded with in legally sound cases since costs incidental to the enquiry may be ordered against the complainant store. It remains however a ready and speedy means of criminal justice.

A "black" list for all offenders caught the first time with goods not paid for, as advocated by a parliamentarian in England,¹⁷³ would require legislation. It would however serve the purpose of allowing time for mistakes made with court action to follow the second time round¹⁷⁴.

Staff detected for dishonesty and merely dismissed might either commit further offences against another employer, not knowing of previous dishonesty, or if innocent, be punished without trial by virtue of the clouding suspicion¹⁷⁵. Somewhere surely the criminal justice authorities must be notified so that rehabilitative measures can be applied.

Reform of the criminal justice system is also needed, as Curtis¹⁷⁶ evidences, and commerce should not fail in informing itself and participating.

H. Information Pooling:

Exchange of information between stores, both on security ideas and on customer shoplifting and employee pilferers is a very good idea¹⁷⁷.

An early warning system could usefully be developed and implemented by the commercial organizations¹⁷⁸.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STORE PERSONNEL

A. Ways to prevent Shoplifting:

1. Each customer should be greeted with a, e.g., "Good Day". "Is there anything I can help you locate?"¹⁷⁹

Curtis says this achieves recognition of the individual and most thieves fear recognition. All customers should be spoken to at every opportunity to let them know that their presence has been noted¹⁸⁰.

2. Upon a successful sale the salesman or cashier should look directly at the customer and in a friendly way ask the "key question" to prevent absent-mindedness: "Is there anything else?"¹⁸¹ This question is to elicit the customer reply: "Oh, I'm glad you reminded me. I almost forgot", Curtis says¹⁸².

3. Upon observing shoplifting, the observant employee should ask the "face-saving question": "Would you like that wrapped?"¹⁸³

Curtis says that this enables recovery of merchandise, avoiding apprehension risk and time, deterring the shoplifter, retaining a good customer's future patronage, and preventing theft¹⁸⁴.

General Rules:

We quote from the NRMA check list:

DO'S:

1. Wait on all customers promptly. Shoplifters do not need nor want the attention of sales staff¹⁸⁵.
2. Inculcate a goods sales personnel attitude both as regards colleagues and customers: Be attentive - be helpful - be courteous¹⁸⁶.
3. Watch customers - anticipate their action¹⁸⁷.
4. Avoid turning your back on a customer¹⁸⁸.
5. Be alert - keep your eyes open¹⁸⁹.
6. Be especially alert to and observant of juveniles who enter the store in groups and then separate¹⁹⁰.
7. Prevent children from loitering and handling merchandise¹⁹¹.
8. Practice good storekeeping and be a good merchandise housekeeper¹⁹².
9. Call your Manager if in doubt¹⁹³.

DONT'S:

1. Do not ever leave your section unattended¹⁹⁴.
2. Do not be diverted from your job¹⁹⁵.
3. Do not allow merchandise to lie around the counter if it belongs somewhere else¹⁹⁶.
4. Do not permit children to loiter unattended¹⁹⁷.
5. Do not discuss customers except in confidence¹⁹⁸.
6. Do not lose your head - keep calm¹⁹⁹.
7. Do not accuse a person of being a thief²⁰⁰.
8. Do not accuse, touch, threaten or attempt to detain a shoplifter - call your Manager²⁰¹.

Remember - alert and wide awake salespeople, aware of what is going on around them, are the most effective deterrent possible to shoplifting²⁰².

Remember - prompt and attentive service not only discourages shoplifters, but pleases regular customers and builds business for you and the store²⁰³.

Remember - the store and your job depends on the goodwill of all your customers: Be a helpful and friendly shop attendant²⁰⁴.

B. Identifying the Shoplifter:

Again we quote NRMA:

"Appearance is not generally a give away. A shoplifter can be young, old, rich, poor, male, female, black or white (or coloured), and wearing anything. It is generally the actions that identify the shoplifter"²⁰⁵:

Actions of Shoplifters:

1. Shoplifters use their hands to steal, so if you are suspicious of someone, watch their hands²⁰⁶.
2. Honest customers are not concerned with someone watching them. Shoplifters are constantly looking to see who is watching them so they have a tendency to look quickly from right to left, left to right. So watch the head for quick movements²⁰⁷.
3. In attempting to conceal merchandise on his person, a shoplifter often exhibits quick, jerky movements of arms and body²⁰⁸.
4. The clumsy shoplifter who drops items repeatedly on the floor may not be just clumsy. (It is easy to drop two items, pick them up and keep one while returning the other to the counter)²⁰⁹.
5. A shoplifter may make numerous trips to the same counter or area until the coast is clear to steal²¹⁰.
6. A shoplifter who appears to be a hard-to-fit customer may be walking around with store clothes under her or his own²¹¹.
7. They may use diversionary tactics like fainting, noises, manoeuvres or other activities to distract the shop attendant's attention while they or their associates take the merchandise²¹².
8. Asking to see more articles than a sales person can control²¹³.
9. Sending a shop attendant away for more merchandise (on the pretence that he requires something different)²¹⁴.
10. Two or more people shuffling merchandise at the same display²¹⁵.
11. Carrying unpurchased merchandise around from one location to another. (Shoplifters will also move articles to a point where they are less likely to be noticed when they pick them up to hide them)²¹⁶.
12. Placing bags on the floor next to clothing racks²¹⁷.
13. Large groups of teenagers roaming through the store²¹⁸.
14. Wearing of apparel out of season²¹⁹.

15. Removing merchandise from the counter and then turning his back on the sales person²²⁰.
16. Prolonged lingering around counters without wanting assistance²²¹.
17. Asking for extra bags or boxes²²².
18. Women with large purses²²³.
19. The 'early bird' or last-minute shopper who attempts to take advantage of a laxness in security²²⁴.

We add Richard L. Holcomb's observations from the University of Iowa Bureau of Police Science:²²⁵

"It is impossible to describe all the ways that customers steal. Some of the specific things to look for":²²⁶

1. Anyone with no apparent interest in buying or even inspecting merchandise²²⁷.
2. Anyone who avoids shop attendants²²⁸.
3. People who spend excessive time in the store²²⁹.
4. People who act differently in any way. Know how your regular customers act. Anyone who acts otherwise should be viewed with suspicion²³⁰.
5. People who pay more attention to where you are and what you are doing than to the merchandise²³¹.
6. A woman who is not carrying a purse has a perfect chance to steal one. This same principle applies to other sorts of merchandise, for example, umbrellas if it is raining²³².
7. People who walk clumsily or unnaturally - many people do not walk gracefully, but some may have merchandise suspended or hidden between their legs or dropped down in their pants²³³.
8. People who hold an arm or their body in an uncomfortable position - items may be slipped up a sleeve while similar merchandise is being examined²³⁴.

The New York Police Crime Prevention Squad add these:²³⁵

1. Shoplifter may engage employees in conversation, to help an associate²³⁶.
2. Pay close attention to facial expressions, composure and mannerisms. (This will help detect shoplifters)²³⁷.
3. A shoplifter's movements are directed by the location and number of employees²³⁸.

4. (a) Children are sometimes trained to steal items pointed to by an adult; if caught, the adult will apologize and scold the child²³⁹.
- (b) The adult may hide the merchandise on the child in shopping cart²⁴⁰.

Finally, we should note that a careful appraisal is required since, as Holcomb would put it: "One characteristic may not be enough, but combined with others that arouse suspicion, it may be important"²⁴¹.

C. Types of Shoplifters:

Holcomb distinguishes the two major types as (a) professionals who steal for a living. This, contrary to the criterion adopted by the stores in our study, is the more correct view;²⁴² and (b) amateurs who steal to fulfill a psychological need²⁴³; and a small third group, who he says, are not significant, namely (c) amateurs who steal to fulfill a physical need²⁴⁴. We would add, (d) amateurs who steal to fulfill social needs. And, further, say that the evidence at home and abroad indicates that the only two major groups are amateurs and professionals with a fair distribution of the amateur shoplifters according to their needs ranging from physical to psychological to social. The large impoverished mass of coloureds in the Cape Province and blacks in the Transvaal and Negroes in the United States for example²⁴⁵, who have poor social values, may bear this out.

We mention the following:-

AMATEURS:

NRMA details characteristics generally:

- (a) Acts on sudden temptation.
- (b) Wanting something for nothing.
- (c) Usually is nervous and self-conscious²⁴⁶.

Specifically:

1. Kleptomaniac:

- (a) A person who steals under impulsion²⁴⁷.
- (b) The impulsion, rather than compulsion, results in repetitive theft and the hoarding of useless things, though stolen objects may be returned later on²⁴⁸.
- (c) The only object is the very act of theft and results from mental illness²⁴⁹.

(d) This group as such is thought to be small²⁵⁰.

2. Vagrant or "Rondloper":

- (a) Loafer or "Bum"²⁵¹.
- (b) Steals to exist, taking articles to resell²⁵².
- (c) May be under the influence of alcohol²⁵³.

3. Drug (Narcotic) Addict:

- (a) Dangerous because he needs the money for drugs²⁵⁴.
- (b) No caution, may grab and run²⁵⁵.

At present this group appears to be negligible in the shoplifter population in South Africa.

4. The Old Person:

- (a) May have a depressed, despondent, hopeless outlook²⁵⁶.
- (b) May be becoming senile, in respect of which the pattern varies but basically the memory becomes impaired, especially on recent events, due to brain deterioration²⁵⁷.
- (c) Age, in itself, is an insufficient criterion since some people may become prematurely aged and senile²⁵⁸.

5. The Sociopath:

- (a) Also called psychopath²⁵⁹.
- (b) Is mentally abnormal²⁶⁰.
- (c) Has no conscience²⁶¹.
- (d) Glib, confidence perpetrators²⁶².
- (e) May be dangerous²⁶³.

6. Juvenile:

- (a) May work in gang²⁶⁴.
- (b) May steal to acquire stature or acceptance²⁶⁵.
- (c) May just want attention²⁶⁶.
- (d) Maybe just a dare²⁶⁷.

7. Housewife:

- (a) Usually respectable²⁶⁸.
- (b) May be good customer²⁶⁹.

8. Alcoholic:

- (a) May steal to get something to sell for another shot of liquor²⁷⁰.
- (b) May not be very smooth or cautious²⁷¹.

PROFESSIONALS:

- (a) Very cautious and subtle²⁷².
- (b) Skilled and very observant²⁷³.
- (c) Selects merchandise for ready market²⁷⁴.
- (d) Merchandise may be both expensive and numerous²⁷⁵.
- (e) May work in groups and mixed male/female teams²⁷⁶.

D. The Most Common Methods of Shoplifting:

- 1. Palming - This is the simplest means of lifting small articles like lipsticks, wallets, watch bands, necklaces, perfume and bracelets. Placing a coat or jacket (for example) on the counter over the top of an article, then picking up the coat and the article together²⁷⁷.
- 2. Crowds or Blocking - Easy concealment for the shoplifter. He may use a legitimate crowd or have two or three associates who place themselves between the sales people and the shoplifter²⁷⁸.
- 3. Handling - Inspecting three or four items at a time, constantly reaching between other customers to pick up articles, some are returned, some are lifted²⁷⁹.
- 4. Changing - The shoplifter goes into a fitting room to try on store clothes, puts them on under his clothes and walks out²⁸⁰.
- 5. Switching - Jewellery usually, and done mostly in twos. One keeps the clerk busy and the other one will switch cheap merchandise for expensive merchandise²⁸¹.
- 6. Box Method - A well-packaged, but dummy box with the end, side or bottom cut out so that it can open and close like a trap door. The shoplifter walks up to the counter and puts the merchandise in the box and closes the lid²⁸².
- 7. Concealment - Concealing in clothes, pockets of coats, dresses, trousers, underclothing. Sometimes a top coat is worn with a blouse or shirt, pinned to the lining to form a large pocket completely around the body²⁸³.
- 8. Hit and Run - The shoplifter goes into a store and takes anything that is near the door and just leaves quickly²⁸⁴.
- 9. Wearing - Hats, gloves, scarves, jerseys, sunglasses and pocket-books from the store are worn as if they were the shoplifter's own²⁸⁵.
- 10. Tucking - Goods are tucked inside a jacket which is quickly buttoned up²⁸⁶.

E. Shoplifting Tools:

Store personnel should be on the lookout for these listed by NRMA:

1. Hankie or gloves or coat or jacket for palming²⁸⁷.
2. Elastic waistbands for hidden pockets inside skirts or trousers²⁸⁸.
3. A long belt with eyelets to hold items²⁸⁹.
4. Knitting bags, large purses, large handbags and shopping bags for concealing small items. Also briefcases and folded newspapers. Also satchels. Also boxes, false packages and suitcases. Also umbrellas (loosely folded)²⁹⁰.
5. Clothespins, wire hooks or loops are fastened under arms, skirts, or on garters on the leg²⁹¹.
6. Long slit pockets built into coats²⁹².
7. Loose dresses or coats, wide skirts, oversized bra or bloomers²⁹³.
8. Bulky clothing²⁹⁴.
9. Peach basket under coat faking pregnancy²⁹⁵.
10. Perambulators (prams or baby carriages)²⁹⁶.

F. Instructions to Employees - After Theft:

We quote the rules suggested by the New York City Police Department's Crime Prevention Squad:²⁹⁷

1. Notify manager or guard by pre-arranged hand signal or buzzer²⁹⁸.
2. Keep suspect discreetly in view (if lost sight of, never apprehend. He could have transferred the merchandise - could lead to a law suit for false arrest)²⁹⁹.
3. Employees should not use force to detain suspect. (Could use a conversation as a delaying tactic)³⁰⁰.
4. Employee should note: complete physical description, items taken, direction of travel and associates³⁰¹.
5. If time permits, employee should be interviewed to determine clearly what they observed³⁰².

REMEMBER: Shoplifting is generally made possible or easier by untrained, inexperienced or indifferent sales help³⁰³.

The New York Police Crime Prevention Squad conclude with the following advice to management:

"Shoplifters when apprehended usually will respond to a polite but firm request to proceed to your (Chief Security Officer's) office. Embarrassing scenes should be avoided whenever possible"³⁰⁴.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES:

Finally, we submit that all stores have a community responsibility. In the old-style shops over-the-counter shopping was the order of the day. In the modern-style stores, supermarkets and impending hyper-markets and jumbo-markets³⁰⁵, self-service in some form or other is the order of the day. Great play is made on the psychology of impulse buying and sales methods are adopted that also encourage impulse stealing. Thus a House of Commons member stated that "more supermarkets equals more shoplifting"³⁰⁶. And so Mr. John Hannam, M.P., goes on to say that "it is the system of supermarket shopping that has made normally honest people into dishonest citizens"³⁰⁷.

Self-service retailing and open displays must however be accepted as part of our modern way of life as the store is irreversibly part of our culture. The earlier methods of sales service and closed displays appear to be lost in the growth of a consumer-orientated society.

A sociological assessment of the store is perhaps overdue. Presently one novel, Alexander Fullerton's Store,³⁰⁸ deals with the store and its population. Needless to say, shoplifting's role is not excluded³⁰⁹.

Stores may thus be said to have a duty to society in that their sales methods contribute towards shoplifting. Shops that sit on the sidelines as regards preventive measures are therefore castigated and do well to bear in mind the view of Ms. Linda Christmas on this score³¹⁰.

Stores ought therefore to involve themselves in community programmes that deal with the needs that their marketing policy thrives on. Punitive measures, stern and direct detection, we think, can after all only really ensure safety of a degree against the professional shoplifter. Amateurs are worth saving by the store. Let it not be said of South African stores that "shopkeepers are more concerned with catching people than with prevention"³¹¹.

As a first principle stores ought to aim at scholars and young people who are factors in the shoplifting problem as a first step in the right direction. Anti-shoplifting booklets ought to be distributed to all schools³¹². Civic responsibility should also be included in the school curriculum and storekeepers should set examples through assuming leadership positions that deal with our social problems and contribute to the national welfare³¹³.

Shoplifting was seriously regarded by at least two past British Cabinet Ministers. Thus Mr. Mark Carlisle, then Home Secretary, said that "shoplifting is a serious crime; its ramifications affect all society"³¹⁴. And in dealing with suggestions for counter-measures to the problems encountered in shoplifting Sir John Eden, then Secretary for Trade and Industry, said that "these are matters much more for advice than regulation and ... it is primarily a matter for the shopkeepers concerned"³¹⁵.

For any anti-shoplifting, or crime prevention, campaign to be successful the imperative demands that such a campaign be conducted at the most effective - the community - level. For in the final analysis the social obligation for dealing with the shoplifting problem, and crime in general, rests on the community as a whole. And surely stores are, and desire to be, segments of our communities?!

Finally, security consultant Curtis underscores our remarks best when he says:

"The retailer who wants to protect his merchandise and money, who wants to reduce crime in his community, should reach out and join other merchants in constructive local rehabilitation programs. This is the best and most practical way to fight crime"³¹⁶.

ANNEXURE "A"

Other shrinkage counter-measures dealt with by NRMA are quoted and listed as follows:³¹⁷

Customer Transactions:

1. Are all sales transactions recorded by sales check or register receipt?
2. Do all sales transactions clearly record price, quantity, department and sales check's number?
3. Must all cash refunds be authorised?
4. Are all cash refund payments made at a cashier's window, regardless of where issued?
5. Are all periodic checks made to insure refunds contain rand amount, department and salesperson's number?
6. Are all charge credits issued by salespeople approved by authorised supervisors?
7. Are all copies of credit or refund records sent to marking room with merchandise to be re-ticketed, and new tickets coded as a return?
8. Are all mail and telephone orders written up and properly credited to right departments?
9. Are all customers limited in number of items or garments permitted in fitting rooms?
10. Are all customers receiving cash refunds written to to verify their receipt of the money?
11. Is there a clearly written, taught and understood manual for all these procedures?

Orders and Invoices:

1. Are all merchandise orders written and approved?
2. Are all orders and invoices matched?
3. Are all orders and invoices properly retailed and verified?
4. Are all orders properly filed and recorded by departments?
5. Are all invoices approved before charging to departments?
6. Are all short or over shipments properly recorded, and claims made?

7. Are all cancellations recorded?
8. Are all consigned goods properly handled?
9. Are all returns, repairs, transfers, warehouse and branch store orders and receipts recorded?
10. Are all department heads required to verify purchase records, receiving aprons or invoices?
11. Are all open order files reviewed and odd lots and overdue items cancelled?
12. Is there a clearly taught and understood written manual covering all procedures?

Receiving and Marking:

1. Is all incoming merchandise inspected, counted, matched against orders or invoices?
2. Are all price tickets authorized and then attached in marking room, or by marking room staff only?
3. Is all re-marking done by marking room staff, and based on written authority?
4. Are all shipments direct to warehouse, or branches, correctly recorded and charged to correct department and store?
5. Are all departments required to send records to receiving department for proper entry where shipments are made direct to them?
6. Do all multiple price unit tickets also contain the single price?
7. Is the marking room provided with locks and any entry prohibited unless marking room manager is present?
8. Is there a clearly written manual for all these procedures?

Markdowns and Markups:

1. Are all markdowns authorized by countersigned written requests?
2. Are all price changes made by marking room personnel, rather than departments?
3. Are all prices on merchandise or standardized tickets or labels, in print, ink or specified marking pencils, easy to identify?
4. Are all quantities of marked items verified by departments receiving them from marking room staff before being added to inventory?

5. Are all markdown forms serially numbered, with a record kept of departments to whom issued?
6. Are all wrongly written markdown forms voided rather than destroyed in order to maintain control?
7. Are all markdowns taken at once for all breakage, and known pilferage?
8. Are all markdowns taken where necessary on items used for display, fashion shows, etc., and charged to proper departments?
9. Is there a clearly written, taught and understood manual for all these procedures?

Inventory:

1. Is there a detailed instruction manual to guide all in the detailed methods for taking and recording inventory?
2. Is a definite cut-off time established for recording all incoming merchandise prior to inventory?
3. Are all sales checks and credits accounted for before taking inventory?
4. Is a record made of all last numbered markdowns in markdown books of each department?
5. Is all merchandise listed that is out on approval, on claims, or for repair, engraving, etc.?
6. Is all merchandise listed that is in displays, in workrooms, in advertising department?
7. Are single numbered sheets or tickets provided, and recorded, for inventorying in every department?
8. Are all such records left in departments, in cases, shelves, etc., until inventory is complete?
9. Are capable supervisors appointed for all test checking of each department's inventory at specified completion times?
10. Where pre-counting is permitted are proper records made of all withdrawals due to sales, etc., prior to official inventory closing?
11. Is provision made for right measuring of yard goods, counting of boxed goods, etc., to insure accuracy?

12. Are inventory records to be totalled and results computed by an outside staff for greater speed and accuracy?
13. Is provision made for recording inventory by (a) classification and price levels, (b) by age of stock, for future identification and follow-up?
14. Are inventories, before and after selling, required on all merchandise that is sold at off-price for limited periods, so proper markdowns will be taken?
15. Is there a clearly written, taught and understood manual for all these procedures?

Employee Transactions:

1. Are all employees' packages checked in and out?
2. Are all sales to employees made by someone other than to themselves?

Employee Control:

1. Do all employees have adequate locker rooms with lockers inspected at intervals?
2. Are outside shoppers used to check all high shortage departments?
3. Are all cash register users each provided with own money bag, and contents regularly checked?
4. Are all cash register readings made daily, and kept separate from employees turning in cash?
5. Are all cashiers' overs and shorts watched to discover any constant discrepancies?
6. Is there a proper routine for the control in issuing all sales-books, refund books and the turning in of used books?
7. Are regular test checks made to discover unmarked merchandise in various departments?
8. Is all unticketed and unmarked merchandise required to be re-ticketed to insure selling at the proper prices?
9. Is all merchandise to be displayed on top of counters, or on tables, counted each morning and evening to check on possible pilferage?
10. Is there a clearly written, taught and understood manual for all these policies and procedures?

Miscellaneous:

1. Are night watchmen and cleaning staff required to check in and out of the store?
2. Are all cases with valuable merchandise such as furs, jewellery, etc., provided with locks, and inspected at intervals after store-closing to make certain locks are used?
3. Is Will Call or Layaway handled in separate area, and all files and packages regularly checked for accuracy and possible return to stock?
4. Are frequent checks made of all waste paper disposal areas to make certain containers are empty?
5. Is there a clearly written, taught and understood manual for all these policies and procedures?

N I C R O
(National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation
of Offenders).

QUESTIONNAIRE

Research on (department) store shoplifting. Store _____

PART I:

EVERY PERSON APPREHENDED FOR (DEPARTMENT) STORE SHOPLIFTING IS ASKED
THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. Complete name: _____

last name	first name
-----------	------------
2. Alias

Yes	
No	
3. Home Address: _____
4. Customer border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Employee:
- Full-time border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Part-time border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
5. Year of Birth: _____
6. Sex:
- Male border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Female border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
7. Ethnic Group:
- Asian border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Black border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Coloured border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- White border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
8. Citizenship: _____
9. Marital Status:
- Single border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Married border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Widowed border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- Separated border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">
- or
- Divorced border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px;">

10. Lives in

If outside city,

City
Outside City
Country town
Abroad

Suburb
Township
Farm
Homelands

11. Occupation:

Schoolchildren.
Persons with university degree, company managers,
Senior civil servants, senior company officials.
Junior civil servants, junior company officials.
Skilled labourers, store clerks.
Unskilled labourers
Independent farmers.
Pupils and apprentices.
Students.
Housewives.
Other, say (e.g. unemployed) _____
Not known

12. Spouse's Occupation: _____

13. Employer (if working)

(QUESTIONS 14 - 22 ARE ASKED ONLY IF THE SUSPECT IS A CHILD, A SCHOOLCHILD OR A UNIVERSITY STUDENT)

14. Which school/college/university does the suspect attend?

Name: _____

Class/Course/Degree: _____

Year: _____

15. Name of father or guardian: _____

16. Occupation of father or guardian: _____

17. How common is shoplifting in your class? Do you think it is done by

- almost everybody
- quite many
- only few
- nobody

18. How much money do you get weekly to spend on your own?

R _____ c.

19. How much money do you have on your person?

R-----

Nothing
Does not tell

20. Do you confess the theft?

Does confess
Denies

21. How do you explain this? (How and when got the impulse to commit the theft. Short explanation given by suspect) _____

22. We want to find out what kinds of ideas people have of penalties. What kind of penalty do you think will be the consequence of an offence like this one for a person your age? _____

PART II:

THE STORE REPRESENTATIVE ADDITIONALLY ANSWERS THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

23. Date of apprehension:/.....

Day of the Week:

Time of Day: (hour of arrest)

24. Physical Description of Person Apprehended; detail: _____

25. Family Situation; detail: _____

26. Place (Department) where offence took place: _____

27. List the stolen merchandise by item:

Item:

Book
Cash
Cigarettes

Clothing:

Men's
Women's
Juvenile - boy
 - girl
Baby

Underwear
Overwear
General

Cosmetics
Crockery
Electrical

Food:

Staple
Luxury

Furniture
Glassware
Hardware
Hobby Equip-
ment
Tools of
Trade
Jewellery
Ornaments
Stationery
Sunglasses
Sweets
Toys

Several kinds of merchandise

Other: detail _____

28. Retail Price Tag Value (if several items, then total value):

Size: The goods fit in

closed fist
pocket
handbag
bag or briefcase
neither

(Mark the smallest alternative)

29. Did the offender have any stolen merchandise from other stores in his possession?

No Yes Undamaged Damaged

If damaged, Loss: R ___ c.

From Store - name: _____

Item- (indicate as for (27) above): _____

Retail Price Tag Value (if several items, then total value):

30. Was the stolen merchandise retrieved?

No Yes Undamaged Damaged

If damaged, loss: R. _____ c.

Not retrieved and
not compensated for

Customer paid or promised
compensation

Conscience money received

How: _____

31. Where did the thief hide the goods?

did not try to hide

- hand
- pocket
- handbag
- bag or briefcase
- sleeve
- newspaper
- underwear
- hat
- other, where _____

32. Accessories:

Was the offender alone or in company?

Alone
in the company of one
peer

Age _____ Sex _____

in the company of
several peers

Age _____ Sex _____

In other company

Parent Acquaintance

33. If the offender was accompanied, was there co-operation with members of the group?

Yes
No

34. How many other customers were in the vicinity at the time of the theft?

- none
- only a few
- many
- crowd

35. Who noticed the theft?

- store clerk
- cashier
- another customer
- hired detective
- doorman
- Other - who? _____

36. Was the thief suspected already before the theft?

- Yes
- No

By whom suspected? _____

Surveyed by security device, detail _____

37. Has the offender been caught previously in the store?

- Yes
- No
- No record of offender kept
- Record kept
- Photograph kept

38. Disposition of the Case: What measures were taken by the Store?

- | | |
|---|--|
| No measures <input type="checkbox"/> | warned <input type="checkbox"/> |
| police report <input type="checkbox"/> | barred store <input type="checkbox"/> |
| parents informed <input type="checkbox"/> | account closed <input type="checkbox"/> |
| somebody else <input type="checkbox"/> | dismissal (if employee) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| informed - who _____ | |
| other measures _____ | |

39. What measures were taken by the Police?

- (a) failure to prosecute
- (b) caution

40(a) What are the details on the court case?

Court: _____

Court Case No. _____ /19

Finger Print No. _____

Social/Medical Background Report:

(b) How was the case disposed of by the court?

- (i) Discharge in default of prosecution
- (ii) Acquittal
- (iii) Binding over to keep the peace

(c) Sentence:

Non-Punitive:

- (i) Fine: R_____c. and/or _____
- (ii) Postponed sentence, details _____

- (iii) Suspended sentence, details _____

- (iv) Putting accused under recognizances, conditions:

- (v) Caution or reprimand
- (vi) Probation agency _____
- (vii) Binding over to keep the peace

Punitive:

- (i) Imprisonment, period _____ and/or _____
- (ii) Whipping, strokes (number) _____ and/or _____

41. Offender Typology - the offender is a:

- Professional (planner and/or group operator)
- Amateur

Name of Interviewer: _____

FOOTNOTES

1. See e.g. Barnes, H.E. & Teeters, N.K.: New Horizons in Criminology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959) 3rd ed., at 285 et seq.; and see Ginsberg, M.: On Justice in Society (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1965) Ch. X p. 163 - at 191.
- 1(a). See S. v. Sparks and Another 1972(3) SA 396 (AD), at 410 G-H; and S. v. V. 1972 (3) SA 611 (AD), at 614 D-E; both per the Hon. Mr. Appeal Justice Holmes.
2. See e.g. Mr. Robert Adley, M.P., in U.K. House of Commons (1972) Hansard cols. 1467, 1468; Gibbens, T.C.N. & Prince, J.: Shoplifting, (London: Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, 1962), at 13. But cf. Christmas, L.: "Trolley to Temptation", Guardian Extra, at 12; and an historical recount by Cameron, M.O.: The Booster and the Snitch, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), at 50-6.
3. See "Philadelphia's Way of Stopping the Shoplifter", (1972) Business Week 2227, 57-9.
4. The Booster and the Snitch (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), at 36-7.
5. See Gerth, H.H. & Mills, C.W. (trans./eds.): From Max Weber - Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), at 181-3.
6. See Spencer, M.J.: Shoplifting - A Bibliography (Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre of Criminology, 1971).
7. See e.g. (1969-70) Statistics of Offences and of Penal Institutions, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1972) (Report No. 08-01-06), Subclass D4, Code 235, at 11.
8. At p.22, infra.
9. See The Argus July 8, 1972 (late ed.); Sunday Times August 27, 1972 (business). Also (1972) 7 Business South Africa 5, at 68.
10. Headline to Griffin, R.K.: "Shoplifting - A Statistical Report", (1964) Security World 2 Special Anthology 3, at 12.
11. Report on Lodge Service (Pty) Ltd., The Argus July 8, 1972 (late ed.).
12. The Crime of Punishment (New York: The Viking Press, 1969) at 3.
- 12(a) See fn. No. 9, supra, and fns. 76-7, infra.
13. "Crime and Colour in South Africa", (1971) 5 New Nation 1, at 11.

14. Aromaa, K., Törnudd, P., and Wartiovaara, K.: Department Store Shoplifters (Helsinki: Institute of Criminology, 1970), at 3.
15. Robin, G.D.: "Patterns of Department Store Shoplifting", (1963) 9 Crime and Delinquency, 163-172, at 166-7.
16. Bennett, H.M.: "Shoplifting in Midtown", (1968) Criminal Law Review, 413-425, at 417. (An English Midlands industrial town).
17. Cameron, op.cit. 88.
18. Aromaa et al, loc. cit.
- 19-
21. Ibid.
22. Robin, op.cit. 166.
23. The ethnic group breakdown is later related to (a) the general South African population composition, and (b) the mother city (Cape Town) population distribution by way of the section on discussion. For this comparison, see infra, p.20.
24. Aromaa et al, op.cit. 5 et seq.
25. Gibbens, T.C.N. & Prince, J.: Shoplifting, (London: I.S.T.D., 1962), at 31.
26. Robin, for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., op.cit. 170; and Aromaa et al, for Helsinki, Finland, op.cit. 18.
27. Bennett, for Midtown, U.K. op.cit. 419.
28. Robin, op.cit. 169.
29. At p.11.
30. See p.11, supra.
31. See supra, p.2, and p. 10-12.
- 31(a). Die Burger, March 20, 1974, at 1.
32. Cf. remarks regarding the adjudication of guilt, infra, at p.16.
33. Cf. remarks on police or criminal prosecution, supra, at p.14.
34. See e.g. Barnes et al, op.cit. 328 et seq.
35. See e.g. Barnes et al, op.cit. 290; but more especially The Holy Scriptures, (New Testament), Matthew 27: 26.
36. On practicable alternatives to imprisonment, the custodial sentence, see generally Mueller, G.O.W., "Imprisonment and Its Alternatives", in A Program for Prison Reform - The Final Report of the Annual Chief Justice Earl Warren Conference on Advocacy, (Cambridge, Mass.: Roscoe Pound-American Trial Lawyers Foundation, 1972), 33, at 45-6; and Steyn, J.H.: "Crime and its Control", in (1971) Acta Juridica 167, at 177-9.

37. See e.g. Aromaa et al, op.cit. 33; Bennett, op.cit. 422; and (1972) 69 Law Society's Gazette, 812-3.
38. Criminal Procedure Act 1955, Section 346(1).
39. Loc.cit.
40. See e.g. Aromaa et al, op.cit. 20.
41. Op.cit. 34 et seq.
42. Op.cit. 68 et seq. See also e.g. Cox, A.E.: "Shoplifting", (1968) Criminal Law Review 425, at 426.
43. See e.g. Clinard, M.B.: Sociology of Deviant Behavior, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 3rd ed.
44. "Socio-Economic Status of the Coloured Community and Implications for Education", (Cape Town: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970) (R.R. 136/1970).
45. "An Attempt to Isolate Conditions of Anomie", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1971. See also fn. 5, supra.
46. The metropolitan area comprises the centres of Bellville, Cape (e.g. Pinelands), Simonstown, and Wynberg. Population Census 6 May, 1970 - Population of Cities, Towns and Rural Areas, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1971) (Report No. 02-05-01), at 4, 10, 16 and 20.
47. Op.cit. 2.
48. Op.cit. 2.
49. (1969-70) Statistics of Offences and of Penal Institutions, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1972) (Report No. 08-01-06), at Gxi.
50. Ibid.
51. See the official reports of the Department of Statistics for the past decade-and-a-half, viz. Statistics of Offences and of Penal Institutions, (Pretoria: Government Printer) (until 1958 at least). Furthermore see also the comparison by Professor S.P. Cilliers of the coloured crime rate in the Cape Town Municipality-administered townships with their national figures: Though for a period of one month in 1972, he could analyse twelve specific offences and found a generally higher crime incidence in the townships than the national coloured crime incidence. It seems a great pity and a crying shame that Professor Cilliers' call to undertake research in-depth, utilising international experience, has not been heeded by the relevant authorities. Record of Address on "Skolly" Menace to the Cape Town City Council Housing and Bantu Affairs Committee, November 8, 1972.

52. "Commission of Enquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group", appointed by the State President on March 23, 1973 (Government Gazette No. 442, dated March 3, 1973).
53. Gibbens et al, op.cit. 78 and 158.
54. Gibbens et al, ibid. at 78.
55. Gibbens et al, 73-4, 134-5, and 158 and 162.
56. See generally Gibbens et al op.cit.
57. Gibbens et al, op.cit. 158.
58. See Cilliers, S.P.: The Coloureds in South Africa, (Cape Town: Banier, 1963), at 47; Horrell, M.: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1969. (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970), at 83; Horrell, M. & Horner, D.: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973 (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1974), at 201.
59. At p.7, supra. See also reference fn. No. 84, at s 4.
60. Gibbens et al, op.cit. 31; Holcomb, R.L.: "Cutting the Loss to Shoplifting" (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Bureau of Police Science, 1972) at 13. Cameron, op.cit. 39, calls professional (commercial shoplifters) "boosters" in contrast to pilferers who are called "snitches".
61. At p.2-3, supra.
62. See e.g. Christmas, L., op.cit.12; and the then U.K. Home Secretary, Mr. Mark Carlisle, House of Commons (1972) Hansard col. 1473.
63. See official S.A. reports fn. Nos. 49 and 51. Cf. especially code 200.
64. Crime in the United States. Uniform Crime Reports - 1970 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971) at 21, 64 et. seq., 100 et seq., 119 et seq.
65. Op.cit. 24.
66. Op.cit. 25.
67. Supra p.2-3.
68. Christmas op.cit.; and see especially p.24 of the study, infra.
69. Rose, G.N.G.: "Crime Statistics - Uses and Abuses", Crime - Myths and Reality, (London: Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, 1969), 11 at 16.

70. Rose, loc.cit.
71. Rose, op.cit., 16-17.
72. Rose, op.cit.17.
73. (1971) Nicro News 2, at 1.
74. Rose, ibid.
75. See Rose, op.cit.
- 75(a) At p.19-21, supra. (Fn. Nos. 41 and 42 et. seq.). See also Gibbens et al, (op.cit. 83).
76. (i) Die Burger March 15, and 18, 1974; and (ii) Cape Times April 24, 1974. Cf. also Gibbens et al, op.cit. 148.
77. See fn. No. 76. Cf. also Gibbens et al, op.cit. 148.
78. Report of the Shrinkage Working Party, (Letchmore Heath, Watford: Institute of Grocery Distribution Limited, circa 1971-2), at 5, s 2.1.2.
79. Op.cit. s 2.1.4.
80. Op.cit. s 1.8. Cameron states it more generally: "Inventory shrinkage is ... the index regularly used by merchants as a general measure for many forms of loss", op.cit. 11. Cf. s 2.1.3, op.cit.; Wright, K.: Shopkeepers' Security Manual, (London: Tom Stacey Ltd., 1971), at 12.
81. Op.cit. s 1.11. See too Holcomb's e.gs. op.cit. 1-2; and Christmas op.cit.
82. Evidence to the working party, op.cit. 15-17, ss 3.3.7-11. See also Wright, op.cit. 10, 31-2; Gibbens et al, op.cit. 11-13, 152.
83. Cf. the experience of Lodge Service (Pty) Ltd. as cited, supra, to fn. 11; and Cameron op.cit. 11-15; and the Institute of Grocery Distribution, op.cit.17, s 3.3.11.
84. Loc.cit. And see U.K. National Conference of Crime Prevention Panels Report, Syndicate B - Shoplifting and Thefts by Shop Staff, (London: Home Office, 1972), at 1, s 2.
85. Op.cit. 33.
86. Certainly as a general sanction, e.g. England, initiated in 1948. See generally Paton, G.W. & Derham, D.P. (eds.): A Text-book of Jurisprudence, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), at 373; and Kirkpatrick, A.M.: "Corporal Punishment", (1970) 34 Federal Probation 1, 41. But cf. The Argus, December 21, 1972.
87. (1971) September.

88. The title of Ms. Linda Christmas' article, see fn. Nos. 2 and 84, supra. See too remarks of Messrs. Peijster (Netherlands), Reifen (Israel), but cf. Doleisch (Austria), 4th International Criminological Congress Proceedings, The Hague, September 5-11, 1960, (The Hague: Prison Printing Shop), at 218, 230 and 217.
89. See the (1967) Grocer's Gazette of March 11 in the U.K. as quoted by Bennett, op.cit. 413: "The store that does not do its utmost to control ... wastage is not only failing its shareholders, it is failing in its social duty as a corporate citizen".
90. Aromaa et al, op.cit. 43-6. At p.51-7, infra, Annexure "B".
91. Op.cit. 5, s 2.1.7.
92. See fns. 80-2, supra. Other terms range from losses-shortage-wastage-leakage.
93. Curtis, B.: Security Control: External Theft, (New York: Chain Store Publishing Corp., 1971), 1. His three-volume series, this being the first, is an excellent desk reference work for all engaged in security by systems approach. Also Wright, K., op.cit. 10 . See fn. 80.
94. Op.cit. 22, s 3.5.14.
95. A proposal of Mr. Robert Adley, M.P., House of Commons (1972), U.K. Hansard col. 1472; echoed by U.K. Group 4 Store Detectives Limited: "Uniformed staff help to create a deterrent and that is what security is all about", (quoted by Christmas, op. cit.). C&A Nederland have introduced two-men patrols in their main branches situated in the three biggest cities of Holland (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague). Following U.S. practice, these uniformed store police help prevent increasing open violence and shoplifting. They are integrated in the security system and are evidently well-received by clientele. Communication to NICRO dated April 24, 1973; but see NRC Handelsblad (Weekeditie Buitenland), December 18, 1972. See also the then Home Secretary Carlisle, U.K. House of Commons (1972) Hansard, col. 1475. Cf. Curtis op.cit. 5. And as to the services of public security companies see Adley again, col. 1470; Christmas op.cit.; and Helms, P.A.: "The Rand Report on American Security" (1972) 4 Security and Protection 8, at 11, 15.
96. See Photo-Scan Ltd. (U.K.): "Integrated In-Store Security - A guide to cost-effective interior security for the retail trade" booklet, undated.

97. Ibid.
98. Op.cit. 2, s 7, 25, s 4.6.3.
99. Risk Analysis: Dynamic risks vs. Pure risks, Cole, R.B.:
"Retail Security - A Modern Concept", Fidelity Guards (Pty) Ltd.
Seminar, Heerengracht Hotel, Cape Town, March 11, 1974.
- 100-
102. Ibid.
103. Based on the conventional fire-triangle.
104. Ibid. See also Gibbens et al, op.cit. 13; Gibbens, 4th International
Criminological Congress, op.cit. 235; Second National Conference of
Crime Prevention Panels Report, Imperial College of Science and
Technology, July 6-7, 1972, (London: Home Office, 1972), at 7, s (h);
Adley and especially then Home Secretary Carlisle, M.P.'s, British
House of Commons (1972) Hansard, cols. 1467-8, and col. 1473
respectively.
- 105-
110. Cole, ibid. See also Bystander: "Shoplifters Anonymous",
(1972) 69 Law Society's Gazette, 812-3.
111. See e.g. Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 1, s 3.
112. Cole, ibid.
113. Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 8, s (c);
(1973) 2 To the Point 2, 45.
- 114-
116. Ibid.
117. Op.cit. 23, s 4.1.
118. National Retail Merchants Association (NRMA): "Loss Prevention
Check List", (New York: NRMA, 1972), 8 pages, see at p.46-50, infra,
Annexure "A".
119. New York City Police Department Crime Prevention Squad, "Shoplifting"
Memorandum.
120. Mr. John Hannam, M.P., British House of Commons (1971) Hansard
col. 15, oral question 13; Adley, House of Commons (1972) Hansard
col. 1471; Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 2 s 7(f);
but, cf. second conference, op.cit. 7, s (g). Bystander:
"Shoplifters Anonymous", (1972) 69 Law Society's Gazette, 812-3.

121. Hannam; Adley; Ibid. Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 7, s 7(d); and, second conference, op.cit. 8, s (i). Then U.K. Home Secretary Carlisle, M.P. (1972) British House of Commons Hansard cols. 1475-6. Cf. Christmas; Curtis; Ibid. (also at fn. No. 135).
- 122-
123. See e.g. Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, ibid.
124. NRMA, op.cit.; Holcomb, op.cit. 16, s 3; New York City Police, op.cit.
125. NRMA, op.cit. 1.
126. New York City Police, op.cit.
127. NRMA, op.cit. 1.
128. Holcomb, op.cit. 15, s 1.
129. NRMA, op.cit. 8.
- 130.-
131. Holcomb, op.cit. 18, s 9, and s 8.
132. Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 2, s 7(b); Curtis, op.cit. 52; New York City Police, op.cit.; Holcomb, op.cit. 15, s 2. Bystander: "Shoplifters Anonymous", (1972) 69, Law Society's Gazette, 812-3.
133. Holcomb, op.cit. 16, s 3.
134. New York City Police, op.cit.
135. The Bristol Experiment of the Bristol Constabulary's 'A' Division Crime Prevention Panel during September 1 to November 30, 1971, evidences this. For details see their Anti-Shoplifting Symposium Minutes, Bristol Entertainment Centre, January 11, 1972; and (1972) 4 Security & Protection 2, at 3, 10, 14 et seq. See also generally Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 2, s 7(a); and, the second conference, op.cit. 8, ss (i) and (j); New York City Police; Cole; NRMA; and Photo-Scan; op.cit. But cf. Curtis, op.cit. 49. Curtis advises: "Just as the retailer must alter his merchandise displays to increase sales, so he must shift his shoplifting counter-measures; otherwise they become stale and ineffective" (49).
136. New York City Police, op.cit.; Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 10, s (g); Curtis, op.cit. 56 et. seq.
137. New York City Police, op.cit.
138. NRMA, op.cit.

139. New York City Police, op.cit.
140. Holcomb, op.cit. 16, s 4; Curtis, ibid.
141. Holcomb, op.cit. 17, s 5; Curtis, op.cit. 56; New York City Police, op.cit.
142. Holcomb, op.cit. 17, s 6.
143. Holcomb, op.cit. 17-18, s 7; NRMA, op.cit.
144. NRMA, op.cit.
145. New York City Police, op.cit.; Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 3, s 9(h).
146. New York City Police, op.cit.; Holcomb, op.cit. 19; NRMA; and Photo-Scan; op.cit.
147. Holcomb, op.cit. 18-19; NRMA, op.cit.; Curtis, ibid. See also the New York City Police, op.cit., admonition to store personnel, infra, at p.43 (fn. 303); also p.37, infra, (fns. 202-4).
148. Curtis, ibid.; NRMA, op.cit.
149. New York City Police, op.cit.
150. Elmes, F.: "The Vital Role of People in Reducing Crime - Community Involvement in Prevention as an Incentive to Greater Honesty", in (1972) 14 Security Gazette 10, 389, 392. Cf. Curtis, op.cit. 59-61.
151. Elmes, ibid. See also Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 8, s (a).
152. Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 3, s 9(c).
153. Ibid. s 9(f).
154. Ibid. 2, s 9(b); and second conference, op.cit. 8, s (b).
155. Ibid. 3, s (h); and ibid. 8, s (d).
156. See further Sub-Section F, infra, at p.33. See generally Taylor, L.K.: Not for Bread Alone, (London: Business Books, 1972).
157. See supra, fn. No. 113; and Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 9, s (f). See e.g. fn. No. 11. Cf. our comments at p.8 and p.19 supra.
158. See e.g. NRMA, op.cit.
159. New York City Police, op.cit.; NRMA, op.cit.
160. Tel Aviv, Israel. South African Jewish Times, October 5, 1973, at 4. See also Lynda King Taylor in (1973) 2 To the Point 10, at 34c. See also especially fn. No. 156, supra; and fn. No. 164, infra, and see the instant study p.8, supra.

- 161-
163. Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 3, s 12; also the second conference, op.cit. 7, s (b).
164. See fn. No. 160, supra.
The British psychiatrist, W.L. Neustatter of Harley Street, may be quoted in support of the second leg of our view:
"When one goes to court one advocates treatment, but I am also a strong advocate of taking the offenders to court. Let the court put them on probation, urge the court to recommend treatment, but do not overlook the court. It is quite possible that what is pathological shoplifting on the first occasion, may become mercenary shoplifting when it is found that you can get away with it". (4th International Criminological Congress, op.cit. 219).
Mrs. Shirley Williams, M.P. (Labour) (U.K. House of Commons), says too that shoplifting may, due to new merchandising methods and individual problems, be a cry for security or help. She therefore advocates that courts call for social reports on family and individual situations. (Communication to NICRO, March 1, 1973). And, Professor T.C.N. Gibbens also advocates that the courts put shoplifting offenders on probation. (4th International Criminological Congress, op.cit. 230, and see too Gibbens et al, op.cit.). We fully support both the call for pre-sentencing social-medical reports and the call for a fully-fledged probation system for shoplifters.
The court should be made to cope not only insofar as the new treatment and influx of offenders is concerned but also, as one of our respondents requested, with after-hour sittings to save on store time.
165. See, supra, fn. No. 93. Op.cit. 107 et seq.
- 166-
168. Op.cit. 109.
- 169-
170. Op.cit. 110.
171. See the campaign in this regard by Messrs. Kenneth Lewis, Robert Adley, John Hannam, and Greyville Janner, M.P.'s, on both sides of the British House of Commons, 1967, 1971, 1972. Christmas, op.cit., besides Hensard, may be referred to. The previous British Government, under the then Home Secretary, Mr. Mark Carlisle, M.P., in fact, set up a Working Party on Internal Shop Security meeting for the first time in March, 1971.
172. Act No. 56 of 1955.
173. Mr. Kenneth Lewis, D.L., M.P. (Conservative). Communication to NICRO, dated February 27, 1973.

174. Ibid.
175. Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 3, s 13; and the second conference, op.cit. 8, s (e).
Basically the campaign was to protect those who were absent-minded or socially-psychologically needful, but otherwise honest, from wrongful prosecution with its associated worry and stigma. Commendable action no doubt.
176. Op.cit., and see fn. Nos. 168-170; and at p.34-6, supra.
177. NRMA, op.cit.
178. Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 8, s (1).
See also National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD): Citizen Action to Control Crime and Delinquency, (New York: NCCD, 1969), 22-3.
The cooperation of the Industrial and Commercial Security Association of South Africa (ICSASA) may surely also be called upon.
179. Curtis, op.cit. 53.
- 180-182. Ibid.
- 183-184. Op.cit. 53-4.
- 185-193. NRMA, op.cit.
196. Holcomb, op.cit. 22, s 7.
198. Curtis, op.cit. 61.
- 194-203. NRMA, op.cit.
204. "Stop", New York - Queens County, Crime Prevention Association Inc. brochure.
205. Op.cit.
- 206-224. NRMA, op.cit.
209. Holcomb, op.cit. 25.
216. Ibid.
- 225-234. Op.cit. 19-21, 24-5.
- 235-241. Op. cit.

242. Op.cit. 3. See also Curtis, op.cit. 23-6, and cf. especially 112 and (1973) 2 To the Point 2, 45.
243. Ibid.
244. Ibid.
245. See SAIRR: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, op.cit., for the past years; ss's on cost of living, wages and poverty, etc.; Harrington, M.: The Other America (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1962); and on poverty, generally, Seligman, B.B. (ed.): Poverty as a Public Issue (New York: The Free Press, 1968); Myrdal, G.: Asian Drama - An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968), III Vols.
246. NRMA, op.cit.
- 247-250. Gibbens, 4th International Criminological Congress, op.cit. 215, 235.
248. See also Peijster, ibid. 217.
- 251-253. See Holcomb, op.cit. 7-8; NRMA op.cit.
- 254-255. NRMA, op.cit.; Holcomb, op.cit. 8. See also NRMA: "The Drug Scene - a Growing Menace for Retailers - Check List", 4 pages undated; and Curtis, op.cit. 27-8.
- 256-258. Holcomb, op.cit. 11-12.
258. Also, the South African National Council for the Aged (W.O. 2060), P.O. Box 2335, Cape Town, 8000.
- 259-263. Holcomb op.cit. 12-13. Reference may also be made to our specialized in-the-field agency, viz. the South African National Council for Mental Health (W.O. 72), P.O. Box 2587, Johannesburg, 2000; also on (1) supra, fns.247-250.
- 264-267. NRMA, op.cit.; Holcomb, op.cit. 4-6. See also Curtis, op.cit. 30 et. seq.
- 268-269. Holcomb, op.cit. 6-7.
- 270-271. Holcomb, op.cit. 7. Reference may also be made to the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (W.O. 1995), P.O. Box 10134, Johannesburg, 2000; also on (3) supra fn. Nos. 254-5.
- 272-276. NRMA op.cit.; Holcomb, op.cit. 13-14. See also Curtis, op.cit. 24, et seq.
- 277-286. NRMA op.cit.; See also Curtis, op.cit. 16-22.

- 287-
296. NRMA, op.cit.
- 297-
303. New York City Police, op.cit.
304. Ibid.
305. The Argus, January 25, 1973, and April 1, 1974, at 18.
306. (1972) Hansard cols. 1467, 1472. United Kingdom.
307. Ibid., col. 1468. Cf. Christmas, op.cit., as to the link; and see fn. Nos. 2,88 supra.
308. London: Cassell, 1971.
309. Op.cit. 27-32, 44-5, 49, 95, 107-110, 172-6, 199-201, 206-213.
310. Supra, at p. 24.
311. Mr. Robert Adley, M.P., interpreting the view of the U.K. National Association of Multiple Grocers, viz "in vain is the snare set in sight of the birds", (1971) Hansard, col. 16. Curtis op. cit. 120; generally also National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD): Citizen Action to Control Crime and Delinquency (New York: NCCD, 1969); and, Hopkins, W.: "The U.S. Chamber of Commerce - Its Concern about Crime", (1971) 35 Federal Probation 4, 33-5.
312. Excellent examples are provided in the United States of America by the Citizens Who Care Council, Dallas, Texas; NRMA; and Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce (Erie County) Western New York; etc.
313. Second Conference of Crime Prevention Panels, op.cit. 9, s (h). See also fn. No. 316, infra. See also Becker, W.: "Kaufhaus- und Ladendiebstähle - Ein Problem der Kinder- und Jugendkriminalität", (1972) 26 Kriminalistik 4, 195-8.
314. (1972) Hansard, col. 1476.
315. (1971) Hansard, col. 16 (oral answers No. 13).
316. Op.cit. 110. See especially Steyn, J.H.: "Die Rol van Handel en Nywerheid in die Stimulering van Maatskaplike Vooruitgang", Afrikaanse Sakekamer address, July 18, 1972, and the leader in The Argus, "Life's Added Things", July 22, 1972; The Argus, July 18, 1972 (3rd ed.); Cape Times, July 19, 1972. It was on this occasion that the Hon. Mr. Justice Steyn appropriately said:
- ... wat goed is vir Suid-Afrika is ook goed vir handel en nywerheid. Die bevrediging van die mens se basiese behoefte om ook aan sy naaste reg te laat geskied is nie alleen belangrik gesien vanuit 'n staatkundige oogpunt nie, maar is belangrik

vir gesonde werkgewer/werknemer verhoudings. Immers die groter gros van jou werknemers sal liefs verbonde wees aan 'n maatskappy wat ten opsigte van gemeenskapsdiens die voortou neem en as gevolg van sodanige deelname en verbintenis 'n openbare beeld kan uitdra wat aantreklik is. Daarbenewens is daar in die huidige klimaat, en hierdie klimaat neem steeds toe in omvang en intensiteit, 'n positiewe drang by die jonger geslag om betrokke te wees by opbouende aktiwiteite van 'n maatskaplike aard. Die maatskappy wat hierdie klimaat nie aanvoel nie, of wat dit aanvoel en ignoreer, doen dit op risiko dat hy sy eie vooruitgang - op die lange duur - op die spel plaas. Die maatskappy wat dit waarneem, erken en geleentheid tot uitlewing daarvoor skeep, bou nie alleen vir homself 'n beter beeld na buite nie, maar gee bevrediging aan sy werknemers en verleen 'n edele beslag aan sy werksaamhede".

"Ek het nie vir u 'n antwoord wat met 'n sierlike swaai van 'n towerstaf dronkenskap, agterbuurt, oorbevolking en ander maatskaplike ongewenstede in die niet kan laat verdwyn nie. Al wat ek u aanbied is deelname - deur georganiseerde welsynswerk van u keuse. Dit kan geskied by wyse van geldelike belegging of deur middel van persoonlike deelname."

317. NRMA, op.cit.