

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

JUVENILE SHOPLIFTING IN

THE WINNIPEG AREA

A STUDY OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JUVENILE - AGE SHOPLIFTERS

APPREHENDED AT THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY

AND SHOPLIFTERS REFERRED TO

THE WINNIPEG JUVENILE

AND FAMILY COURT

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the exploratory study is to examine a common body of characteristics of juvenile age children involved in the delinquency of shoplifting. The study is based on data involving 212 children referred to the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court, and 567 children apprehended in the Hudson Bay Company department store during the year 1968. Information was collected from intake sheets at the Court and from the files at the security office of the department store.

A schedule of variables was drawn up and applied to both samples.

The conclusions derived from the analyzed data indicate that there are several characteristics common to both the Court and the Store populations, as well as some characteristics unique to one or the other of the two sample groups studied.

A high proportion of juvenile shoplifters from both study groups come from one parent families, have inappropriate grade placement in school, reside in the core areas and shoplift predominantly in groups.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Legions of youngsters from every walk of life are caught up in a shoplifting epidemic. From coast to coast the under 21 group is on the greatest shoplifting spree in our history."¹

Although there are no national statistics, police and merchants in every major city report a steady increase in store shoplifting. In Vancouver, shoplifting arrests rose 30% in 1968 over the previous year. In Toronto, the number of juveniles arrested for shoplifting soared from 2,233 in 1965 to 4,380 in 1968. Furthermore, according to the Retail Council of Canada, an estimated 50% of the shoplifters are between the ages of six and twenty years.² In Winnipeg, statistics from the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court indicate a rising incidence of juvenile theft as the figures rose from 1,065 in 1965 to 1,357 in 1967.³ Moreover, of the 4,611 juveniles referred to Court in 1968, 5.1% were referred for the allegation of shoplifting.

¹Robert Collins, 'Youthful Shoplifting : A National Epidemic' Readers Digest December 1969 P. 58

²Ibid P. 59

³Intake Referral Sheets Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court

The Hudson Bay Company Store in Winnipeg estimates that 2,000 persons are apprehended each year by their protection department of whom 28.3% are juvenile age children.⁴

The economic losses accrued by shoplifting are reaching astronomical proportions. The Retail Council of Canada has estimated that up to 200 million dollars yearly is lost by merchants through shoplifting.⁵ Another authority has estimated that 1/1 million dollars are lost via shoplifting per day in Canada.⁶ In the United States, losses are estimated to be about 10 billion dollars yearly.⁷ Eatons Department Store in Willipeg indicates that about \$18,000 is recovered yearly from shoplifters.⁸ This reflects a situation compounded when one considers there are many successful shoplifters.

Shoplifting is a breach of Section 280 of the Criminal Code of Canada. Chapter 160, 2(1) of the Juvenile Delinquent Act states that "juvenile delinquent" means...any child who violates any provision of the Criminal Code...⁹ Therefore any juvenile caught shoplifting is subject to a charge of juvenile delinquency.

⁴William Brace, Chief Protection Officer, The Bay, Winnipeg, Manitoba Interview, October 8, 1969.

⁵Robert Collins Ibid P. 59

⁶Sid Hall, Chief Protection Officer, T.Eaton Co., Winnipeg, Manitoba Interview October 8, 1969.

⁷W. Brace, Chief Protection Officer, Hudson Bay, Winnipeg, Man. Interview Oct. 8, 1969.

⁸Sid Hall October 8, 1969.

⁹Juvenile Delinquents Act, Chapter 160 Section 2(1) (h) 1929

However, a high proportion of juvenile shoplifters are not referred to the Juvenile Court. Unlike other delinquencies, shoplifting is handled in an arbitrary manner and left largely to the discretion of the store security officer. Each department store in Winnipeg has its own "system". Thus, for example, a store may a) refer every person apprehended to the Police, b) refer to Police after the second contact, and, c) refer to Police after the third contact. Inherent in this situation is the possibility of unequal and perhaps unfair treatment of the shoplifter insofar as some are sent home with a warning and others are referred to Court and hence may suffer the stigma of a criminal record.

Despite the rising incidence of shoplifting, little research has been done on the subject. Thus there is much uncertainty about the dimensions of the problem, causative factors and correspondingly little is known about appropriate methods of treatment or prevention.

William C. Kvaraceus, in Dynamics of Delinquency, discusses numerous social and cultural determinants of delinquent behavior. These could well play a significant role in the delinquency of shoplifting, particularly for the older adolescent. Kvaraceus discusses such phenomena as our pursuit of pleasure and self-indulgence, (for example, credit buying); the anonymity of modern living resulting from big, impersonal schools; family mobility with its accompanying sense of "rootlessness"; and the ambiguity of adult

attitudes toward youth.¹⁰ Shoplifting may be viewed as a by-product of the forces and values which have transformed society from a rural to an urban one.

It would seem, however, that for the younger shoplifter, the family situation would have far greater impact than cultural determinants. The family of orientation is the most important primary group with which the individual comes on contact. However, the difficulties and anxieties generated by the post-industrial urbanized society and such trends as the emancipation of women have had detrimental effects on the family. Family disorganization, conflict and instability are all too common. The family situation plays an important role in all delinquent behavior involving younger children.

It would seem that both older and younger juveniles are subjected to the subliminal (and not so subliminal) advertising of the mass media. Our technological culture has produced many gadgets that youths do not need and has proceeded to create a desire for these by promising the owner such attributes as success, popularity or status. Many stores, in fact, hire professionals whose sole occupation is to display the goods in the most appealing fashion possible and to appeal specifically to the "tastes" of the adolescent; hence we see an abundance of boutiques, fashion shows and 'teen queen contests. Some youngsters, who are perhaps emotionally or materially deprived, cannot withstand the advertising pressure or the pressure of the peer group and steal to procure whatever it is they think they must have to compensate for this deprivation.

The causes of juvenile shoplifting may lie in a broad

¹⁰William Kvaraceus, Dynamics of Delinquency Charles E. Merrill, Books Inc. 1966 P 13-22

societal conditions and forces, or may perhaps emanate from breakdown in the basic socializing unit of our society, the family. More likely both assumptions are correct as most human behavior is multi-dimensional.

According to the Chief Security Officer at the Hudson Bay Company Store, shoplifting is a natural part of growing up in a consumer-oriented society. The security official said the majority of juvenile shoplifters and their parents do not realize the seriousness of their actions; they feel that they are doing no one any harm and large department stores become "fair game" for this type of delinquent activity. The security official went on to express that the majority of juvenile shoplifters are average children from any and all social classes and that shoplifting is not necessarily a "stepping stone" to a life of crime.

If these opinions are commonly held, shoplifting may well fall within the area of "white collar" crime. The moral implications of shoplifting are then insignificant; the crime consists of getting caught.

Purpose of the Study

This project was initially undertaken at the request of the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court. In view of the growing incidence of juvenile shoplifting, Court officials desired some research into the problem. The Court officials require a knowledge base from which to devise more effective methods of treating shoplifters and to serve as a guideline in the development of preventative programs.

However, the Court is not alone in its interest and concern about shoplifting. The police, merchants, some social agencies and parents are very cognizant of this phenomenon. Some questions are asked as to whether there are any particular characteristics of shoplifters which research can identify. Are there environmental factors predominating - broken homes, economic deprivation, poor housing, unsatisfactory schooling? Is there any apparent emotional instability in the parents or children? Do the children engage in shoplifting for need or is it always for luxury items? Is there any particular age, sex or ethnic background predominating in the statistics? What kind and what is the value of articles which are preferred and what are the chances of other delinquent charges against the offender? There appears to be a real need for study into all of these areas before any general and valid picture can be drawn.

The concern expressed by the community at large is primarily focused on the economic losses of shoplifting. In addition to the actual loss through shoplifting, the cost of maintaining a permanent staff of security officers in the department stores escalates the price of consumer goods.

The above would suggest that all community members are affected by the financial drain caused by shoplifting. However, the community at large has not yet realized the cost in dollars of not meeting human need. The finances are more easily obtainable to support the Court process of convicting shoplifters than to establish preventive and educational programs. It is noteworthy that the Protective Officers Association of Metropolitan Winnipeg,

which was formed in the area by security personnel to prevent and control shoplifting, has encountered some problems in obtaining the funds needed to support educational programs. The City of Winnipeg Police Youth Squad has recently initiated a program of prevention, but this approach has been limited through lack of personnel and has been restricted to a few local schools.

Juvenile shoplifters, between the ages of 12-18, referred to Court have been usually handled non-judicially after one or two mandatory interviews with a probation officer. The probation officer could decide to lay a charge against such a juvenile if he thought the child could benefit from a period of probation. The children under twelve years of age have been referred to the Children's Aid Society as neglected children. The Court would have contacted the parents of these children by means of a letter advising them to read some literature by Dr. Spock, namely the book, Problems of Parents. The letter to the parents has recently included a reading list of books obtainable from the Winnipeg Public Library. Mrs. L. Taylor, Director of Intake at the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court, after conversation with most of the security chiefs of the major retail stores, believes that "if they referred all the juvenile shoplifters they apprehended to the Court, then the total intake would double." ¹¹

It is the contention of the research group that Juvenile shoplifting should be a focal concern of the social work profession.

¹¹L. Taylor (Mrs.) Supervisor of Intake, Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court Interview October 1, 1969.

It is a social problem of significant and growing proportions and may have its roots in disturbed family situations or pathological social conditions in society. As social workers, we are aware of the detrimental effect of labelling a child "delinquent" and thus must question the validity of so labelling a child involved in the "white collar" crime of shoplifting. Are we so harsh with the man who cheats on his income tax, the adult caught exceeding the speed limit, or the shopper who returns obviously used merchandise without justification?

We recognize the need for a co-ordinated, consistent approach to the problem in order to ensure a low rate of recidivism. At present, there are a variety of approaches used in the apprehension and treatment of juvenile shoplifters. Moreover, as social workers, we must be concerned with all types of juvenile delinquency at the primary level of prevention. We would feel that by assembling a body of characteristics common to shoplifters, we may further this goal of prevention.

In summation, it should be noted that the concern expressed by the Court personnel and by the community helped us to establish a focus for study.

Scope and Limitations

This research study is fundamentally explorative as the study sets out to examine the hypothesis that there is a common body of characteristics of juvenile shoplifters. The research group will also endeavor to ascertain whether different variables are operating in the care of those children referred to Court as

compared to those juvenile shoplifters who are handled exclusively by the apprehending security officer. Since there has been no research done as yet in the Winnipeg area relating to juvenile shoplifters, we anticipate that this focus will be useful as a basis for further research.

We initially considered a study of the effect on the juvenile shoplifter of the first contact with law authorities, that is, with the security officer or the police officer in terms of the subsequent rate of recidivism. However, it was felt that more basic research was needed. Thus, it was considered that this might be an appropriate subject for future study.

At one point we considered comparing juveniles who were referred to Court for the allegation of shoplifting with juveniles who were referred to Court with the allegation of another delinquency such as break, enter and theft. This project was dismissed on the basis that we would be limited to cases referred to Court. A comparative study of shoplifting and another delinquency would further be limited in that there would be a disproportionate number of males and females in the study groups. In view of these problematic areas, we narrowed our scope to a common body of characteristics of juvenile shoplifters.

The study of shoplifters was limited to Winnipeg and the surrounding area. We chose to limit the study to the consideration of children under 18 years of age. We included in the study samples only those juvenile shoplifters known to the Hudson Bay Company and the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court who were involved in the act

of shoplifting during the time period of January 1, 1968, and December 31, 1968.

The samples studied were selected from the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court and the Hudson Bay Company Store in the Winnipeg Area. Since the Court had requested the study, case records and interviews with Court personnel were available to the research group. The Hudson Bay Company Store was chosen as our source of a sample group for several reasons; the most important being its unique store policy of having a treatment-oriented approach. Although the Store had a relatively high rate of shoplifting, it had a lower rate of referrals to Court for prosecution than other retail stores. It can be noted that the major portion of first offenders and some repeaters were handled by the Protection Service at the aforementioned Store. Their security personnel co-operated with social agencies such as the Children's Aid Society and Marymount School, and frequently referred apprehended children who were known to these agencies, directly to them rather than to the Court. Unlike most other retail stores in Winnipeg, this Store was co-operative with our research group and most anxious to assist us with our study. Moreover, this store was able to provide us with statistical information and relatively complete files based on a framework similar to that used by the Court.

In addition to looking for a common body of characteristics of juvenile shoplifters, the research group also set out to explore the operating variables distinguishing children referred to Court from those not referred to Court with reference to the allegation

of shoplifting. It was suspected that the younger the shoplifter, the greater would be the likelihood that the roots of the delinquency lay in the home. Moreover, it was also suspected that the older the shoplifter, the less likely would he be influenced by family disorganization, cultural and social forces and peer group pressures. It was further anticipated that problems in the school setting would appear at some frequency among all age groups as scholastic difficulties may impel a child to delinquent behavior. It was felt that the type of article taken during the act of shoplifting would vary according to the age of the child and would reflect the needs and concerns of each successive stage of development. It seemed highly likely that the rate of shoplifting, as other delinquencies, would decrease as one moved from the core area of the city to the periphery areas. Lastly, it was suspected that the place of residence, as an indicator of socio-economic class, would be a factor in deciding whether a child was referred to Court for further prosecution by the apprehending officer.

In reviewing the literature, it was found that it could not provide a guide in terms of a precedent for such a limited study as this, with our focus on a common body of characteristics. The review of background literature proved valuable in terms of denoting variables for the study and classifying a focus for study. The research appears to have been concentrated on the larger phenomenon of juvenile delinquency with minimal consideration given shoplifting as a delinquency. Chapter II is devoted to a more detailed review of the literature.

The method used in this study is outlined in Chapter III. The method sets forth the scope and limitations and denotes the operational definitions used in the study. The research study was based on data pertaining to the characteristics of a) the juvenile shoplifters under study b) the type of shoplifting and c) the method of handling by the Store or the Court. The data for the study was obtained on the variables of: 1) age 2) sex 3) home situation 4) grade placement in school 5) type of article taken 6) cost of article taken 7) group or individual involvement in the act of shoplifting 8) the way the allegation was processed, judicially or non-judicially 9) first offender and repeater and 10) the house address of the child.

The sources of data were the case records at the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court and the Hudson Bay Company Store and the 1969 edition of the Social Service Audit. The Audit Report was used by the research group to obtain relevant data on such factors as income, family size and structure as related to geographic area in the city of Winnipeg.

The schedule devised, consisting of the variables under study, was applied to extract information from 212 files at the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court and from 567 files at the Hudson Bay Company Store. These numbers represented the total number of Juveniles known to these two sources to have committed an act of shoplifting during the time period under study.

The method used to attain the necessary information placed some limitations on the project. We were forced to rely completely

on the information available to us from the files of the two sources. These files were often incomplete and did not cover all the areas which we felt significant to our analysis. We would have preferred a more detailed "picture" of the home situation and of the parent-child relationship, information such as the number of siblings, the position of the child in the family structure, income, ethnic origin and the recreational outlets of the child. The interview approach would have been valuable in terms of assessing the parental reaction to the child's involvement in shoplifting and the effect of the security officer's approach on the child. However, since we were studying case material which had been handled by both the sources, this approach was not possible.

In Chapter IV the data from the two sources is compiled for analysis and interpretation. The results of analysis and interpretation are presented in graphic form and by tables, while a geographic map is used to show the relative incidence of shoplifting according to geographic area. The comparison between the two sample groups is calculated in terms of percentages since the Court sample is decidedly smaller than the sample under study at the Store.

Chapter V summarizes our conclusions, relates them to our initial assumptions and evaluates them in terms of our hypothesis. In this final chapter, we will suggest areas for further study in shoplifting among juvenile children.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

The background literature relevant for this particular study has been limited. In spite of the dearth of material, a number of studies were valuable in describing focus and purpose to the research project. In the perusal of the literature, the research group centered reading around two main areas, namely studies on juvenile shoplifting and a consideration of studies on juvenile delinquency, wherein the variables used in the initial test schedule as outlined previously, were studies as determinants of delinquent behavior.

Neumayer, in the study, "Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society", viewed age, sex and home situation as important criteria in delinquent behavior.¹ Cameron, in her study of shoplifters in Chicago recorded that age and sex may be correlated to the amount and type of article taken during shoplifting as girls, age for age, stole merchandise of greater median value than did boys.² Gibbons and Prince in a later study (1960) of shoplifters in England used the home situation as a variable in their study as they concluded that the degree of family stability may impel a child to involvement in shoplifting.³ In the study, "A Look at Juvenile Delinquency" a

¹Martin H. Neumayer, Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society. New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1961 pp. 21-46.

²Mary Owen Cameron, The Booster and the Snitch. London, Collier, McMillan Ltd., 1964 p. 102.

³T.C.N. Gibbons and Joyce Prince, Shoplifting. London: The Institute for Study and Treatment of Delinquency, 1962. p.106.

report by the U.S. Children's Bureau, the main focus was with the home situation and related factors such as separation, desertion and divorce and their causal relationship with delinquent behavior.⁴

Witmer and Powers and many others agree that frequently antisocial behavior begins with stresses in parent-child relationships.⁵

Delinquent behavior seems to be an indication of poor family adjustment and "conflict with the law represents a symptom of family disorganization."⁶

In view of the fact that the research group selected the population of the study as children under 18 years of age, it was assumed that a significant number of the study group would be attending school. The variable of school performance was included in the schedule, as many studies, including Witmer and Powers' study "An Experiment in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency" focus on school attendance and related academic progress as variables linked to the potential offender.⁷ Truant behavior is often a forerunner of delinquency and the school is the first place outside the family where the child's problem may become apparent.⁸

School maladjustment, ranging from misbehavior for the purpose of

⁴U.S. Children's Bureau Publication #380, A Look at Juvenile Delinquency. 1960 P.4.

⁵H.Witmer and E.Powers, An Experiment in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency: the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. New York Columbia University Press, 1957 pp. 257-270.

⁶William Hoffman, "Offenders Have Families Too", Families in Trouble ed. L.L. Geismar and Beverly Ayres, Family Centered Project St. Paul, Minnesota. 1958 p.3.

⁷H.Witmer and E.Powers, op.cit. pp. 257-270

⁸E.H.Stullkin, "Schools and the Delinquency Problem", The Problem of Delinquency. ed. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck p. 154.

attracting attention, to truancy and vandalism, is a frequent precursor of more serious forms of delinquency.⁹ Gibbens and Prince, in the aforementioned study of juvenile shoplifters in England, used the school setting as a variable in their study and noted that:

... the female shoplifter is much more liable to school difficulties than the male...this may be because many of the females have reached the stage when school no longer holds their interest.¹⁰

The research group included recreation in the test schedule as the population under study may make optimal use of recreational outlets during the pre-adolescent and the adolescent years. Barren makes reference to recreation and leisure time in delinquency studies and suggests that the alleged leisure time problem of children "ranks with the family and comic books as the leading etiological scapegoats of delinquency."¹¹ It would appear that recreation can contribute to the prevention and treatment of delinquents and an attempt was made in this study to assess its significance for shoplifters.

The variables of type of article taken and cost of article were studied at some depth in the Chicago study by Cameron and it was noted that these two variables differed between the sexes and age groups.¹² Gibbens and Prince, in the London study, compared the types of articles taken by shoplifters

⁹Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency Boston: Harvard University Press, 1950.

¹⁰T.C.N. Gibbens and Joyce Prince op.cit. p.113.

¹¹Milton Barren, The Delinquent in Society New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1955 p.177.

¹²Mary Owen Cameron op.cit. p.102.

over a ten-year period and concluded that there was little change in types despite the changes in marketing.¹³ The research group also felt that the type and cost of the article taken during the act of shoplifting would determine to some extent whether the child was referred to Court for prosecution.

The two studies on shoplifting by Cameron, and Gibbens and Prince place considerable emphasis on the aspect of individual vs group involvement in shoplifting. Cameron states that the proportion of juvenile age children recorded as "with others" (group) at the time of apprehension decreases with age.¹⁴ Theories of psycho-social development of children have been helpful in assessing group or individual involvement in juvenile shoplifting. The average adolescent finds his most meaningful emotional support and understanding in the close companionship of his peers and it would seem that the group-type involvement is characteristic of the young shoplifter, as the younger he is, the more likely it is that he will be in a group.¹⁵

Since shoplifting has been mentioned as being an isolated type of delinquency, it was felt that some consideration should be given to the way in which the allegation is processed, whether judicially or non-judicially. Many juvenile age children apprehended for shoplifting are handled in an informal way. Also, the availability of treatment resources may be a chief influence in how

¹³T.C.N. Gibbens and Joyce Prince op. cit. p. 102.

¹⁴Mary Owen Cameron op. cit. pp. 102-103.

¹⁵Ibid p. 103.

a child is referred and/or not referred to Court. The prevailing practice of handling referrals of the Court will influence the number of juveniles appearing in Court and can bias the sample as well as the practice and policies of stores will determine the number of children referred to Court for prosecution.

The research group included the variable of first offender vs repeater in the study of juvenile shoplifters so as to gauge the degree of recidivism as well as discern whether the lack of adequate treatment facilities for children in the 0-11 age group precipitates further delinquency.

The number of siblings in the home and ethnicity were felt to be related to the home situation; ethnic origin appears to be closely linked with the variable of geographic area, which has been viewed as a key determinant of delinquent behavior. Bloch and Flynn conclude from studies of delinquent behavior related to geographic area that the rate of delinquency declines as one moves from the center core to the periphery.¹⁶ The studies of shoplifters by Gibbens and Prince and Cameron make several succinct conclusions about the home address and the ethnic origin of many of the children apprehended for shoplifting, as both variables have some bearing on the way the disposition is made by the Store officials and the Court personnel. Cameron concludes that "the same prejudice that discriminates racial and other minority groups into slum and ghetto areas operates in the same way to

¹⁶Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn. Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today. New York: Random House, 1956 P.179.

bring them to the attention of the Court when they are involved in law violations."¹⁷

To our knowledge, there have been no previous studies with our particular focus. We, therefore, found it valuable to draw upon related studies, making particular reference to the Chicago study of shoplifters by Cameron and the London study by Gibbens and Prince. While several writers enunciated the causal factors in delinquent behavior and the concomitant stresses and pressures on the child and his family, our area of concern in this study has been on examining the characteristics of juvenile shoplifters. Thus, this area was focused upon in the review of the literature.

¹⁷Mary Owen Cameron op. cit. p. 181.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The research study sets out to examine the hypothesis that there is a common body of characteristics of juvenile shoplifters. The research group will endeavour to ascertain whether different variables are operating in the care of those children referred to Court as compared to those children handled by the Store.

The research method deals with a specific set of procedures, which includes the definitions of the working variables, the drafting of a schedule comprising the variables under study for the purpose of collecting the data (see appendix A) and the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the data so as to meet the requirements of the study. The topic for the research study was selected and defined and a specific area of focus and scope was delineated. In formulating the research problem, three tasks were carried out: 1) an immersion in the subject literature through group discussion at the Winnipeg Family Court and four large department stores, 2) a review of the existing literature on the subject under study and 3) an experience survey wherein the research group contacted various people involved in the subject, namely security personnel at the department stores, City of Winnipeg Police officials, professional personnel at the Winnipeg Family Court and with people who had been involved in previous

research studies of shoplifting. The research group used unstructured interviews in the experience survey because of the varying occupations of the people in the survey.

Pursuant to the above tasks, the population of the study was defined: population of the study - children under the age of 18 years who were involved in shoplifting during the year of 1968. The population was limited to children under 18 years of age referred to the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court for shoplifting during the time period of 1968 and to children under 18 years of age apprehended for shoplifting in a local department store. When the problem and population was defined, a schedule was drafted to study the specific variables, namely; age, sex, home situation, grade placement in school, recreation, the type of article taken during the act of shoplifting, the cost of the article taken, group or individual involvement in the act of shoplifting, whether the child involved was a first offender or repeater, whether the delinquency was processed judicially or non-judicially, number of siblings, ethnic origin, and the home address of the child involved. The three variables of recreation, number of siblings and ethnic origin were later deleted (see appendix). The working definitions of the variables included in the schedule are:

- a. shoplifting - the stealing of articles exposed for sale in a shop during the hours when the shop is open for business.
- b. juvenile - any child up to and including 18 years of age.
- c. sex - male or female.
- d. home situation - was defined by three categories:
 - i) one parent family - includes separated, divorced, widow, widower, deserted parent.

- ii) two parent family - includes natural parents remarried parents and common-law unions.
 - iii) other - is meant to refer to children placed in homes or institutions outside the natural home setting.
- e. grade placement - is defined by three categories:
- i) appropriate grade placement - children placed in grades according to the following scale;

6 years - Grade I	13 years - Grade VIII
7 years - Grade II	14 years - Grade IX
8 years - Grade III	15 years - Grade X
9 years - Grade IV	16 years - Grade XI
10 years - Grade V	17 years - Grade XII
11 years - Grade VI	18 years -
12 years - Grade VII	
 - ii) Inappropriate grade placement - is meant to refer to placement when the child does not conform to the above scale.
 - iii) other - refers to employed, unemployed or not attending school.
- f. recreation - the child's membership in any recreational outlet.
- g. article - was defined in seven categories:
- i) food
 - ii) clothing
 - iii) toys
 - iv) makeup and jewelry
 - v) sporting goods
 - vi) records
 - vii) miscellaneous, e.g. - hardware items, wallets, cheap flashlights.
- h. cost of the article - the listed store price.
- i. group - the presence of one or more accomplices.
- j. judicial - when a child appears in Juvenile Court before a Presiding Judge with reference to the charge of shoplifting.
- k. non-judicial - when a child is referred to Court but not formally charged.
- l. first offender - any juvenile with no previous record of delinquent behavior on the files at the store where the child is apprehended.

- m. repeater - a juvenile who has been dealt with formally or informally by any law enforcement agency, self-confessions will be included.
- n. siblings - the natural brothers and sisters in the home or outside the natural home setting.
- o. Social Service Audit - a study of social services needed and available in Metropolitan Winnipeg completed in May, 1969.
- p. home address - the child's place of abode at the time of apprehension. The home address is divided into the following geographic areas as denoted by the Social Service Audit:
 - i) primary core area - area of social disorganization with severe social problems. Includes North Central Winnipeg, North Point Douglas, Notre Dame, South Point Douglas, West Central Winnipeg, South Central Winnipeg, and Downtown Winnipeg.
 - ii) secondary core area - area with less social disorganization. Burrows-Keewatin, North Winnipeg, North East Winnipeg, Osborne and West Fort Rouge.
 - iii) outer area - includes Suburban areas, area of socio-economic stability. Elmwood, Weston, West Winnipeg, North River Heights, Crescentwood, Southwest River Heights, Southeast River Heights and East Fort Rouge.
 - iv) out of town - is meant to refer to the area located outside Metropolitan Winnipeg.
- q. Store - the Hudson Bay Department Store in Winnipeg.

The research group began collecting data in terms of the variables at the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court in October, 1969. The group perused all intake referral sheets for the given year of 1968. The intake referral sheet of each individual intake probation officer denoted the file number, name, age and the alleged delinquency of each child referred to the Court. The population was limited to the children referred to the Court who were not on probation during the time period of 1968. Juveniles referred to the Court for shoplifting were selected from the intake referral sheets.

Once this was done, we drew the files representing the sample population and recorded the available data to the schedule of variables. A sample was taken of the shoplifting referrals during the months of January and February, 1968, and the schedule of variables was applied and the data pertinent to each variable was collected for the purpose of analysis. Subsequent investigation of the collected data from the Court sample of the months of January and February, 1968, revealed that the three variables of recreation, ethnic origin, and number of siblings were seldom included in the sources of data, namely the case assessment form completed by the probation officer and/or the Police Report which was forwarded to the Court.

The members of the research group contacted the security personnel at the Store and a perusal of the case material of Juvenile shoplifters was made so as to determine whether the Store had information on the variables of recreation, ethnic origin and siblings. The files at the Store also lacked consistency with regard to information of these variables and the research group subsequently deleted the variables of recreation, ethnic origin and siblings from the schedule. The revised schedule consisted of ten variables in which the age variable was divided into three groups a) 0-11 years b) 12-14 years and c) 15-18 years.

Subsequent perusal of the intake referral sheets of each probation officer at the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court for the stated time period revealed that 212 children under the age of 18 years were referred for the allegation of shoplifting. Further investigation of the intake referral sheets of each probation officer revealed that two probation officers did not report a single alle-

gation of shoplifting during the time period. Court personnel and the former intake supervisor indicated the possibility that the two probation officers may have placed shoplifting in the category of theft. From a random sample of the referral in the category of theft on the intake referral sheets of the two probation officers we were able to estimate an additional 24 cases of shoplifting for 1968. Thus, the total number of juvenile shoplifters was 236. However, the research group collected raw statistical data on the 212 cases definitely reported as shoplifting. The test schedule was applied to Social Assessment and/or Police Report in each file and material relevant to each variable was collected.

The revised test schedule, consisting of the ten variables and the three age groups was applied to juveniles apprehended in the Store during the year of 1968. The research group was provided with the material of all apprehensions, juveniles and adults, at the Store and the group segregated the juvenile shoplifters as the group for study and investigation. The number of juveniles selected from the Store was 567. The population for the research was selected by taking every ninth child at random as a sample of all the juvenile shoplifters apprehended in the Store. Then each case record was applied to the sample. The pre-test of the schedule was made on some 64 children at the Store and the study of the cases revealed that the information for the ten variables could be derived from the Store records. The data perti-

ment to each variable in the schedule was derived from the case records at the Store and was tabulated for subsequent analysis.

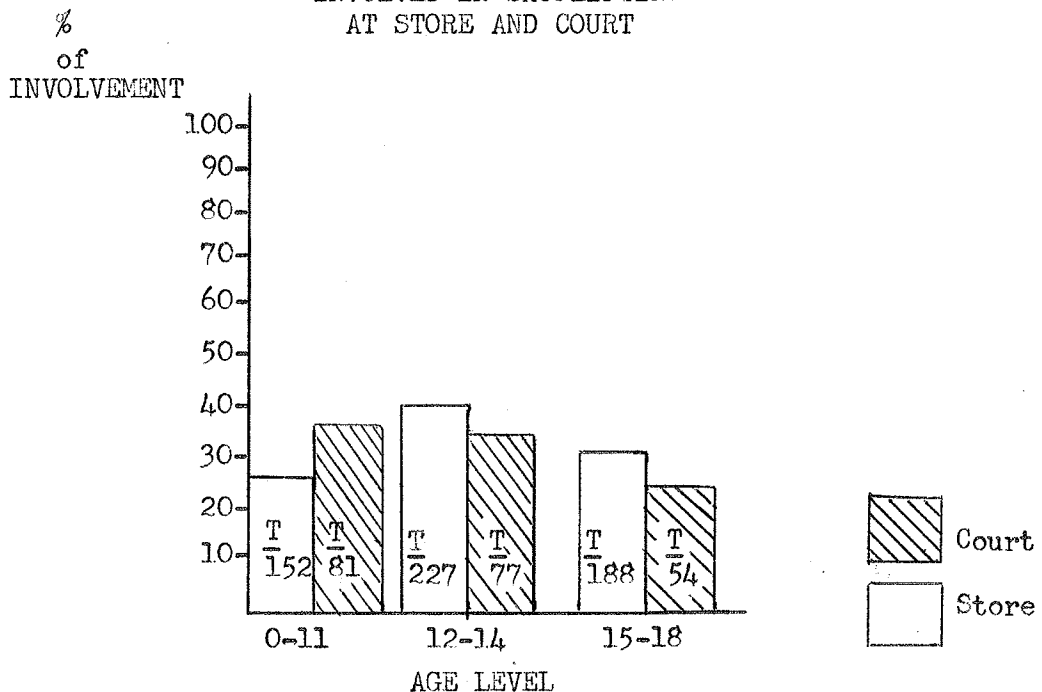
Our data for analysis, then consisted of information derived from the files at the Winniepeg Juvenile and Family Court and from the files of the Security Department of the Store, with the schedule of ten variables used for both sample groups.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

The first major step in the analysis of the collected data consisted of tabulating, by means of the variables, the data pertinent to the question posed by the hypothesis, that is, is there a body of characteristics common to juvenile shoplifters. The research group also set out to explore the operating variables distinguishing children referred to Court from those apprehended at the Store, in order to ascertain differences in characteristics of shoplifters from the two groups. The first analysis reveals the distribution of juveniles apprehended for the allegation of shoplifting and referred to Court and those juveniles apprehended for the same allegation at the Store. We were thus able to determine the proportion of children in the age groups of 0-11 years, 12-14 years and 15-18 years. The findings are shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE I
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN
INVOLVED IN SHOPLIFTING
AT STORE AND COURT



It can be noted that 81 of 212, or 38.2% of the referrals to the Court during the year of 1968 consisted of children under the age of 12 years; in the sample derived from the department store 152 of 567, or 26.8% were children under the age of 12 years. The significant number of children in the 0-11 age category may be attributed to the fact that the younger child, unattended in the confines of the Store is more likely to arouse suspicion and surveillance by Store personnel. The security personnel may also be less threatened by the children within this age group and this factor may accelerate apprehension. In the 12-14 age group, 227 of the total sample of 567 from the Store or 40% were included whereas the Court sample was 77 of 212, or 36.3%. The large number of children in this age group is noted in that the children in early adolescence are likely to begin testing limits and controls as they emancipate themselves from the home situation. Also, the early adolescent group are more prone to advertising techniques and peer group pressures than the 0-11 age group and the 15-18 age group and are more vulnerable to delinquent activity to cope with the needs and demands placed on them. In the 15-18 age category, the number of involvements in shoplifting declined in both sample groups. It is interesting to note that the peak period for the involvement in shoplifting in the Court sample is the 0-11 age group while the peak period in the Store sample was in the 12-14 age group.

The sex distribution of the two groups under study is shown in Table I.

TABLE I

PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES
IN STORE AND COURT

Age Group	COURT		STORE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-11	56	25	84	68
12-14	41	36	109	118
15-18	29	25	97	91
Total	126	86	290	277

Of the total of juvenile shoplifters apprehended at the Store 277 or 567 or 48.9% were females while at the Court 86 of 212 or 41.7% were female. It can be noted that the sex of the shoplifter may be a determining factor as to whether the child is referred to Court. While the data indicates that there is little difference in incidence of shoplifting between males and females, it also reveals that females apprehended for shoplifting are less likely to be referred to Court for possible prosecution.

We further classified the distribution of families based on the filed records of the Court and of the Store in order to determine the degree of family stability and family instability. The home situation and related data is shown in Figure II and Figure III on the following page.

FIGURE II

HOME SITUATION OF MALES
AT COURT AND STORE

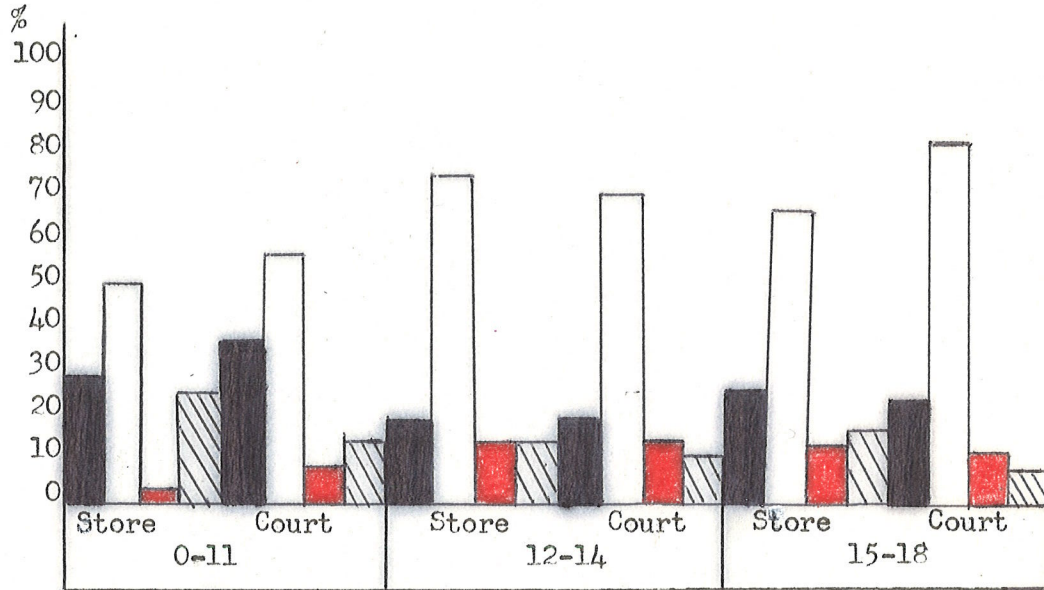
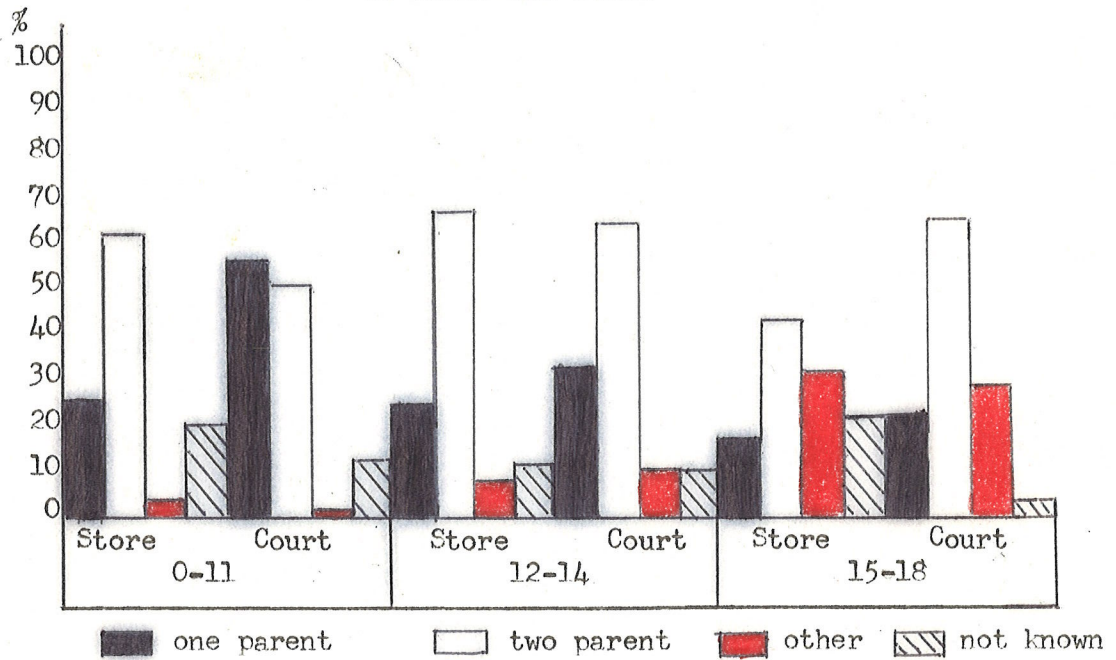


FIGURE III

HOME SITUATION OF FEMALES
AT COURT AND STORE



It can be noted that the major portion of shoplifters from both the groups under study were from two-parent homes. Of the Court sample, 131 of 212 or 61.8% were from two-parent families. There is a significant proportion of children under 12 years of age who are referred to Court from one-parent families, as the Court sample of females in the 0-11 age group denotes the fact that 48% were from one-parent families. In this age group of the male sample at the Court, 34.7% were from one-parent families. The 1961 Census of Canada, published in 1967, by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reveals the total number of families in Canada to be 4,147,144. Of this total, 3,800,026 are two-parent families. There are 347,418 one-parent families or 8.3% of the total number of families. The data shown in Table I and Table II support our initial assumption that family breakdown appears to be a motivating factor in delinquent behavior; also, the above data reveal that the age group of 0-11 has the most significant number of one-parent families and it can be inferred that the referral to Court of the child in this age group may be the end result of a deteriorating home situation.

The data derived from the variable of school performance, shows that of a total number of females in the two study groups, 363, it was found that 308 were attending school. Of the 308 attending school, 91 or 29.5% were in inappropriate grade placements. The total number of males in the two samples was 416. Of this total, 325 were attending school and of the school-going population, 145 or 44.6% were in inappropriate grade placements. The unknown quan-

tity in the male sample was 53 and in the female sample 10 were unknown. The two study groups, as shown in Table II reveal that a significant number of children involved in shoplifting were experiencing problems in the school setting.

TABLE II

GRADE PLACEMENT OF MALES AND FEMALES
OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE OF
JUVENILE SHOPLIFTERS

	Approp.	Inappr.	Other	Not Known
Male Total-416	180	145	38	53
Female Total-363	217	91	45	10

In the perusal of the data derived from the two samples in relation to the type of article taken, it was found that there is a difference in the type of article taken between the males and females; the female population at the Court had a high incidence of clothing and make-up as the article taken during the act of shoplifting, while at the Store make-up and jewelry were the most common article taken. In the male sample, the most frequent articles taken were articles designated as miscellaneous. The females took goods related to personal needs while the broad spectrum of articles placed in the miscellaneous category indicates that males are less likely to shoplift personal articles.

The research group also noted a significant difference in the average cost of the article taken, between the males and females in the sample studied at the Court and the Store. The average cost of the article taken at the Store was \$7.29, while the average

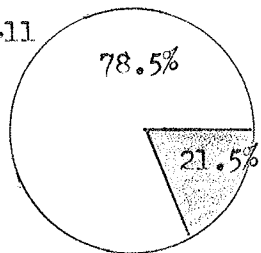
cost of the article taken by children referred to Court was \$16.78. The average cost of the article taken by females was \$14.30, and by males it was \$9.77. The fact that the average cost of the article taken by children referred to Court is more than twice as great as the average value taken from the Store suggests that the value of the article taken is a determining factor as to whether the child is referred to Court for prosecution.

The group and individual involvement in the act of shoplifting was studied by the group and the findings are shown in Table III.

TABLE III
GROUP INDIVIDUAL
PARTICIPATION
IN SHOPLIFTING

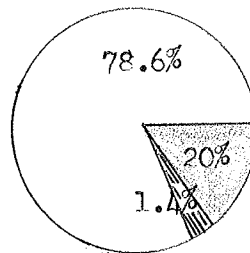
Court and Store
Females

0-11



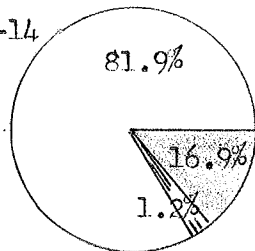
Total - 93

Court and Store
Males

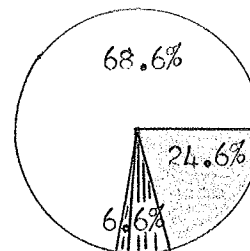


Total-140

12-14

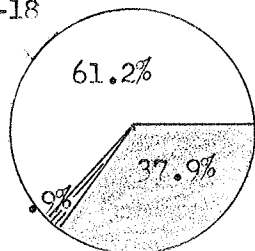


Total- 155

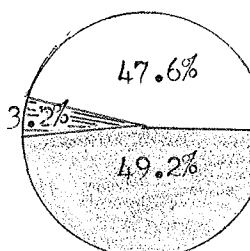


Total-150

15-18



Total- 116



Total-126

Group
 Individual
 Not Known

The charts of the age groups of the group-individual involvement in shoplifting reveals that the act of shoplifting is a group-type of delinquency for all age groups. The presence of the group in shoplifting is inversely proportional to the age of the child. It can be noted that in the 15-18 age group of both samples there is a low incidence of the presence of one or more accomplices in the act of shoplifting. The progression from the younger shoplifter to the older shoplifter indicates a movement toward the taking on of an adult pattern of individual shoplifting.

The variable related to repeater and first offender was examined to determine whether juvenile shoplifting constitutes the only delinquent activity for the first offender or whether in fact the largest portion of children apprehended for shoplifting are repeaters. In Table IV the number of first offenders and repeaters in both samples is shown, using age and sex as differentials.

TABLE IV
PROPORTION OF MALE AND FEMALE FIRST
OFFENDERS AND REPEATERS AT THE COURT AND STORE

AGE	FIRST OFFENDERS						REPEATERS					
	Store			Court			Store			Court		
	M	F	N.K.	M	F	N.K.	M	F	N.K.	M	F	N.K.
0-11	53	60	10	35	19	3	21	8	0	18	6	0
12-14	70	82	2	34	32	2	37	34	2	5	3	1
15-18	70	65	0	22	22	1	26	23	3	17	3	0
Total	193	207	12	91	73	6	84	65	5	30	12	1

Figures in Table IV reveal that in the total sample of the two groups under study (779), 564 or 72.4% are first offenders

while 191 or 24.5% are repeaters. The most vulnerable group of repeaters is the 0-11 male group in both the Court and store samples. In the Court sample, 18 of a total of 42 or 19.8% are repeaters. In the Store sample, 21 of 149 or 14.1% are repeaters. The number of repeaters in the 0-11 male age group may be the result of the fact that the Court refers children in this age group to the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg and the gap in follow-up services may impel a child to further delinquent activity.

Data was collected on the method employed by the Court and the Store in handling the allegation of shoplifting. These figures are revealed in Table V.

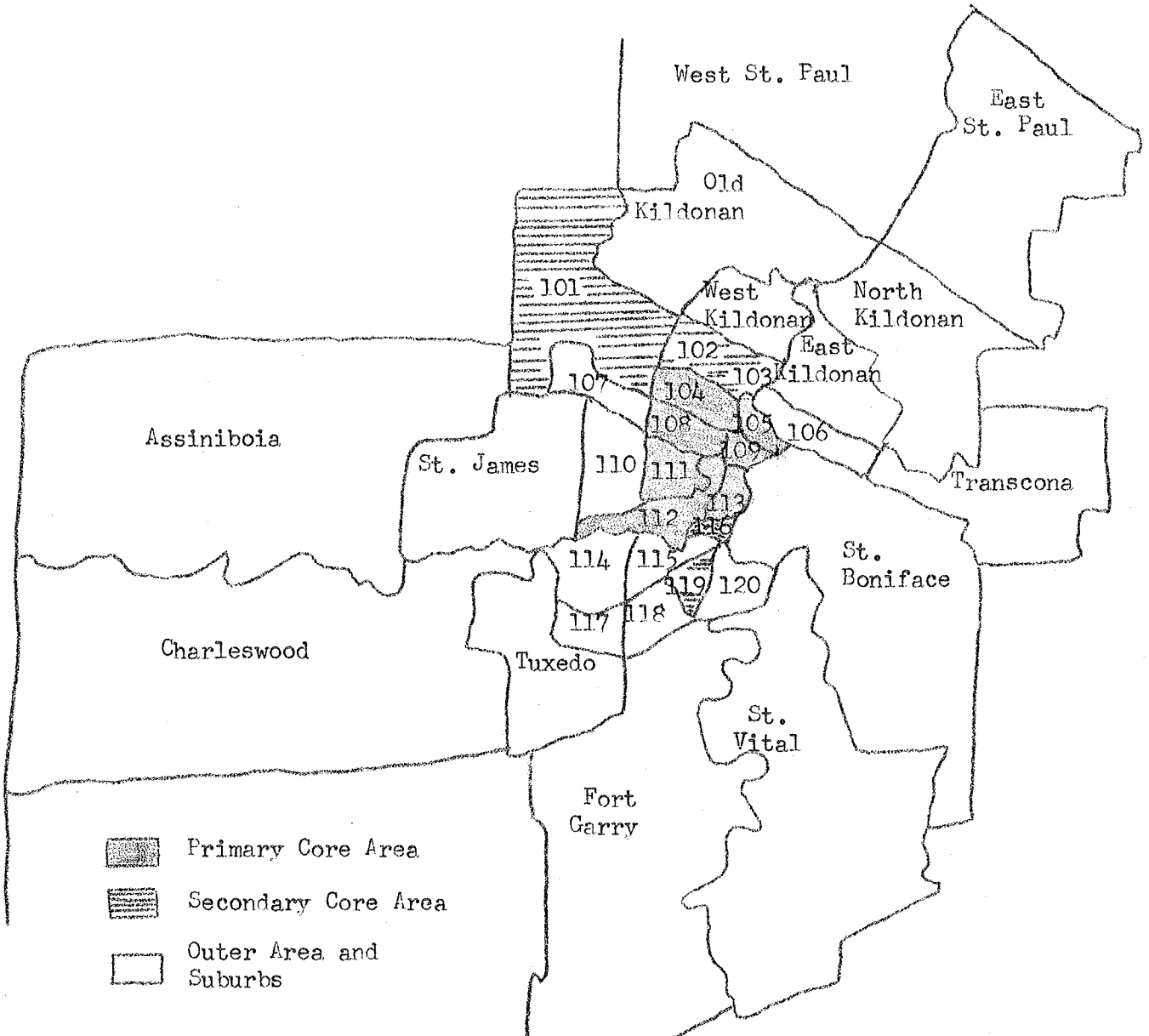
TABLE V
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN HANDLED JUDICIALLY
AND NON-JUDICIALLY IN STORE AND COURT

	Jud.	Non-Jud.	Other	N.K.
Court Tot. 212	8	214	0	0
Store Tot. 567	20	542	0	5

Of the total sample (779) of both the Court and the Store, the outcome of 5 cases was unknown, leaving a sample of 774. Of the total sample of 774, 28 or 3.4% were referred to Court for prosecution. It can be noted that in the Court sample, 8 or 3.8% appeared in Court while 204 or 96.2% were handled non-judicially by the probation officer. In the Store sample, 20 or 3.5% were prosecuted while 542 or 96.4% were handled non-judicially by the security personnel. The low incidence of prosecution by the Court is consistent with our findings noted in the data of first offender and repeater wherein it was stated that 72.4% of the children in the two samples were first offenders. As the usual

procedure of the court and the store is not to prosecute first offenders it was felt that this factor would reflect in the small number of juvenile children being referred to Court and actually appearing in Court for disposition.

To determine the geographic area of the home addresses of the juveniles of the Court sample and the Store sample, the research group used the map designed by the Social Service Audit. The map indicated the primary core area, the secondary core area, and the outer areas of Metropolitan Winnipeg. The map is shown in Figure IV.



PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CORE AREA IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

The numbered sections of each area are noted as:

the primary core area consisting of;

- 104 - North Central Winnipeg
- 105 - North Point Douglas
- 108 - C.F.R. - Notre Dame
- 109 - South Point Douglas
- 111 - West Central Winnipeg
- 112 - South Central Winnipeg
- 113 - Downtown Winnipeg

the secondary core area consisting of;

- 101 - Burrows-Keewatin
- 102 - North Winnipeg
- 103 - North East Winnipeg
- 116 - Osborne
- 119 - West Fort Rouge

the area designated as "outer" consisting of;

- 106 - Elmwood
- 107 - Weston
- 110 - West Winnipeg
- 114 - North River Heights
- 115 - Crescentwood
- 117 - Southwest River Heights
- 118 - Southeast River Heights
- 120 - East Fort Rouge
- The Suburban areas of Metropolitan Winnipeg.

The number of juvenile shoplifters at the Court and the Store residing in the various areas of Winnipeg are shown in Table VI on the following page. It should be noted that the table distinguishes between those "outer" areas which are numbered above and the Suburban areas.

TABLE VI

GEOGRAPHIC AREAS OF CHILDREN OF THE COURT SAMPLE AND THE STORE SAMPLE

Area	Court		Store	
	Number	%	Number	%
Primary Core	64	30.2%	188	33.1%
Secondary Core	34	16.0%	53	9.5%
Outer Winnipeg	43	20.3%	67	11.8%
Suburban Areas	32	15.1%	187	33.0%
Out of Town	4	1.9%	49	8.5%
Not Known	35	16.5%	23	4.1%
Total	212	100%	567	100%

The above figures indicate that the juvenile shoplifters in the two sample groups do not reside in one particular area, but rather there is a scattering of addresses throughout Winnipeg. Approximately one-third of the juvenile shoplifters from both samples reside in the primary core area. In comparison, 35.4% and 44.8% of the juvenile shoplifters from the Court and the Store respectively, live in the outer areas of Metropolitan Winnipeg. If primary and secondary core areas in our samples are taken together, one notes that over half of the juvenile shoplifters live in areas of social disorganization.

The Social Service Audit indicates that, in 1966, approximately 94,297 people resided in the primary and secondary core areas. In comparison, approximately 257,005 resided in the city of Winnipeg, and 251,754 in other municipalities. Therefore, the population distribution accentuates the fact that there are an inordinate number

of shoplifters in the core areas. It is especially interesting to note that, although the primary core area according to the Social Service Audit has only 18.5% of the total metro population, 30.2% of shoplifters referred to Court were from this area while only 15.1% of the shoplifters so referred were from the Suburbs which have 19.5% of the total metro population. This would mean that the per capita ratio of shoplifters from the core area is at least four times greater than from the Suburbs with respect to the Court sample. From the Suburban area a comparison of the number of shoplifters in the two groups is also rather significant. The data of the Court sample revealed that 32 or 15.1% were children from the Suburban area while the Store sample revealed that 118 or 33.2% resided in the Suburbs. It can be stated that there is a high incidence of juvenile shoplifting among children from the Suburbs, yet these children are not referred to Court. It can be inferred that the home address of the juvenile shoplifter is a determining factor in whether a child is referred to Court.

The proportion of children residing in the sections of the primary core area is shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN OF STORE AND
COURT FROM PRIMARY CORE AREA

Primary Core Area	Court		Store	
	Number	%	Number	%
104	22	10.4%	29	5.1%
105	9	4.2%	8	1.0%
108	12	5.7%	31	5.4%
109	0	0	0	0
111	10	4.7%	54	9.6%
112	10	4.7%	52	9.2%
113	1	.5%	14	2.5%

Of particular interest was the high proportion of juvenile shoplifters from the sections of the primary core area designated as 104 and 111. Of the juvenile shoplifters referred to Court 10.4% resided in 104 while 9.6% of the children apprehended at the Store resided in 111. The Social Service Audit has stated that these two sections of the primary core area have the highest incidence of juvenile delinquency, with the ratio being 50-75 per 1000 population. Our data would suggest that shoplifting by juveniles does not appear to be an isolated type of delinquency but rather it appears that shoplifting by children fits into the delinquency pattern of the community.

The residence of children living in the secondary core area is shown in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN OF STORE AND COURT
FROM SECONDARY CORE AREA

Secondary core area	Court		Store	
	Number	%	Number	%
101	6	2.8%	7	1.8%
102	14	6.6%	21	3.7%
103	10	4.7%	12	2.1%
116	0	0	3	.5%
119	4	1.8%	10	1.8%

Table VIII shows that the highest proportion of juvenile shoplifters from the secondary core area reside in section 102 in both sample groups. This is the section which shows the highest incidence of juvenile delinquency in the secondary core area according to the Social Service Audit.

In summarizing the results of the analysis in relation to the hypothesis, the research group finds that there are several characteristics common to both the Court and the Store population, but there are also some characteristics peculiar to each sample group.

In the variable of home situation, both groups support the fact that the juvenile shoplifter is more likely to come from a one parent family, though in the Court sample this was more pronounced, especially in the under twelve group.

Relating to the variable of group-individual, the child is more likely to shoplift in a group. Also the majority of juveniles will be first offenders.

In both populations studied the juveniles will come predominantly from the core area, though in the Court sample there are four times as many from the core area as from the suburbs. In the Store sample this decreases to two and a half times as many.

In the variable of school placement, a high proportion of juveniles are inappropriately placed in grades, this is particularly significant for the male group.

Several characteristics emerge which are unique to each population group. In the age distribution, at the Court the largest number are found in the under twelve group, and at the Store the largest proportion falls into the twelve to fourteen age group.

In relation to the variable of sex, at the Store there is an even proportion of males and females while at the Court there is a disproportionately high number of males.

In the variable of geographic location, proportionately twice as many shoplifters in the Store sample, as in the Court sample are from the suburbs.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

A group of 212 juveniles known to the Winnipeg Juvenile and Family Court and 567 juveniles known to the Hudson Bay Company Store were studied by a schedule consisting of ten variables.

The hypothesis tested was to determine whether there is a body of characteristics common to juvenile shoplifters; also, the research group explored the operating variables distinguishing children apprehended at the Store and those children referred to Court. We selected the two sources of study as we felt it would provide us with an extensive and intensive view of the phenomenon of juvenile shoplifting.

The summary of the analysis revealed a common body of characteristics of both sample groups: a) in the variable of home situation the juvenile shoplifter was more likely to come from a two-parent family, b) relating to the variable of group-individual participation in shoplifting, the juvenile child is more likely to shoplift in a group, c) the major portion of shoplifters are first offenders, d) the children reside predominantly in the core area and e) in school placement, a high proportion are in inappropriate grade placement.

Several characteristics emerge which are unique to each sample group. In the age distribution, at the Court, a slightly higher per centage are found in the 0-11 age category. At the Store, the largest proportion falls into the 12-14 age group. In the variable of sex, there is an even proportion of males and fe-

males in the Store sample, while at the Court there is a disproportionately high number of males. In the variable of geographic location, proportionately twice as many shoplifters in the Court sample as in the Store sample are from the core areas.

It was found that the average value of articles stolen in the Court sample was twice the average value of the articles stolen in the Store sample.

In the analysis of our data two distinct patterns evolved: the youngsters in the 0-11 age group are excluded from prosecution by the Juvenile Delinquent's Act, yet this group constitutes a significant number of children referred to Court for shoplifting. The children in this age group indicate symptoms of family instability as measured by the variable of home situation. We found these children tend to be products of one-parent homes; are more likely to steal a series of articles; show a high incidence of recidivism; and reside in the primary core area. The involvement of a child in the 0-11 group in shoplifting appears to fit in with the delinquent pattern of the community as evidenced by the high rate of delinquency in the primary core area.

As noted, the child in this age group is referred to Court as a delinquent for shoplifting and subsequently referred to the Children's Aid Society as a neglected child. His referral to the Society is prompted by our knowledge of this stage of child development, which characterizes the child as aggressive, egocentric and acquisitive. Lacking inner controls and perhaps subject to inadequate parental supervision, he is especially vulnerable

to this particular delinquency.

As social workers we are aware of the detrimental effect of labelling a child "delinquent", thus we must question the validity of so labelling a child involved in the "white collar" crime of shoplifting. The fact that referral of a child to Court is left to the discretion of the arresting security officer could be a further mitigating factor which discriminates against the child in the 0-11 age group from a one-parent family, who resides in the primary core area.

The children involved in shoplifting in the 12-14 age group denote the following characteristics: they are more likely to come from two-parent families; are less likely to reside in the primary core area; are more likely to be involved with a group and include a large number of repeaters.

This pattern of characteristics reveals a healthier cultural background. The adolescent characteristically identifies with his peer group in attempting to emancipate from his parents. His involvement in shoplifting can thus be seen as a testing out of the behavioral limits of society.

It is hoped that this study has contributed to a greater understanding of the problem of juvenile shoplifting. It has been demonstrated that many of the characteristics of children referred to the Court differ from those of children not so referred. An endeavor has been made to identify a vulnerable age group and also to emphasize the lack of consistent follow-up services for shoplifters in the 0-11 age group. We feel that consideration should

be given by social agencies, police authorities, and security officials to implement a consistent preventive approach to the young shoplifter. The research group poses several hypothetical questions which may provide further areas of study. Does juvenile shoplifting lead to a continuation of such crime in adulthood? Or does shoplifting in young juveniles lead to involvement in other delinquencies? Are there any "unique" factors operating in regards to repeaters? How much influence is the home situation as a specific factor, in this delinquency? Do present treatment methods serve as a deterrent; can they be considered "successful" in view of the juvenile shoplifting problem?

The exploratory nature of this study provides a basis for adding to our knowledge and helping us achieve the goal of providing more effective type of service to the juvenile shoplifter.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULE OF VARIABLES

File No.	One Parent	Two Parent	Other	School Not		Article	Amout	Group	Indiv	Non-Judicial	Judic	Re-peater	First Offender	Home Address
				Approp	Approp									

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