

**REPORT OF THE
VIRGINIA STATE CRIME COMMISSION ON**

**ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF
DISCOURAGING SHOPLIFTING**

**TO THE GOVERNOR AND
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA**



HOUSE DOCUMENT NO. 67

**COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
RICHMOND
1998**



COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA STATE CRIME COMMISSION

General Assembly Building

Rich Savage
Director

December 16, 1997

MEMBERS:
FROM THE SENATE OF VIRGINIA:
Janet D. Howell, Vice-Chair
Mark L. Earley
Kenneth W. Stolle

FROM THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES:
Clifton A. Woodrum, Chairman
James F. Almand
Jean W. Cunningham
John J. Davies, III
R. Creigh Deeds
Raymond R. Guest, Jr.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE GOVERNOR:
Robert C. Bobb
Terry W. Hawkins
Robert J. Humphreys

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE
Richard Cullen

To: The Honorable James S. Gilmore, III and
Members of the Virginia General Assembly:

House Joint Resolution 647, agreed to by the 1997 General Assembly, directed the Virginia State Crime Commission to conduct a study on alternative means for discouraging shoplifting and to submit its findings and recommendations to the Governor and the 1998 session of the General Assembly.

In fulfilling this directive, a study was conducted by the Virginia State Crime Commission in 1997. I have the honor of submitting herewith the study report.

Respectfully submitted,

Clifton A. Woodrum
Chairman

CAW:sbw

MEMBERS OF THE VIRGINIA STATE CRIME COMMISSION, 1997

From the Senate of Virginia:

Janet D. Howell, Vice Chair
Mark L. Earley
Kenneth W. Stolle

From the House of Delegates:

Clifton A. Woodrum, Chairman
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John J. Davies, III
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Appointments by the Governor:

Robert C. Bobb
Terry W. Hawkins
Robert J. Humphreys

Attorney General's Office:

Richard C. Cullen, Attorney General

Research Staff:

Susan Bass Williams, Staff Attorney

HJR 647 - Alternative Means of Discouraging Shoplifting

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I. Authority for Study

During the 1997 legislative session, Delegate Frank M. Ruff sponsored House Joint Resolution 647 directing the Virginia State Crime Commission to study alternative means of discouraging shoplifting. *See Appendix A.*

Section 9-125 of the **Code of Virginia** establishes and directs the Virginia State Crime Commission "to study, report, and make recommendations on all areas of public safety and protection." Section 9-127 of the **Code of Virginia** provides that "the Commission shall have the duty and power to make such studies and gather information in order to accomplish its purpose, as set forth in Section 9-125, and to formulate its recommendations to the Governor and the General Assembly." Section 9-134 of the **Code of Virginia** authorizes the Commission to "conduct private and public hearings, and to designate a member of the Commission to preside over such hearings." The Virginia State Crime Commission, in fulfilling its legislative mandate, undertook the study of alternative means of discouraging shoplifting.

II. Members Appointed to Serve

At the April 15, 1997 meeting of the Crime Commission, Chairman Delegate Clifton A. Woodrum of Roanoke selected Senator Janet D. Howell to chair the Law Enforcement Subcommittee and Delegate Raymond R. Guest, Jr. to chair the Corrections Subcommittee. The following members were selected to serve on the respective subcommittees:

Corrections

Delegate Raymond R. Guest, Jr.

Delegate James F. Almand

Delegate Jean W. Cunningham

Delegate John J. Davies, III

Sheriff Terry W. Hawkins

Senator Kenneth W. Stolle

Delegate Clifton A. Woodrum

Law Enforcement

Senator Janet D. Howell

Delegate James F. Almand

Mr. Robert C. Bobb

Delegate R. Creigh Deeds

Senator Mark L. Earley

The Attorney General

The Hon. Robert J. Humphreys

IV. Study Design

A. Full Crime Commission Meetings

April 15, 1996

September 30, 1997

December 16, 1997

B. Literature Review

The Crime Commission conducted an extensive literature review to identify the strategies for deterring and detecting shoplifting and apprehending shoplifters in place nationwide and compared these findings to the data available on techniques currently in use in Virginia.

C. Input from the Business and Law Enforcement Communities

Crime Commission staff worked closely with representatives from the Virginia Retail Merchants Association (VRMA) to further clarify the issues presented by this study and to develop recommendations. In addition, the VRMA solicited and received comments on proposed recommendations from the law enforcement community.

D. Statistical Information

Pursuant to the Crime Commission's request, the Department of Criminal Justice Services' Research Center provided arrest data on stolen property offenses as well as reported crime data for shoplifting offenses.

V. Background

Code of Virginia §18.2-104.1 provides that any person convicted of shoplifting shall be civilly liable to the owner/merchant for the retail value of any goods and merchandise illegally converted and not recovered by the owner plus all costs incurred in prosecuting such persons under the provisions of the shoplifting law. Such cost shall be limited to actual expenses, including the base wage of one employee acting as a witness for the Commonwealth and the cost of bringing suit, provided that the total amount of allowable costs granted shall not exceed \$250, exclusive of the retail value of the goods and merchandise not recovered or recovered in non-merchantable condition.

Criminal prosecution and conviction is a prerequisite to any monetary recovery under this provision.

In addition, **Code of Virginia §8.01-44.4** provides a civil alternative to the criminal prosecution of shoplifters and dishonest employees. "A merchant may recover a civil judgment against any person who commits shoplifting or employee theft against that merchant for two times the actual cost of the merchandise to the merchant, but in no event in an amount less than \$50. However, if the merchant recovers the merchandise in merchantable condition, he shall be entitled to liquidated damages of no more than \$350. The prevailing party in any action brought pursuant to this section shall be entitled to reasonable attorney's fees and costs not to exceed \$150. If the merchant elects to proceed under this provision, he is precluded from pressing criminal charges; however, if the merchant is unsuccessful in his attempt to obtain a civil judgment, criminal prosecution is not barred. **Code of Virginia §8.01-44.4** also allows a merchant to send a "civil demand letter" to the shoplifter or dishonest employee demanding payment in allowable amounts prior to the initiation of any legal proceedings, thus providing an incentive for the perpetrator to avoid court action. Additionally, **Code §19.2-270.1** permits the use of photographs as evidence in shoplifting prosecutions, thus enabling the merchant to return the actual merchandise involved in the case to the floor for sale.

At present, the **Code** provides criminal penalties for misdemeanor and grand larceny as well as receiving stolen goods. Pursuant to **Code §18.2-103**, persons convicted of shoplifting goods or merchandise with a value of less than \$200 shall be guilty of petit [misdemeanor] larceny, and persons convicted of shoplifting goods or merchandise with a value of \$200 or more shall be guilty of grand larceny. Furthermore, under **Code §18.2-104**, a third conviction for misdemeanor and/or felony larceny is treated as a Class 6 felony.

At this time, the **Code of Virginia** does not specifically address stolen merchandise offered for sale by peddlers and itinerant merchants. In Virginia, such merchants are under no legal obligation to maintain sales or source records on the

merchandise they offer for sale, whereas several other states have enacted legislation to address this issue in the form of flea market restrictions.

VI. Study Goals/Objectives

Delegate Frank M. Ruff sponsored House Joint Resolution 647 (1997) requesting that the Virginia State Crime Commission study alternative means of discouraging shoplifting. Specifically, HJR 647 directed the Crime Commission, with input from the business community, to consider:

- alternative means of detecting and apprehending suspected shoplifters;
- enhanced sanctions, including a “teen court” system which would allow for adjudication, imposition of a sanction and post-adjudication supervision by peers of the offender as a means of sensitizing youth to the extent of the harm caused by shoplifting;
- imposition of monetary sanctions against parents of teen shoplifters;
- enhanced sanctions against the purchasers of stolen goods; and
- data on effective programs in other states.

VII. Findings and Recommendations

Finding A

HB 1718 (1995) was introduced to establish a Teen Court in Virginia. No action was taken by the House Committee for Courts of Justice, and Delegate James F. Almand requested that the Committee on District Courts review HB 1718 and determine the desirability of establishing a pilot Teen Court program in one or more Virginia jurisdictions. The Virginia Council of Juvenile and Domestic Relations District Court Judges was asked to consider HB 1718 and indicate whether there was sufficient support for further study of the Teen Court concept in Virginia. The Council's Executive Committee and a special committee on Teen Courts reviewed the Teen Court issue. In response to these requests, the Supreme Court of Virginia provided Delegate Almand with an extensive overview of the history, philosophy, purposes, operation,

administration and funding of Teen Court programs in the United States. However, Virginia juvenile and domestic relations district court judges concluded that they did not favor legislative enactment of a Teen Court, and, by unanimous agreement, they did not believe there was sufficient support to warrant further study of the concept.¹

Recommendation 1: Legislation should not be introduced at this time to establish a Teen Court in Virginia.

Finding B

An extensive literature review revealed the following means for deterring, detecting and apprehending shoplifters in place nationwide:

- Electronic Article Surveillance Systems (EAS);
- Ink tags;
- Closed Circuit Television Systems (CCTV);
- Mirrors;
- Locking fixtures such as chain or cable devices and display cases;
- Effective controls over fitting rooms, restrooms and packages brought into the store;
- Controlled access to stockrooms and emergency/non-customer exits;
- Strategic positioning of merchandise;
- Advertising;
- Employee incentive programs; and
- Security staff

According to "Crime Prevention for Virginia Businesses," a publication of the Virginia Retail Merchants Association, each of these shoplifting prevention and detection techniques is utilized in some form in Virginia at this time. In addition, an innovative shoplifting awareness program, known as "Stop Thief!" has been developed

¹See Appendix B to this report for more information on the teen court concept as provided by the Executive Secretary of the Supreme Court of Virginia in response to the request of Delegate James F. Almand.

and implemented by the Henrico County Community Corrections Program and made available to other localities in Virginia. The three components of the program are a 20-minute videotape, informational brochures to be distributed to the student audience and a lesson plan for teachers who wish to lead discussions about shoplifting subsequent to viewing the video. The objective of the program is to raise students' awareness of the legal, moral and social implications of shoplifting and to stimulate discussion among students on this issue.

Apparently, only two shoplifting prevention/detection strategies recognized in the literature--the crime analysis and systematic counting techniques—have not been implemented in Virginia.

The Crime Analysis Technique is a shoplifting prevention strategy with four major components:

- identify when and where losses occur most often, the differential vulnerability of items, shoplifting techniques and offender profiles;
- identify and choose prevention methods such as changes in store design, publicity notices, security devices, security staff and other staff;
- implement and monitor the prevention program; and
- evaluate its effectiveness.

The Systematic Counting Technique is a measuring strategy which involves the repeated, systematic counting of specified items of merchandise. Both techniques basically combine strategies that are already in use in Virginia; however, such combination may be cost prohibitive due to the additional coordination and attention required by store personnel.

Finding C

According to information provided by the Department of Criminal Justice Services' Criminal Justice Research Center, since 1990, the number of reported crimes for shoplifting has decreased slightly each year, and the number of arrests for buying,

receiving and possessing stolen property have remained fairly constant. *See Appendix C.* According the Virginia Retail Merchants Association (VRMA), in 1995, retail theft in Virginia—including shoplifting and employee theft—resulted in over \$550 million in losses to Virginians. Of this amount, the Commonwealth lost \$22 million in sales taxes, and the remainder was lost by consumers through the resulting increase in the cost of goods when merchants were forced to raise their prices in order to cover lost revenues. The VRMA estimates that as much as 2 - 5% of the retail price of an item can be attributed to the cost of retail theft.

Retail theft is a multiple loss for the retailer through:

- the lost revenue he would have realized from the legitimate sale of an item stolen (even if the item is recovered, it is usually damaged or too late in the selling season to resell it for full value);
- the cost of lowered prices on other items because, when an item is stolen, it is most often resold or “fenced” at a greatly reduced price, and the retailer must then compete with that reseller for the customer’s business;
- the cost of lost time and attention to his business as the retailer spends time in court attempting to recover the stolen item or its value;
- the cost of security devices and personnel; and
- the loss of customers who cannot find the items they came into the store to purchase because those items have been stolen.

Finding D

A contributing factor to the losses incurred by retailers and ultimately consumers is the ease with which many retail goods can be resold at local flea markets and through black markets to other merchants who deal in stolen goods. Legislation intended to curb the sale of stolen merchandise at flea markets is being pursued by retailers, wholesalers and manufacturers in several states due to increasing incidents of theft of over-the-counter (OTC) medicine and other products. Nationally, retailers,

wholesalers and manufacturers continue to report "shelf-sweeping" operations and other forms of shoplifting that supply flea markets. According to the Food Marketing Institute's 1994 "Security and Loss Prevention Issues Survey in the Supermarket Industry," shoplifting is among a supermarket's most common and costly type of loss. These activities not only mean lost revenue to retailers but also pose a risk to consumers. Often, these stolen goods end up at flea markets being sold by vendors who know their "merchandise" is stolen and who have no regard for expiration dates or directions for proper handling or storage.

In 1994, Georgia, North Carolina and Ohio passed legislation restricting the sale of OTC merchandise at flea markets. In 1995, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri and New York approved similar legislation.

In 1996, South Carolina enacted legislation requiring that all transient vendors maintain records of all new merchandise that they offer for sale. These records may be checked by any law enforcement officer who has a reasonable suspicion that the goods may be stolen. If the merchant does not possess these records, the officer may then seize the goods. Rhode Island law requires local licensing fees for hawkers and peddlers. South Dakota requires temporary vendors to be licensed and to meet the same record keeping requirements as other retailers. West Virginia law requires transient vendors who sell baby food, medical devices and nonprescription drugs to provide source information for the products and maintain records of these sources. West Virginia law also requires production of records, authorizes the confiscation of food, nonprescription drugs and medical devices unlawfully possessed and provides criminal penalties for failure to comply. In 1996, attempts to pass similar legislation in Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Tennessee failed. As of June 1997, six additional states were considering measures aimed at stopping the sale of stolen merchandise at flea markets and similar venues.

Recommendation 2:

The Crime Commission should introduce legislation to require peddlers and itinerant merchants to maintain sales records on new merchandise offered for sale. Failure to maintain such records should be punishable as a Class 3 misdemeanor for the first offense and as a Class 2 misdemeanor for any subsequent offenses.

VIII. Acknowledgments

The members and staff extend special thanks to the following agencies, organizations and individuals for their cooperation and valuable assistance to this study effort:

Ralph L. "Bill" Axselle, Jr., Esquire, Williams, Mullen, Christian & Dobbins

Captain Alice E. Berry, Chesterfield County Police Department

Bruce N. Crusier, Coordinator, Henrico County Community Corrections Program

Wendy Durton, J.C. Penney Co., Inc.

Don Faggiani, Unit Chief, Department of Criminal Justice Services, Research and Statistics Unit

Major James D. Fox, Henrico County Police Department

Daniel A. Gilmore, Criminal Justice Program Administrator, Department of Criminal Justice Services, Crime Prevention Center

Command Sergeant George A. Hansen, Ashland Police Department

Lt. Ralph W. Johnson, Ashland Police Department

John W. Jones, Executive Director, Virginia Sheriffs Association

Marion Kelly, Department of Criminal Justice Services, Juvenile Services Unit

Jo Hambrick Kittner, President, Virginia Retail Merchants Association

Jim McDonough, Director, Department of Criminal Justice Services, Research Center

George Peyton, Virginia Retail Merchants Association

Diane Regeria, Circuit City Stores, Inc.

Frank M. Ruff, Virginia House of Delegates

Dana G. Schrad, Executive Director, Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police

Anthony H. Sgro, Esquire, Williams, Mullen, Christian & Dobbins

Lt. Walter L. Smith, Jr., Henrico County Police Department

Duncan Thomas, Q-Markets

Clayton L. Walton, Esquire, Williams, Mullen, Christian & Dobbins

Alicia R. Zatcoff, Organized Crime Financial Analyst/Attorney, Richmond Police Department

APPENDIX A: HJR 647

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA -- 1997 SESSION

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 647

Directing the Virginia State Crime Commission to study alternative means of discouraging shoplifting.

Agreed to by the House of Delegates, February 4, 1997

Agreed to by the Senate, February 19, 1997

WHEREAS, retail merchants throughout the Commonwealth continue to suffer extensive annual losses at the hands of increasingly sophisticated shoplifters, and retail prices continue to escalate as a result; and

WHEREAS, in other jurisdictions, juvenile shoplifting offenses may be handled (i) through a "teen court" system which allows for "trial," imposition of a sanction, and post-"conviction" supervision by peers of the offender as a means of sensitizing youth to the extent of the harm caused by shoplifting, or (ii) by the imposition of monetary sanctions against parents of teen shoplifters; and

WHEREAS, in efforts directed towards more sophisticated offenders, other jurisdictions also may employ enhanced sanctions against the purchasers of stolen goods ("fences"); and

WHEREAS, a coordinated approach of alternative means of addressing the problems associated with and resulting from shoplifting is required; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the House of Delegates, the Senate concurring, That the Virginia State Crime Commission be directed to study alternative means of discouraging shoplifting. The Commission shall consider alternative means of detection and apprehension of suspected shoplifters and enhanced sanctions. The Crime Commission should seek data on effective programs in other states and input from the business community.

All agencies of the Commonwealth shall provide assistance to the Commission for this study, upon request.

The Commission shall complete its work in time to submit its findings and recommendations to the Governor and the 1998 Session of the General Assembly as provided in the procedures of the Division of Legislative Automated Systems for the processing of legislative documents.

APPENDIX B:
Information on the Teen Court Concept

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
ROBERT N. BALDWIN

ASST. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
FREDERICK A. HODNETT, JR.

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CATHERINE F. AGEE
DIR., TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
DONALD R. LUCIDO

December 8, 1995

The Honorable James F. Almand
Chair, House Committee for Courts and Justice
2060 North 14th Street, Suite 206
Arlington, VA 22201

Dear Delegate Almand:

In 1995, HB 1718 was introduced to establish a Teen Court in Virginia. Although no action was taken on the bill by the House Committee for Courts of Justice, you requested that the Committee on District Courts review the bill and determine the desirability of establishing a pilot "teen court program" in one or more jurisdictions so that the concept can be evaluated in a live context.

Pursuant to your request, the Virginia Council of Juvenile and Domestic Relations District Court Judges was asked to consider HB 1718 and indicate whether there was sufficient support for further study of the Teen Court concept in Virginia. The issue was reviewed by the Council's Executive Committee and a special committee on Teen Courts. The purpose of this letter is to advise you of the results of that review.

I. Teen Court History

Teen Court is a dispositional alternative for juveniles who have committed a first time offense. Since the first Teen Court was introduced in Odessa, Texas in 1983, the concept has spread to more than 130 locations in nearly half the states. All Teen Courts provide a jury of teens who determine the sentences for the teens brought before them. Other details of the programs such as what offenses qualify, how referrals are made, and what sentencing or consequence options are available, vary from program to program.

II. Teen Court Programs

Philosophy and Purposes. According to the information reviewed, Teen Courts are designed to be an early intervention program for young people who have committed their first offense. They are based on the premise that young people are less likely to become re-involved in illegal activity after participating in a judicial process in which their peers determine their sentence, and (2) that promoting feelings of self-esteem, motivation for self-improvement, and

constructive attitudes toward authority and the responsibilities of citizenship can interrupt the development of criminal and self-destructive behavior.

Teen Courts deal with an important, yet sometimes forgotten, aspect of crime -- the first offense. Where such programs exist, the organizers have staked out a position of prevention in hope of reaching young offenders before they cross the line to commit a serious or violent offense. Teen Courts are not appropriate for, nor do they try to deal with, serious gang problems nor efforts to change the lives of hardened adolescent felons.

Teen Courts are designed to help:

- expose young people to the realism of the judicial process and consequences of illegal behavior;
- provide an alternative to standard juvenile court proceedings;
- hold young people personally responsible for their behavior without having a juvenile court record;
- provide an opportunity for young people from all walks of life to participate in, learn from, and feel a part of the justice system;
- involve the community in the juvenile court process.

Operation. In existing program, referral to Teen Court usually requires that a young person -- with the consent of a parent or guardian -- plead guilty to an offense eligible for Teen Court disposition. These typically include misdemeanors such as shoplifting and simple assault, traffic violations, and status offenses. The juvenile then chooses Teen Court instead of traditional court for disposition and appears before the Teen Court for sentencing. (In Virginia, many first offenses can be diverted from the courts at intake.)

In most Teen Courts, all courtroom participants (attorneys, clerks, bailiffs, jurors) except the judge are teens. In some Teen Courts even the judge is a teen. Participants are volunteers who have been given orientation and training by for the roles they will perform.

Since guilt is not an issue, testimony is focused on character evidence, and mitigating or aggravating factors to be considered by the jury in determining a punishment. After deliberation, the jury decides upon the sentence, which is approved by the judge before being read to the defendant.

Sentencing options vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, but frequently include some combination of the following: restitution, community service, serving on teen jury duty in a specific number of cases, educational workshops, letters of apology, essays on assigned topic relative to offense, curfew, tutoring, or letters to the Teen Court describing the defendant's experience in court. Some jurisdictions also permit teen court juries to include fines and

probation as part of the sentence.

When the conditions of the sentence are satisfied, the juvenile's record is expunged. If not, the youth is returned to the traditional court for disposition, which results in a court record. If the young person objects to the teen court's sentence it can be appealed to the traditional court.

Administration. In most programs, a Teen Court Coordinator oversees the operation of the program. Coordinators come from the community (teachers, civic groups) or from the juvenile justice system (probation, police, court). This individual is responsible for recruiting students to serve on the court, coordinating and participating in volunteers orientation and training sessions with the assistance of court personnel, scheduling and coordinating the teen court sessions, coordinating and monitoring compliance with sentences, and returning completed and non-complying cases to the court.

Funding. Teen Courts are funded differently in different locations. Some are funded by grants from various state or private agencies, such as the United Way. Some receive money from one or more state or local government offices. Others receive private money from civic groups, such as the Junior League.

III. Juvenile and Domestic Relations District Court Judges' Response to Teen Court

Following their review, both the Executive Committee and the Special Committee on Teen Courts of the Virginia Council of Juvenile and Domestic Relations District Court Judges concluded that although such programs may have educational value, the J&DR judges do not favor legislative enactment of a Teen Court. Furthermore, by unanimous agreement, they do not believe there is sufficient support to warrant further study of the concept.

Lack of long term evaluations of Teen Court Programs. There have been no comprehensive, long term evaluations of teen court programs, so the lasting results of such efforts are uncertain. Without evidence of long term results, the judges question the need for creation of a new program given that

- 1) the existing juvenile code statutes provide for diversion of first or minor offenders, in appropriate instance; and
- 2) judges in many communities already have at their disposal diversion programs that can be used as adjudication alternatives in a variety of minor offenses, including traffic cases.

In fact, some judges regard these latter efforts as superior to the Teen Court concept because of the extensive parental involvement required.

The Honorable James F. Almand
December 8, 1995
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Changing nature of juvenile caseload. Members of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations District Court bench find themselves in the midst of the changing nature of juvenile offenses and offenders on a daily basis. They are spending larger portions of their time dealing with serious delinquency cases and family matters than in the past.

This change has not gone unnoticed beyond the court system. Three major studies of the juvenile justice system are underway in the Commonwealth. The thrust of all those studies is an increased emphasis on public safety, and how the juvenile justice system can best contribute to its improvement. Given the fact that many successfully operating programs for first time and minor offenders are in place in Virginia, the judges believe that their focus at present should be on the serious issues those studies raise, instead of on developing a Teen Court.

We appreciate having the opportunity to comment on HB 1718.

Sincerely,

Robert N. Baldwin

APPENDIX C: Statistical Information

Arrest Data for Buying, Receiving, and/or Possessing Stolen Property and Reported Crimes Information for Shoplifting (1990-1996)

Date	Arrest¹ for Buy, Receive, Possess Stolen Property	Reported² Crimes for Shoplifting
1990	1,877	38,740
1991	1,954	35,673
1992	1,948	35,002
1993	1,981	31,169
1994	1,871	29,250
1995	1,940	27,750
1996	1,906	27,686

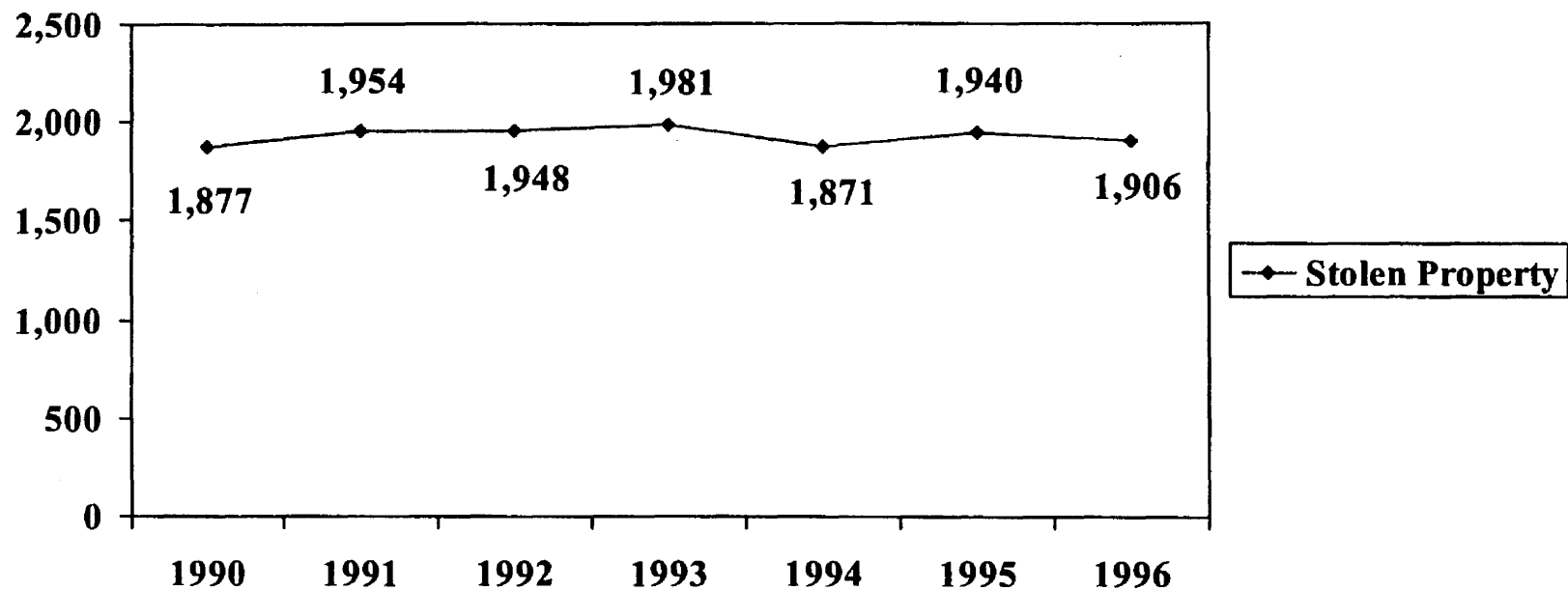
¹ Arrests are reported crimes that have been cleared by law enforcement either by arrest or exceptional means.

² Reported crimes are victim complaints received by law enforcement agencies and are not contingent on arrests or other restrictive considerations.

Prepared by: The Criminal Justice Research Center, DCJS

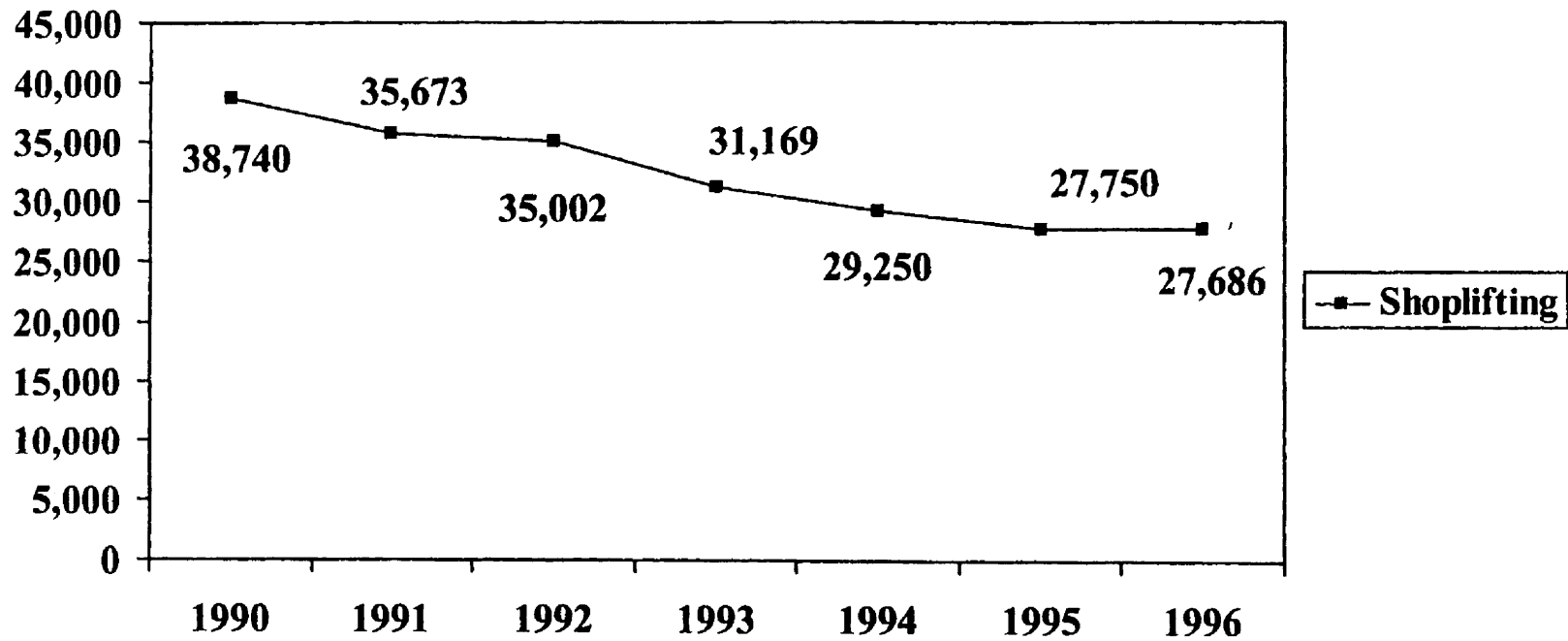
Data Source: Crime in Virginia, Department of State Police

Arrest for Buy, Receive, Possess Stolen Property 1990 - 1996



C-2

Reported Crimes For Shoplifting 1990 - 1996



C-3

