



Supplemental Materials for

**Store robberies for tobacco products:
Perceived causes and potential solutions**

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Marewa Glover, Robin Shepherd, Hamed Nazari, and Kyro Selket

Listing of Supplemental Material(s):

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Table 1. Perceived causes of robberies by stakeholder

Elite	Grassroots	Interest Group
<i>Tobacco tax increases</i>		
<p>A carton of cigarettes is now worth nearly \$300 due to the tax increases... You don't have to be a genius to work it out ... They're impoverishing the poorest New Zealanders and now it's led to an increase in black market activity and crime. (Politician – incumbent minor party, Sep 2016) (7)</p> <p>Shop owners worked incredibly long and hard hours, only to find themselves in the centre of a drug war, where tobacco is like gold. (Politician – in opposition, Jun 2017) (31)</p> <p>It's a complex mix of poverty, addictions, lack of access to positive role models, and the monstrously massive tax on tobacco making cigarettes a more valuable target than gold. (Media interviewee, Sep 2017) (45)</p> <p>The increase in thefts was not of Police's making, but was more evidence the legislated annual tobacco tax hikes was a 'failed policy'. (Politician – in opposition, Oct 2017) (48)</p> <p>...tax hikes on cigarettes are not helping people quit anymore, but have been seen as an opportunity for gangs. (Action for Smokefree 2025 (ASH) spokesperson, Nov 2018) (97)</p> <p>The continual hike in tobacco tax is a move towards criminalising smokers and drives them to commit crimes... These robberies... are absolutely driven by these very high prices. (Academic, Jan 2019) (106)</p>	<p>Every year the prices go up... That's going to fuel crime again. It's getting as good as gold because of the prices and there is a good black market. (Retailer, Dec 2016) (8)</p> <p>As long as the cigarette price keeps going up, this kind of thing will continue to happen. Cigarettes and cash, that's the easy targets. (Retailer, May 2017) (18)</p> <p>It must be the price of the cigarettes, they're too expensive and they can't afford it anymore, and I think it's going to get worse because the cigarette price is going up. (Retailer, Sep 2017) (46)</p> <p>...because our government puts mad taxes on smokes. (Black market vendor of single cigarettes, May 2018) (68)</p>	<p>New Zealand's biggest tobacco company is blaming the government's hefty tobacco excise for the rise in violent robberies on dairy and petrol stations workers. (Tobacco company manager, Mar 2018) (59)</p> <p>Tobacco is literally being treated like currency. (NZ Taxpayers' Union, Jun 2018) (72)</p>
<i>Black market</i>		
<p>A lot of these robberies are to order - there are people out there trading in the black market in terms of what's stolen. (Police Commissioner, May 2017) (27)</p> <p>They're basically selling gold bars; a brick of cigarettes is now worth \$300, there's a ready black market for it. (Politician – incumbent minor party, Jun 2107) (31)</p> <p>At the price - \$30 for a packet of cigarettes - you got very significant demand... such that stolen tobacco wouldn't be waiting around for very long. (Criminology expert, Mar 2018) (56)</p> <p>There was a link between excise tax and illicit tobacco use, but he went even further, linking it to attacks on shop workers. (Acting Prime Minister, July 2018) (82)</p>	<p>Unscrupulous small stores were buying stolen cigarettes cheaply and onselling them, fuelling the crimes. (Retailer, May 2017) (17)</p>	<p>The government was partly responsible for the tobacco black market. Cigarettes are definitely one of the attractions because if you look at the value, and these offenders, when they are picking up those boxes of cigarettes, they are not going to consume them themselves. It's going to the black market, and that's where the whole cycle is starting. (Crime Prevention Group, May 2017) (21)</p> <p>They [tobacco companies] have a responsibility... to be socially responsible. They need to understand what's going on in the distribution, with the black market. (Crime Prevention Group, Jun 2017) (36)</p> <p>The compounding effect of these disproportionate price increases has made tobacco incredibly lucrative for criminals, feeding the black market and ultimately fuelling</p>

<p>The price increase criminalises smokers, unfairly targets Māori and Pasifika groups and pushes people to get involved in a black market. It's driving people to commit crime, it's not that they're criminals they don't want to do it, but in order to get tobacco they're looking on the black market, people are being driven... to grow tobacco and sell it which is illegal and of course buying it even on the black market puts you at risk. (Academic, Jan 2019) (106)</p>		<p>retail crime. (Tobacco company manager, Mar 2018) (59)</p>
<p><i>Drug or alcohol use</i></p>		
<p>Most of the robberies we deal with are often just a group of people who get together ... alcohol is often a contributor ... they go out and commit these robberies. (Police Commander, May 2017) (29)</p> <p>...these crimes are motivated by money, cigarettes and alcohol. (Police Commander, Jul 2017) (37)</p> <p>Methamphetamine was the driving force behind the crimes... Criminals were stealing cigarettes and trading them to feed their drug habits... I don't blame this on the price of tobacco, but on the addiction to P. (Minister of Police, Dec 2017) (50)</p> <p>I fear that drugs are a major factor behind it and we know that cigarettes are becoming more and more of a black market item as the price increases. (Politician – incumbent, Dec 2017) (50)</p>	<p>These burglars are selling this tobacco on the black market to pay for drugs... they're not stealing it for themselves – no one can smoke that much... It's not for self-use. It's a large-scale thing... (Retailer, May 2017) (16)</p> <p>They are under the influence of drugs or they are just doing it for the sake of getting money... (Retailer, Mar 2018) (61)</p>	
<p><i>“Youth”</i></p>		
<p>Fine the parents... It's the parents who are ultimately responsible for their children. They should know where they are at night, and they should not be allowing them to gather with their mates, drink hard liquor, and terrorise the innocent... Fixing this problem is not a simple issue. It's highly complex and requires effort from all sectors of society. (Journalist, Mar 2017) (13)</p> <p>...so many youth feel it's OK to go and rob the local dairy. (Police Commander, May 2017) (29)</p> <p>If we want to look at who is committing these crimes, it seems to be young people living in a hopeless situation. (Politician – in opposition, May 2017) (20)</p> <p>A spike in aggravated dairy robberies... is fuelled by youth who see the crimes as a badge of honour. (Police, Aug 2017) (41)</p>		<p>Why are there young kids roaming the streets, not in any employment or training? (Crime Prevention Group, Jun 2017) (36)</p> <p>It's aided and abetted by the parents. They're not ignorant. They're not childish. They're professionals. (NZ Association of Dairies, Groceries and Small Businesses, Oct 2017) (48)</p>

<i>Inadequate enforcement and penalty</i>		
<p>The police force have been told there will be no staffing increases until 2020. Meanwhile, robberies are up a staggering 66 per cent nationwide since August 2014... Our police force is stretched. (Politician – in opposition, Jan 2017) (9)</p>	<p>Drug use was up 36 per cent, burglary up 33 per cent while in the same period, police foot patrols dropped 16 per cent. (Retailer, Dec 2016) (8)</p> <p>Losing confidence in police and "felt left behind". (Retailer, Dec 2016) (8)</p> <p>The law is too soft, because they are young, they will go to court and be walking the streets again within a week. (Retailer, Mar 2017) (11)</p>	<p>Instances of theft were now going unreported... They don't want to report it because they know nothing is going to be done. (Indian Social and Cultural Club treasurer, Dec 2016) (8)</p>
<i>Economic and social determinants</i>		
<p>There are a number of social factors that drive offending and crime rates, but we know that cigarettes and tobacco have always been popular with thieves. (Politician – incumbent, Jan 2017) (9)</p> <p>Another factor is the growing inequality in the community, while this is no excuse for people to turn to stealing, I suspect it does influence some people's decision making. (Politician – in opposition, May 2017) (26)</p> <p>A number of these crimes have been fuelled I believe by a combination of poverty. We have 90,000 young people not engaged in education, training and employment. (Politician – in opposition, May 2017) (19)</p> <p>The [incumbent dominant political party] blamed dysfunctional families for the spate of attacks. (Political party incumbent, May 2017) (20)</p> <p>Youths were copying the aggravated robberies from regions such as Auckland after viewing footage of the crimes released by media and shared on social media platforms. (Police, Aug 2017) (41).</p> <p>A thorough investigation is needed into what drives our youth to commit these crimes, and how those drivers can be removed. My suspicion is that it's a complex mix of poverty, addictions, lack of access to positive role models, and the monstrously massive tax on tobacco making cigarettes a more valuable target than gold. (Media interviewee, Sep 2017) (45)</p>		<p>More teenagers were turning to robbery... They gotta live, they're desperate, they're disconnected, so they just refer back to what they know, and that is crime, committing crime to live, to support what they do... a lot of youth unemployment, in his area in particular, and support services for young people had been dramatically cut in the past year. (Youth worker, Sep 2017) (46)</p>

Table 2. Suggested solutions to robberies by stakeholder

Elite	Grassroots	Interest Group
Address economic and social determinants		
<p>Poverty was to blame and bridging the gap between the have and the have-nots was critical. (Politician - in opposition, May 2017) (20)</p>		
Stop increasing tobacco tax		
<p>They should also be allowed to sell cigarettes (it's a free country), but they should be cheaper. Remove the portion of Government tax on smokes that goes over and above the users' cost to the health system. (Journalist, May 2017) (23)</p> <p>Touted his three-strikes policy and getting rid of tobacco tax. (Politician - in opposition, May 2017) (20)</p> <p>...won't increase taxes on cigarettes and alcohol if [political party] wins the 2020 election. (Politician – in opposition, Nov 2018) (96)</p> <p>This is a way of taking money from the poor so you can give with one hand and you take with the other. We really need to stop these tax increases... price hikes were not deterring consumers and a more holistic approach is needed. (Academic, Jan 2019) (106)</p>	<p>...justified selling the individual cigarettes, at \$1.40, on the basis that it could also help stop tobacco-related robberies. (Black market vendor of single cigarettes, May 2018) (68)</p> <p>Stop increasing the price of cigarettes and tobacco. They're getting all the revenue, and not using it to help people who get robbed every day. It's unworkable. (Retailer, Jun 2018) (73)</p>	<p>The government should abandon tobacco tax hikes. (New Zealand Taxpayers' Union, Jun 2018) (72)</p>
Increase community involvement		
<p>There needed to be a community response, while also calling for 1000 more police officers. (Politician - in opposition, May 2017) (20)</p> <p>Police are running a month-long campaign... offering to reward people who provide information that leads to a successful prosecution by calling into their Crimestoppers line. (Police Commissioner, May 2017) (27)</p> <p>Where is the whānau? Where is the mana [authority with pride]? ... A number of these are Pacific offenders; where is the pride we talk about in the Pacific? (Detective, May 2017) (26)</p> <p>...social investment type stuff, that we can identify those issues within families sooner. All the government agencies need to work together on that but the community have a place in that solution as well. (Police Inspector, Jul 2017) (37)</p> <p>It will take a combined effort to restore dairies as safe havens at the epicentre of our communities: Police, business owners and operators, landlords, social services, suppliers, central and local</p>	<p>Residents of... launched a <i>Givealittle</i> page to fund a CCTV camera after repeated ram raids on a local service station. (Journalist, Aug 2016) (5)</p> <p>Neighbours need to get together in order to protect their communities... The more people that help out, the more crime will decrease. (Community man voluntarily guards local dairy, Feb 2018) (62)</p>	<p>...as a community we need to wrap around our local convenience stores and utilise them for convenience instead of just buying cigarettes and alcohol. (Reverend, May 2017) (26)</p>

<p>government. (Designer and General Manager, Auckland Design, Auckland Council, June 2018) (76)</p>		
<p><i>Ban and more heavily restrict the sale of cigarettes</i></p>		
<p>...they wouldn't be a target if business operators refused to stock cigarettes in the first place. (Former politician responsible for tax increases, Mar 2017) (14)</p> <p>It's time for the sale of tobacco to be restricted. (Academic, Mar 2018) (60)</p> <p>Some Auckland dairy owners are optimistic that limiting where tobacco is sold could reduce the number of robberies. (Journalist, Sep 2018) (94)</p> <p>Access and availability were not the main problems. That's distracting from the big issue... how much tobacco tax Māori are paying disproportionately... that is harming... (Researcher, Jan 2019) (110)</p>	<p>...make a team in the community to stop these things... all the dairies can become a union and help each other with more security. (Retailer, May 2017) (18)</p> <p>A dairy... has already stopped selling them [cigarettes] in an attempt to prevent theft. (Retailer, Jun 2018) (74)</p> <p>Stopping tobacco sales would sound the death knell for his business. Of his store's total income, 60% to 70% came from sales of tobacco products. (Retailer, July 2018) (79)</p> <p>Recently we heard about the dairy... which had two robberies in four days. That's just crazy. We can't risk that. That would make us go out of business, basically. The move away from cigarettes has been gradual... slowly dwindling down their stock.. Smokers in the area could just give up the habit. (Retailer, Sep 2018) (93).</p>	<p>The company had considered not stocking cigarettes but we have to balance this with customer expectations and choice. (Petrol company spokesperson, Jan 2016) (112)</p> <p>Some dairy owners are looking at taking cigarettes off their shelves. (Manukau Indian Association, Apr 2017) (15)</p> <p>More needs to be done to greater deter criminals in the first place; to ensure that there are fewer repeat offenders; and to discourage the sale of tobacco products. (Tobacco company spokesperson, Jun 2017) (36)</p>
<p><i>More crime prevention programmes</i></p>		
<p>We need an all government approach through health, mental health and addiction and education. (Police, Dec 2017) (50)</p>	<p>The government has put \$3 million of funding into crime and gang prevention programmes in the wider Auckland region, but that ended in June 2008. (Retailer, Sep 2017) (46)</p> <p>Government needs to change the rules, even the police they can't do anything because the Government doesn't give them the power. (Retailer, Dec 2017) (50)</p> <p>Too much time on policing the roads, and far too much time on chasing drugs. Not enough time engaging with their communities, which has been shown to be the most effective way of reducing crime. (Community person, Sep 2017) (45)</p> <p>Government should take some responsibility and not lay it solely on small business owners to safeguard themselves from possible armed offenders. (Retailer, Jun 2018) (73)</p>	<p>There needs to be a focus on any gang involvement and why families are 'turning a blind eye' to criminal offending. (Crime Prevention Group, Jun 2017) (36)</p>
<p><i>Sell alternative products to cigarettes</i></p>		
<p>Support for vaping industry calls for dairies to switch from selling cigarettes to vaping devices to reduce armed robberies... the real solution may be for dairies to replace tobacco with harm minimisation products. (Māori [Indigenous] public health service, Apr 2018) (66)</p>	<p>It's expensive to smoke but just as expensive to quit. I paid \$140 for an e-cigarette and I regret it really, as it was a mid-level device. You have to pay \$250 to \$300 for a really high-end one and these are the ones the Government should be subsidising. (Person who smokes, Apr 2017) (15)</p>	<p>We're suggesting that instead of stopping the sale of nicotine products all together, dairy owners investigate the option of swapping out their tobacco stands for e-cigarette consignment. (E-liquid manufacturer, Apr 2018) (65)</p>

<p>One of the main ways of reducing the harm from smoking is vaping, but the industry has faced an uphill battle in New Zealand after years of Government inaction. (Journalist, May 2018) (69)</p> <p>Quitline should be directed to subsidise vaping start-up packs. (Journalist, Jul 2018) (84)</p>		
<p><i>Increase and improve security technology</i></p>		
<p>\$1.8 million fund to help pay for extra security at places like dairies... Businesses assessed as being high-risk will be invited to apply for co-funding for things like panic and high volume interior alarms, DNA spray, fog cannons and time safes for cash and storage of cigarettes. (Police Minister, Jun 2017) (35)</p>	<p>Despite having roller doors, alarms, CCTV cameras and other preventative measures in place, Mr Kumar said it's not always proven to be enough. (Retailer, Jun 2017) (33)</p> <p>Perhaps if we get cameras mounted coming into the town and out of the town, perhaps we could capture these people's faces. (Community member, Sep 2017) (44)</p> <p>Police should install more CCTV cameras and not just rely on footage from shopkeepers. (Retailer, Mar 2018) (64)</p> <p>We installed the bars... and it makes me feel a lot safer - it's sad that it's come to this. (Retailer, Mar 2018) (60).</p>	<p>The company is currently in the process of installing 50 high-security steel tobacco dispensing machines in Z [petrol] stations across Auckland as a means of deterring would-be offenders, among other preventative measures including fog cannons, bollards, safe rooms for staff and high definition CCTV systems. (Petrol station chain spokesperson, Jun 2017) (33)</p> <p>[Tobacco company] favours a "whole" approach to store security. (Tobacco company spokesperson, Jun 2017) (36)</p> <p>Software company has developed an app to send out a distress signal and emergency messages to their contacts when in danger... 'Please Help!' is an app specially designed for retail stores such as dairy stores, liquor stores, petrol pumps, restaurants and takeaways and individuals to alert their nominated emergency contacts that they are in danger. (Edutech software company, Jul 2017) (39)</p> <p>The police will pay half of the cost of the micromist spray and two other security measures – fog cannons and sound barriers – with the shop's owner funding the other half... as the robbers leave they are sprayed with a solution that's virtually invisible... turns bright blue under UV light... stays on living tissue... for up to two weeks and on clothing... for up to six months. (Spray manufacturer, Sep 2017) (47)</p> <p>Many of the dairy owners are trying to do things on their own. Even in South Auckland, many of them have installed the metal bars, a jail-like structure. (Crime Prevention Group, Jan 2018) (53)</p>
<p><i>Sell cigarettes elsewhere</i></p>		
<p>Cigarettes should not be sold in dairies but from licenced outlets similar to alcohol... we want to see smokefree days where you can't buy cigarettes at all. (Politician – incumbent minor party, Apr 2017) (15)</p>	<p>The owner, who asked not to be named out of fear her store would be targeted for stocking tobacco, supported the idea of specialist, tobacco-only stores. (Retailer, Sep 2018) (94)</p>	<p>Margins are certainly being squeezed substantially... mounting pressure placed on convenience stores meant they needed to diversify, or risk closing. Some will disappear entirely ... but others will seek to diversify... they are now doing everything from gourmet coffee to</p>

<p>Sell them with alcohol because the security systems in an alcohol convenience store is usually much higher than [in] a dairy. (Associate Minister of Health, May 2017) (22)</p> <p>...establish dedicated, secure shops for selling tobacco... For example [creating] a level playing field by taking tobacco out of dairies and supermarkets and service stations, and just selling them from very secure R18 premises. (Academic, May 2018) (68)</p> <p>The increasing price certainly influences the increasing number of dairy robberies, suggesting smokes should be taken out of dairies completely to protect owners. (Stop Smoking Program Dr, May 2018) (69)</p> <p>...ask the dairy community to rethink about what they can sell in the meantime or start phasing out tobacco. (Government funded tobacco control advocacy service, Jan 2019) (110)</p>		<p>postal services. (Retail NZ general manager, Jul 2018) (79)</p>
<p><i>Improve store layout</i></p>		
<p>Police were offering safety audits. (Police, May 2017) (21)</p> <p>Opening up the dairies to public view would be the answer. (Architect, Dec 2017) (52)</p> <p>Business owners needed to improve the visibility to their store, make items of higher value harder to access and install deterrents such as CCTV and audible alarms. (Police National Prevention Centre Inspector, Jun 2018) (73)</p> <p>Locating [cigarettes] away from the entrance could prevent smash 'n grab robberies. (Designer and General manager, Auckland Design, Auckland Council, Jun 2018) (77)</p> <p>Re-design of dairies... internal layout, shelving heights, lighting, fixtures, entranceways and also their frontages to make them more open, more transparent, more welcoming. (Designer and General manager, Auckland Design, Auckland Council, Jun 2018) (76)</p>		
<p><i>Cigarette vending machines</i></p>		
<p>Installing cigarette pack dispensers would help tackle the epidemic of robberies. (Politician - in opposition, Aug 2018) (90)</p>	<p>Store owners... are demanding that the government fund cigarette vending machines in shops. (Retailer, Mar 2018) (60)</p> <p>Cigarette vending machines are not the answer to stopping robberies. (Retailer, Mar 2018) (60)</p>	<p>The [vending] machines as "gigantic safes" with an internal vending unit... they were "very hard" to steal from. (Vending machine retailer, Mar 2018) (63)</p> <p>Installed high security steel dispensing machines at petrol stations. (Petrol station chain spokesperson, Mar 2018) (63)</p>

<i>Self-defence measures</i>		
<p>Guns are a step too far, but dairy owners should be allowed to carry tasers for protection. (Journalist, May 2017) (23)</p> <p>The individual needs to make an assessment of the situation: do they believe their life is in danger [or] in danger of serious injury? If you genuinely believe... the only way to make yourself safe is to use force, then you're allowed to use such force as is necessary... It must be when the threat is still active. It must be in a situation where there's no other reasonable means to make yourself safe. (Law academic, Jul 2018) (79)</p>	<p>I don't want to create a problem, that's why I'm closing early. (Retailer, Dec 2016) (8)</p> <p>Employed a security guard. (Retailer, May 2017) (24)</p> <p>I've got a friend sitting outside assisting my wife during the daytime to keep the robbers away. (Retailer, Feb 2018) (55)</p>	<p>They needed some form of protection, such as the right to arm themselves with guns... The owners had had enough and having firearms behind the counter could be the next step... It'll form some kind of deterrent. We're not saying that guns should be actually used, but dairy owners are sick and tired and fed up. (Indian Association, Mar 2017) (12)</p> <p>We've seen them with bats, we've seen them with steel bars and that's protection realistically at the end of the day. (Māori Warden, Jul 2017) (37)</p> <p>Delivered a petition to Parliament arguing shopkeepers should be allowed to arm themselves. (Crime Prevention Group, Aug 2018) (90)</p>
<i>More policing and enforcement</i>		
<p>Need for a return to traditional and community policing... there must be enough police officers to keep our communities safe. (Politician - in opposition, Aug 2016) (4)</p> <p>More police on the ground. (Criminology expert, Sep 2016) (7)</p> <p>It's a legal product, the sale of it is heavily constrained. It's pretty heavily taxed, so we don't plan to stop selling it, but we are going to put 1100 more staff into the police to make sure that our communities are safe. (Prime Minister, Mar 2017) (14)</p> <p>Police must track tobacco theft. (Politician – in opposition, Mar 2017) (10)</p> <p>The [incumbent dominant political] party had invested \$500 million in increasing police numbers. (Politician – incumbent, May 2017) (19)</p> <p>I'm not convinced that throwing more police at it is the solution to that problem. (Media interviewee, Mar 2018) (45)</p> <p>Police had a dedicated taskforce focusing on aggravated robberies at commercial premises. (Police Superintendent, Jun 2018) (74)</p> <p>Police visited more than 1000 dairies in Auckland offering seminars, but the turnout was disappointing. (Police, Aug 2018) (88)</p>	<p>...the Mangere Town Centre which has tightened its security... There are frequent police patrols now. (Retailer, May 2017) (26)</p> <p>He wants police to respond faster to incidents. (Retailer, May 2017) (26)</p> <p>Attacks on shop owners were out of control and the Government and the police needed to take serious action. (Retailer, May 2017) (19)</p>	<p>The group has launched a petition seeking increased police patrols, reopening closed police stations and proposing lowering the youth age to 11. (Crime Prevention Group, Mar 2017) (14)</p> <p>This issue is so serious, and the Government has not been listening... We need action now... We need more police and we need to see the enforcement. We're asking to review the law. (Crime Prevention Group, May 2017) (17)</p> <p>They want a special police task force to deal with violent crime on businesses. (Crime Prevention Group, May 2017) (19)</p> <p>Safety is "paramount" for the company. Police work with individual retail stores ... they can look at the layout of the store, how much stock they hold. If the company focused just on providing dispensers that focus would be too narrow. We're looking at options which might include how much stock a store holds and the frequencies of deliveries. (Tobacco company spokesperson, Jun 2017) (36)</p>
<i>Harsher penalties</i>		
<p>One of the best ways dealing with seriously violent offenders is to put them in jail. (Politician – in opposition, Nov 2017) (49)</p>	<p>'Solidarity Stand' - a community group pushing for change... wanted tougher penalties for youth offenders and</p>	<p>The group wants: Harsher penalties for assault and aggravated robbery. An increase in police officers and re-</p>

<p>The answer is staying tough on crime and the causes of crime. Making sure you have deterrent penalties so that when thugs come into dairies and superettes with baseball bats intent on committing crimes - when they're caught, because they basically always are - that they are dealt with in a stern way that deters others. (Politician – in opposition, Jul 2018) (83)</p> <p>Of course, some people are being injured in that. A lot of young people are being caught and it's become a new kind of gateway to prison for youth. (Academic, Jan 2019) (106)</p>	<p>more police resources in the area to deter crime. (Retailer, Mar 2017) (11)</p> <p>The retailers want heavy penalties for resellers of stolen goods. (Retailer, May 2017) (20)</p> <p>Police will have to get tougher. (Retailer, Nov 2017) (49)</p> <p>Laws must be made tougher to act as a deterrent... those who committed the crimes needed to be in jail for at least six months or one year. (Retailer, Mar 2018) (61)</p> <p>Government to get tough on juvenile offenders through a combination of custodial sentences and hard labour to inculcate in them a sense of work ethic and value for money... nothing is done to them because of their age. The Government should seriously, in light of the number of serious violent crimes, committed by people as young as 13 and 14, try them either in adult court or lower the age threshold in the Youth Court. (Retailer, Sep 2018) (92).</p>	<p>opened stations in the suburbs and regions. Parents to be held accountable for their children's actions... A Work for the Dole [unemployment payment] scheme for people to be trained as security guards to patrol shopping areas. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations. (Crime Prevention Group, Dec 2017) (51)</p>
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