## The Impacts of Demographic Changes on Crime: The Experience of Crime in Developing Countries and What Happened to Thailand

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#### Abstract

Crime in England and Wales has changed remarkably since 1954. The normal crime rate steadily rose to peak in 1992. Dramatically, the unprecedented crime rate sharply declined in the 1990s and has become relatively stabilized since then. Similar to the United States and many other European countries, the number of crimes increased and fell in that same period of time.

The similarities in the crime trends have raised the question of why countries that treat crime differently have similar tendencies in crime. One of the most accepted hypotheses is that the similarities of crime are due to a similarity in demographic change. The post-World War II baby boom caused a considerable change in the number of adolescents who are the most at risk for committing crimes and violence.

This paper will try to discuss the association between demography and crime in Thailand. The findings from the data analysis will show the impacts of demographic changes on crime. As parts of an accepted way of understanding crime in developed countries, demographic analysis will illustrate some interesting significances that would be helpful for the criminal justice development of Thailand.

#### **1. Introduction**

Crime in England and Wales has changed remarkably since 1954. The normal crime rate of around 430,000 before that time steadily rose nearly thirteen-fold to peak at over 5.5 million in 1992. Dramatically, the unprecedented crime rate sharply declined in the 1990s and has become relatively stabilized since then (Hale, 2005). Similarly, the number of serious crime in the U.S. – such as homicide, robbery, and burglary and auto theft-sharply increased in the same period and started to turn down in the 1990s as well (Schapiro and Ahlburg, 1986; Blumstein, 2000).

The similarities in the crime trends have raised the question of why countries that treat crime differently have similar tendencies in crime. The dramatic rise and decline in crime rate may not result from the legal system, political policies, crime control initiatives, or efficiency of the criminal justice system. The issue has been widely discussed in the criminologist society worldwide with no consensual conclusion until now. One of the most accepted hypotheses is that the similarities of crime are due to a similarity in demographic change. Such countries have the same experience of the post-World War II baby boom. The greatly increased birth rate after World War II caused a considerable change in the number of adolescents during the next 15-20 years. The term baby boom refers to this case by the explanation that the boom of birth raised the number of adolescents who are the most at risk for committing crime and violence and upset the balance of the demographic structure. Changes in the size of the age group that is most likely to commit crime could be the most important factor associated with a rise or drop in crime. There have been several researches done revealing evidence to show that the demographic shifts and changes in age structure present important significances in the context of crime (Fox, 2000).

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In Thailand, the demographic analysis has never been adequately employed to crime studies. This paper will try to discuss the association between demography and crime in Thailand. The Thai population statistics and crime record will be analysed to obtain the knowledge of the extent to which demographic changes affect a rise or drop in crime in Thailand. The findings from the data analysis will show the impacts of demographic changes on crime. As parts of an accepted way of understanding crime in developed countries, demographic analysis will illustrate some interesting significances that would be helpful for the criminal justice development of Thailand. In addition, the experience of the connection between demographic changes and crime changes in many countries could suggest a new way of thinking about crime control and how to maintain a peaceful society.

## 2. The Sources of Data Analysis

It is worth analyzing demographic data and crime statistics in Thailand to obtain knowledge from the experience of developed countries. In this case, secondary data is needed as primary data of population and crimes in the time period is impossible to collect. This paper will use the official Thai statistics of population and crime records to carry out an analysis of connection between demographic changes and crime statistics in Thailand. The main sources of analysis come from the two governmental agencies that are responsible for population records and crime records that are: (1) the population statistics from the Central Registration Office, the Ministry of Interior; and (2) crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police. However, the analysis of demographic changes in crime in Thailand is more difficult than in developed countries such as the United States and the UK because some of the data was not gathered and collected systemically. There are several shortcomings in the Thai database such as a lack of some important data, changes in the data gathering process, and lack of continuity in available data. Thus, this report is primarily based on an analysis of existing data and allows supportive data from other reliable sources in case that existing data is insufficient to achieve data analysis in the most appropriate way.

#### **2.1 Demographic Statistics**

The oldest demographic data was published in the annual official report of the Central Registration Office, the Ministry of Interior. Between 1956 and 1961, the annual report shows only the number of total population in each year. After that, the annual report began publishing the birth rate and death rate. However, the data from the annual report has a problem with continuity as there is missing data for the birth rate and death rate in many years. Another source used to fill the missing data is 'the Report of Thai Population Statistics in 25 Years (1968-1992)' published by Chulalongkorn University (Wongsubchat, W. et al 1993) that gathered the number of males and females in the population and showed an increasing rate of population between 1968 and 1992. Since 1993 the number of each age group has been divided into age cohort from under 1 year to 100 years and over, which is available on the Ministry of Interior website (see appendix-table 1).

As the data for birth rate in each age group was not complete over this period of time the existing data cannot be applied to calculate the number in each age group directly. Therefore, other supportive data is required to estimate changes in the age structure of the population. According to the fact sheet of the Department of Health vol.2 number 2 November 1996 (Tientavorn and Jiramahakun 1996), the death rate between 1958 and 1987 was quite stable at around 200,000 to 220,000. Only in 1963, was the number of deaths higher than 260,000 (see table-1). As a result, the death rate was quite stable and

an increase in the number of the population each year can be used to roughly estimate changes in age structure over the period. Since 1993 when the number of each age group was completely collected, the actual number of each age group will be analysed.

Year	The number of Death
1958	209,868
1963	261,900
1985	196,008
1986	219,455
1987	225,156
1993	318,689
1995	298,460

#### Table-1 the Number of Death

**Source:** the Central Registration Office in the fact sheet of Department of Health vol.2 number 2 November 1996

#### 2.2 Crime statistics

The main source of crime statistics is from the police crime record that has been continuously collected since 1976. However, crime statistics were only kept on paper until 1995and since then they have been computerized. The crime statistics are the only reliable indicators to describe the crime situation in Thailand because other forms of crime indicators (such as victim surveys) have never been collected.

Between 1976 and 1977, the crime record was divided into two main categories. The first one was 'offences of violence against a person' and the other one was 'offences against an individual property'. Since 1978 more groups of offences have been categorised in order to provide a higher level of record. This results from a higher degree of public interest in different types of crime. Currently, crime statistics are grouped into five groups as follows:

- group 1: the most serious crime including murder, robbery, kidnapping, and arson
- **group 2:** offences of violence against a person including murder, manslaughter, assault/wounding, and rape
- **group 3:** offences against an individual property including theft, robbery, blackmail, threatening for property, receiving stolen property, and vandalism
- **group 4:** highly interesting offences including motorcycle theft, car theft, agricultural instrument theft, robbery in public transport, robbery against taxi driver, fatal rape, fraud, and embezzlement
- **group 5:** victimless crime including illegal firearm, gambling, drug, prostitute, obscene materials, and pornography

However, the crime statistics have some limitations in comparability. There have been changes in the definition of recorded offences over time, especially in groups 4 and 5. Only groups 2 and 3 have remained the same over the period of time as the two groups are the main categories. Moreover, some offences are categorised into more than one group. For example, murder and robbery are categorised into 2 groups as the most serious crimes and their actual group (murder in group 1 and 2, robbery in group 1 and 3), fatal rape in group 4 is categorised in group 1 as murder and in group 2 as rape, and auto theft and agricultural instrument theft in group 4 mean theft in group 3 as well. Thus, in statistical analysis the numerical data of each type of offence will be considered rather than the total number of offences in each group except the main categories of group 2 and 3. This paper can report only the data that has no problems of continuity to indicate the tendency of crime from the key offences as follows: (see appendix-table-2)

- offences of violence against person
  - murder
  - assault/wounding
  - rape (from 1978, the year that data were first distinguished differences between sexual offence and rape)
- offences against individual property
  - theft
  - robbery
  - auto theft (from 1978, the year the data were first collected)

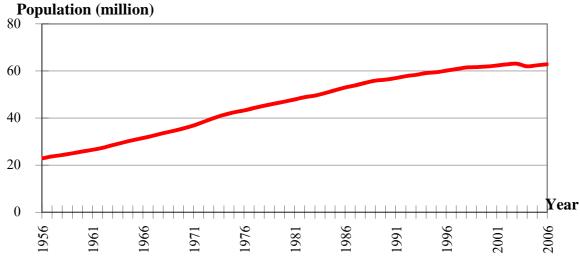
Unfortunately, the Thai crime statistics do not distinguish some important offences from their main categories for instance burglary from theft and homicide from murder. Therefore, it is impossible to classify burglary and homicide in data analysis.

#### 3. Data analysis

#### **3.1** The growth of population

In 1956 Thailand had a population of 22.8 million. The number of population increased steadily to around three times that to over 60 million in 1996. Since then the growth of the population has increased slower than at any time which results in a gradual decline in the rate of population increase (see figure-1). Between 1956 and 1962, the number of population increase fluctuated in a relatively low rate at around 550,000 to 850,000. After 1962 the number of population began increasing to over 1 million per year, especially in the period from 1971 to 1974 when the increase in the rate of population was recorded from over 1.25 million to a peak of just fewer than 1.6 million in 1973. After that the growth rate declined with an increase of population at around 1 million each year until 1990. Since 1991 the number of population fell sharply to less than 500,000 in 2004 (see figure-2).

#### Figure-1 Population Growth in Thailand (1956-2006)



Source: the Central Registration Office of the Ministry of Interior

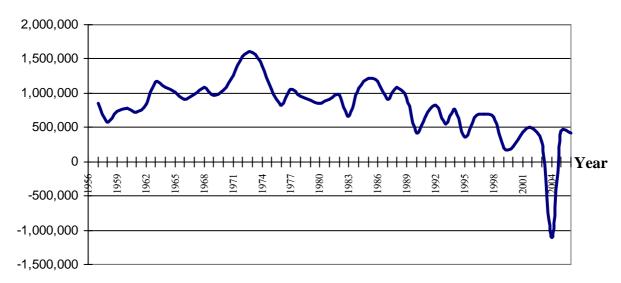


Figure-2 The Number of Population Increase in Thailand (1956-2006)

Source: the Central Registration Office of the Ministry of Interior

Although the actual birth rate is not completely available for analyzing demographic changes in Thailand during this period of time, there is some supportive data from Thai population censuses on contraceptive prevalence revealing that the period of the mid 1960s to the early 1970s recorded the highest in birth rate and total fertility rate (Tientavorn and Jiramahakun, 1996) (see table-2). This data also shows that there was a dramatic increase in the birth rate in Thailand over this period of time.

Year	TFR	Arranged by
	(Total Fertility Rate)	
1964-1965	6.30	National Statistical Office
1974-1976	4.90	National Statistical Office
1978	3.80	National Institute of Development Administration
		(NIDA) and Institute for Population and Social
		Research, Mahidol University
1981	3.68	National Institute of Development Administration
		(NIDA) and Institute for Population and Social
		Research, Mahidol University
1984	3.47	National Institute of Development Administration
		(NIDA) and Institute for Population and Social
		Research, Mahidol University
1987	2.32	College of Population Studies Paper
		Chulalongkorn University

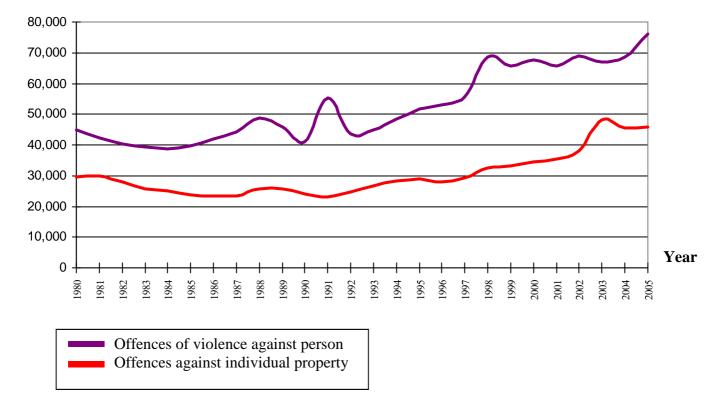
#### **Table-2 Total Fertility Rate from Thai Population Censuses**

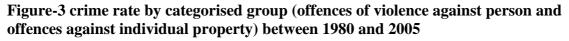
Source: the fact sheet of Department of Health vol.2 number 2 November 1996

It is estimated that the cohorts born in the mid 1960s and the early 1970s had reached their adolescence in the mid 1980s and would be the strongest age group in early 1990s. Under the demographic hypothesis of crime, it is expected that the crime rate would go up during that period and it would consequently subside in the late 1990s as a result that the cohort population passed their aggressive age entering into adulthood.

#### **3.2 Changes in Crime**

In the period of the mid 1980s and the early 1990s the crime rate displayed a rise in both offences of violence against a person and offences against an individual property as expected in the demographic hypothesis. However the crime rate still presents a sharp rise in 1990s and 2000s which goes into reverse with the adolescence ratio that has gradually declined (see figure-3 and table-3). When analyzing each type of the key offences, the three types of offences - theft, auto theft and assault/wounding- have a quite similar trend. They began a steady rise in 1980s and have gone up sharply in the last ten years. Rape tends to gradually increase over the period from 2,576 in 1978 to 5,060 in 2005. Murder and robbery began with a high rate in late 1970 and then steadily decreased until 1990. After that they have fluctuated until the present with the range of 4,500 to 6,500 for murder and 3,300 to 4,200 for robbery (see figure-4).





Source: crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police

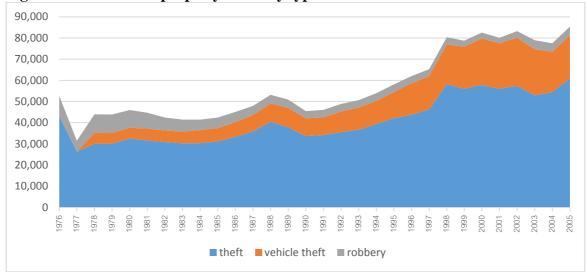


Figure-4 crime rate of property crime by type of offences between 1976 and 2005

Source: crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police

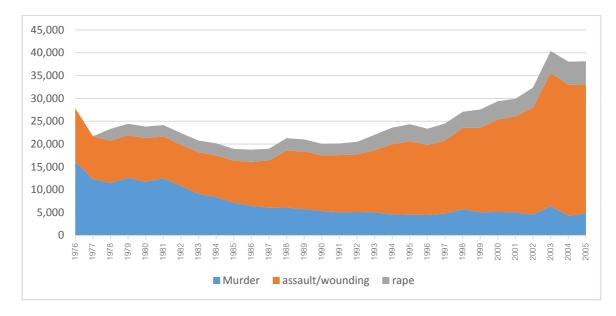


Figure-5 crime rate of violent crime by type of offences between 1976 and 2005

Source: crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police

When considering the population factor for calculating crime per population (crimes per 100,000population), the crime trend for the two main offences is quite similar. The difference is that crimes against an individual property has become static since 1998 and has seen only a slight increase in the two years (2004-2005)

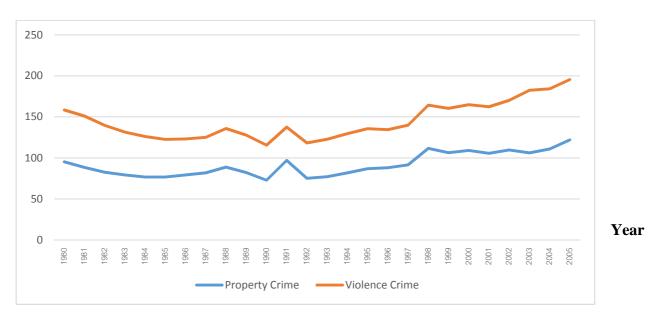
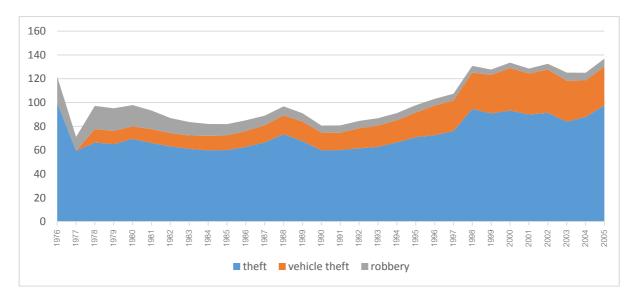


Figure-6 crime rate per 100,000 population by categorised group (offences of violence against person and offences against individual property) between 1980 and 2005

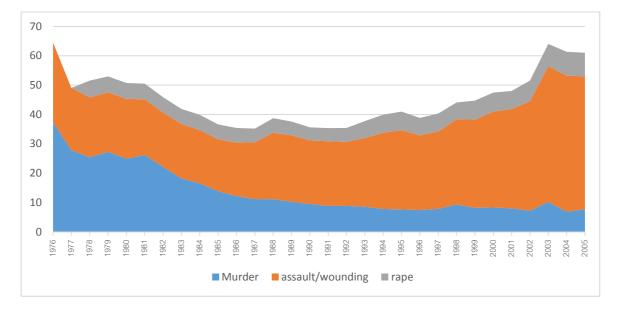
**Source:** crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police and population statistics from the Central Registration Office of the Ministry of Interior



# Figure-7 crime rate per 100,000 population of property crime by type of offences between 1976 and 2005

Source: crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police

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# Figure-8 crime rate per 100,000 population of violent crime by type of offences between 1976 and 2005

#### Source: crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police

Unexpectedly, the crime rate has gone up sharply while the number of adolescents has decreased. In addition, the changes in population may have no significant impact on robbery and murder as it was in the United States and the UK. Therefore, the number of population solely cannot be applied to explain the changes of crime in Thailand.

Year	The number of people aged 15-24	Percentage of total population
1994	11,312,099	20.43%
1995	11,151,174	26.20%
1996	11,016,401	19.42%
1997	10,906,523	19.00%
1998	10,798,591	18.59%
1999	10,618,819	18.13%
2000	10,463,217	17.77%
2001	10,269,184	17.30%
2002	10,063,171	16.80%
2003	9,869,409	16.39%
2004	9,706,798	16.03%
2005	9,589,276	15.72%

**Source:** the Central Registration Office of the Ministry of Interior

However, it is too exaggerated to state that there is no effect from demographic changes on crime. Fox (2000) states that in recent years younger teenagers in the US became more and more involved in violent crime. The phenomenon affects a rise in crime although the percentage of people aged 18-24 has declined. Similar to Thailand, the number of young offenders has tended to increase steadily over the last ten years, especially young teens aged 15-18 and the types of crime such as offences against property and offences of violence against a person (see table-4 and table-5).

Year	The number of youth	The number of youth	Total
	offenders aged 7-14	offenders aged 15-18	
1997	5,172	25,496	30,668
1998	5,670	32,802	38,472
1999	5,316	32,072	37,388
2000	5,183	30,256	35,439
2001	1,849	29,599	31,448
2002	4,496	30,789	35,285
2003	4,313	25,602	29,915
2004	5,177	28,131	33,308
2005	5,872	30,206	36,078
2006	8,078	41,140	49,218

Table-4 the number of	vouth offenders i	n Thailand (	$(1994_{-}2005)$
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Source: Department of Juvenile Observation and Protection

## Table-5 The Juvenile Offences by Types of Offences 1997-2006

Year	Offences against individual property	Offences of violence against person	Sexual offences	Drug Offences	Illegal firearm	Others
1997	7,782	1,985	964	14,407	4,350	892
1998	9,196	1,919	947	20,986	4,163	1,058
1999	7,986	2,304	1,004	21,099	892	3,546
2000	7,719	1,946	961	20,103	900	3,328
2001	7,374	2,175	1,026	16,563	933	2,980
2002	7,949	3,054	1,479	16,723	1,380	4,019
2003	8,886	4,843	1,735	5,897	1,957	5,581
2004	10,496	5,969	2,416	5,310	2,031	5,937
2005	10,733	6,112	2,680	6,542	2,404	6,338
2006	14,314	8,284	3,652	8,803	3,414	8,020

Source: Department of Juvenile Observation and Protection

Considering the changes in the number of population alone may lead to misunderstanding the demographic impacts on crime. According to Donohue and Levitt's hypothesis of abortion crime drop (1999, cited in Fox, 2000), the changes in population size of the most at-risk groups such as Black or single mothers are relatively involved in the rise or drop in crime rather than the number of the total population. Donohue and Levitt revealed evidence to support that a result of abortion legalization in the early 1970s led to a drop in

crime in the 1990s because the number of the at-risk groups declined rather than the decreasing number of the overall size of the adolescent age group. In Thailand the Thai government officially launched the National Family Planning Programme in 1970 to respond to a sharp growth rate of population in the 1960s (Concepcion, 1994). In 1991 the population growth rate deceased from more than 3 percent in the 1960s to less than a half of 1.4 percent. However, according to the Contraceptive Prevalence Survey in Thailand 1996 (Chamrasrithirong et al 1997), the Family Planning Programme has had an effect on high education or high income groups rather than the poor and working class who are the most at risk for committing crime. It is possible that the growth rate of population has declined but not for the offenders.

#### 4. Conclusion

Similar trends of crime in different countries have raised the question about the impact of demographic changes on crime. The rise and fall of crime may result from changes in the number of the most at-risk groups rather than political policies, crime control initiatives, or the criminal justice system. For this reason, the demographic hypothesis of crime has been widely discussed on the criminologist agenda.

When considering the impact of Thai demographic changes and age structure on crime, this report found a connection between demographic changes and crime as expected in the demographic hypothesis of crime. The rise in the number of adolescents in the 1980s existed with the rise in crime rate, both crime of violence against a person and crime against properties. However, the demographic hypothesis that the rise in the number of adolescents affects the rise in crime cannot be consensually accepted in Thailand by the fact that the crime rate has gone up sharply while the number of adolescent has gradually declined. In addition, in some offences such as robbery and murder in Thailand there has been a different characteristic from the United States and the UK. The changes in demography present no significance with such types of crime in Thailand.

The significance of demographic impact is subtle, if we consider the changes in the number of population solely. Some supportive data of younger offenders and the effect of a Family Planning Programme on the at-risk group reveal that the changes in the at-risk group could result in the changes in crime as well. However, the analysis of this report is based on the existing data that is inadequate to make a definitive conclusion. The available data in Thailand is still insufficient for this analysis.

By this point, the experience of demographic changes in developed countries has provided a broader view on the demographic theories on crime. Various factors (such as an effect of a family planning programme and changes to the group of people who are involved in crime) have to be discussed in consideration of which group of people has changed in the population structure and who are most at risk for committing crime. Regarding countries with the most effective criminal justice and crime control policies, the United States and the UK may fail to resolve their crime problems as the rise or drop in crime rate might result from demographic changes rather than their efforts to develop the legal and criminal justice system.

A precise analysis of demographic structures could be a sensible way of anticipating crime trends in the future. The suggestion is that if we have sufficient data, we could foresee crime and could use our limited resources in the most appropriate way to respond to crime problems. At this point, the best way of reducing crime is not only to create a

good legal system of criminal justice, but also to make good administration and planning, beginning with adequate data for crime analysis.

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# Appendix

# **Table 1 Thai Population Statistics**

Year	Population	The number of population increase
1956	22,811,151	_
1957	23,665,459	854,308
1958	24,244,587	579,128
1959	24,976,056	731,469
1960	25,756,078	780,022
1961	26,476,355	720,277
1962	27,319,020	842,665
1963	28,476,777	1,157,757
1964	29,555,198	1,078,421
1965	30,572,834	1,017,636
1966	31,482,496	909,662
1967	32,468,953	986,457
1968	33,552,269	1,083,316
1969	34,523,122	970,853
1970	35,560,105	1,036,983
1971	36,820,097	1,259,992
1972	38,359,008	1,538,911
1973	39,950,306	1,591,298
1974	41,334,152	1,383,846
1975	42,391,454	1,057,302
1976	43,213,711	822,257
1977	44,272,693	1,058,982
1978	45,221,625	948,932
1979	46,113,756	892,131
1980	46,961,338	847,582
1981	47,875,002	913,664
1982	48,846,927	971,925
1983	49,515,074	668,147
1984	50,583,105	1,068,031
1985	51,795,651	1,212,546
1986	52,969,204	1,173,553
1987	53,873,172	903,968
1988	54,960,917	1,087,745
1989	55,888,393	927,476
1990	56,303,273	414,880
1991	56,961,030	657,757
1992	57,788,965	827,935
1993	58,336,072	547,107
1994	59,095,419	759,347
1995	59,460,382	364,963
1996	60,116,182	655,800
1997	60,816,227	700,045
1998	61,466,178	649,951
1999	61,661,701	195,523
2000	61,878,746	217,045
2001	62,308,887	430,141
2002	62,799,872	490,985
2003	63,079,765	279,893

Year	Year Population The nur population population	
2004	61,973,621	-1,106,144
2005	62,418,054	444,433
2006	62,828,706	410,652

Source: 1956-1967 yearly reports from the Central Registration Office, the Ministry of Interior 1968-1992 Wongsubchat, W. et al (1993) *Thai Population Statistics in 25 Years (1968-1992)* 1993-2006 the Ministry of Interior's website http://www.dopa.go.th/xstat/tran/bstat.htm

Table 2 Crime S	<b>Statistics</b>
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Year	Offences against individual property				Offences of violence	e against person		
	theft	vehicle theft	robbery	Total	Murder	assault/wounding	rape	Total
1976	43,141	not available	9,476	61,414	16,172	11,678	not available	33,790
1977	26,345	not available	5,131	39,634	12,330	9,391	not available	27,005
1978	30,068	5,099	8,766	41,806	11,488	9,243	2,576	29,061
1979	30,045	5,021	8,839	42,419	12,593	9,320	2,520	30,264
1980	32,617	4,968	8,406	44,748	11,715	9,564	2,550	29,653
1981	31,603	5,624	7,444	42,315	12,535	9,093	2,549	29,964
1982	30,871	5,462	6,132	40,377	10,830	9,032	2,546	27,877
1983	30,229	5,560	5,633	39,203	9,040	9,163	2,554	25,781
1984	30,303	6,128	5,048	38,775	8,377	9,140	2,663	24,977
1985	31,163	6,273	4,981	39,751	7,171	9,170	2,609	23,712
1986	33,274	7,018	4,785	41,949	6,444	9,657	2,661	23,303
1987	35,876	7,756	4,304	44,083	6,032	10,388	2,549	23,295
1988	40,377	8,675	4,137	48,785	6,117	12,441	2,724	25,846
1989	37,840	9,097	3,925	45,875	5,740	12,634	2,619	25,565
1990	33,698	8,360	3,396	41,046	5,344	12,195	2,514	24,052
1991	34,215	8,304	3,506	55,201	5,041	12,548	2,548	23,126
1992	35,576	9,731	3,579	43,466	5,112	12,618	2,743	24,835

#### Official Journal of National Research Council of Thailand in conjunction with Journal of Thai Justice System

Year	Offences against individual property				Offences of violence	against perso	n	
	theft	vehicle theft	robbery	Total	Murder	assault/wounding	rape	Total
1993	36,672	10,421	3,549	44,960	5,009	13,658	3,370	26,652
1994	39,303	10,966	3,630	48,295	4,607	15,355	3,642	28,316
1995	42,125	12,291	3,662	51,653	4,542	16,053	3,756	28,996
1996	43,688	14,898	3,384	52,931	4,474	15,313	3,569	27,917
1997	46,251	15,671	3,362	55,652	4,787	15,996	3,726	29,418
1998	58,181	18,757	3,417	68,569	5,717	17,852	3,516	32,436
1999	56,062	19,831	2,838	65,529	5,052	18,526	4,000	33,318
2000	57,743	22,053	2,778	67,542	5,140	20,215	4,020	34,545
2001	56,029	21,473	2,601	65,813	5,020	21,050	3,844	35,316
2002	57,413	22,769	3,041	68,906	4,538	23,412	4,435	37,999
2003	52,959	21,692	4,252	66,922	6,435	29,147	4,805	48,193
2004	54,457	19,016	4,032	68,665	4,278	28,714	5,041	45,494
2005	60,884	20,342	4,155	76,178	4,804	28,244	5,060	45,840

**Source:** crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police

# Table 3 Crime rate per 100,000 population

Year	Offences agai	nst individual pro	perty (per	100,000 population)	Offences of violence against person (per 100,000 population)			
	theft	vehicle theft	robbery	Total	Murder	assault/wounding	rape	Total
1976	100	Not available	22	142	37	27	Not available	78
1977	60	Not available	12	90	28	21	Not available	61
1978	66	11	19	92	25	20	6	64
1979	65	11	19	92	27	20	5	66
1980	69	11	18	95	25	20	5	63
1981	66	12	16	88	26	19	5	63
1982	63	11	13	83	22	18	5	57
1983	61	11	11	79	18	19	5	52
1984	60	12	10	77	17	18	5	49
1985	60	12	10	77	14	18	5	46
1986	63	13	9	79	12	18	5	44
1987	67	14	8	82	11	19	5	43
1988	73	16	8	89	11	23	5	47
1989	68	16	7	82	10	23	5	46
1990	60	15	6	73	9	22	4	43
1991	60	15	6	97	9	22	4	41
1992	62	17	6	75	9	22	5	43
1993	63	18	6	77	9	23	6	46
1994	67	19	6	82	8	26	6	48

Year	Offences agair	nst individual pro	perty (per	100,000 population)	Offences of violence against person (per 100,000 population)				
	theft	vehicle theft	robbery	Total	Murder	assault/wounding	rape	Total	
1995	71	21	6	87	8	27	6	49	
1996	73	25	6	88	7	25	6	46	
1997	76	26	6	92	8	26	6	48	
1998	95	31	6	112	9	29	6	53	
1999	91	32	5	106	8	30	6	54	
2000	93	36	4	109	8	33	6	56	
2001	90	34	4	106	8	34	6	57	
2002	91	36	5	110	7	37	7	61	
2003	84	34	7	106	10	46	8	76	
2004	88	31	7	111	7	46	8	73	
2005	98	33	7	122	8	45	8	73	

**Source:** crime statistics from the Royal Thai Police and population statistics from the Central Registration Office of the Ministry of Interior