

TRENDS IN ORDINARY CRIME : A RESEARCH STUDY OF THE BANGKOK AND THONBURI METROPOLIS

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What the State does about crime problems in a free society depends ultimately upon how the people perceive them. Public attitudes and understanding about crime and criminal justice are important in the formation of criminal justice policies. A survey of public experience and opinions on such issues is not a luxury but a necessity for academic, administrative, and pragmatic utility. The data such surveys produce are crucial elements for the process of planning, implementing, and evaluating, which produces an answer to the questions of whether criminal justice policies are consistent with social reality and whether the policies are able to control crime problems. This does not, however, mean that the public-perception survey of crime and criminal justice is without its own shortcomings. In fact, it possesses both advantages and disadvantages in and of itself. Its main objective is not to search for complete information on ordinary crime; it is to search for data which are not available through the use of official crime statistics. In short, the article is organized under three headings : (1) official crime statistics, (2) unofficial crime statistics, (3) public experience of and opinions about criminal justice, and (4) summary.

I. Official Crime Statistics

Thailand first collected and recorded national crime statistics under 41 categories in 1931 (Piumsombun, 1984). It is clear that the measurement of crime through official statistics in Thailand has been based upon criminological neo-classicism. In this perspective, crime is a legal concept and is strictly defined within the limit of criminal law. Otherwise stated, crime is defined as a violation of criminal law specially sanctioned by the state. The doctrine of "no crime without law" has inevitably been applied to Thai society. As a matter of fact, criminal behavior in Thailand is mainly but not totally defined by the Penal Code of Thailand, B.E. 2499 (A.D. 1956) which was developed from the Penal Code of B.E. 2451 (A.D. 1908).¹

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The Code of B.E. 2499 has effected a more logical and scientific arrangement of the provisions and used more precise phraseology. The Penal Code of Thailand not only seems to easily and explicitly indentify crime categories, but also reveals the main types of harm done to Thai society. According to the Code, crimes are classified under 12 categories.

- (1) Offenses relating to the security of the Kingdom, such as offenses against the person of the King, of the Queen, and of the Regent; offenses against the internal security of the State; and offenses against the external security of the State;
- (2) Offenses relating to public administration, such as offenses against officials, and malfeasance in office;
- (3) Offenses relating to justice, such as offenses against judicial officials, and malfeasance in judicial office;
- (4) Offenses relating to religion, such as defamation of religions, and disturbing a religious assembly;
- (5) Offenses relating to public peace, such as conspiracy against the State, and organizing a criminal association;
- (6) Offenses relating to public security, such as arson; offenses against the sale and manufacture of adulterated food and drugs;
- (7) Offenses relating to counterfeiting and alteration, such as counterfeiting currency, altering currency, and misuse of any State seal;
- (8) Offenses relating to trade, such as forging a registered trademark, and misrepresentation in advertising;
- (9) Offenses against liberty and reputation, such as kidnapping, defamation, and disclosure of private secrets;
- (10) Offenses against the person, such as murder, assault, abortion, and the abandonment of children, the sick, or the aged;
- (11) Offenses relating to sex, such as adultery, forcible rape, incest, and obscenity;
- (12) Offenses against property, such as larceny, robbery, gang robbery, vehicle thefts, and pickpocketing.

In addition to the above-mentioned offense categories, a number of other offenses are prohibited under various criminal statutes such as the Act for the Abatement of Prostitution (1960), the Gambling Act (1935), and the Narcotics Act (1979).

The term "ordinary crime" is neither a legal concept nor a widely utilized variable in Thailand. In the present study, "ordinary crime" is defined to include the three major offense categories which are : (a) offenses against the person (specifically murder, manslaughter, attempted murder, and assault); (b) offenses against property (specifically larceny, pick-pocketing, robbery, gang robbery, and fraud); (c) offenses relating to sex (specifically forcible rape, forcible rape and

murder). Table 1 presents ordinary crime rate per 100,000 population in Bangkok and Thonburi from 1976 to 1983. They are ordinary crimes known to the police. According to the police statistics as shown in Table 1, the trend of ordinary crime tends to fluctuate from year to year. In 1983, the number of known ordinary crimes were 12,933 cases which was approximately 259 cases per 100,000 population. In other words, the number of ordinary crimes dropped from 270 per 100,000 population in 1976 to 252 per 100,000 population in 1982 but slightly increased from 252 in 1982 to 259 in 1983.

Table 1 Ordinary Crime Rate Per 100,000 Population in Bangkok and Thonburi, 1976-1983

Year	Total Offenses	Rates per 100,000 Population
1976	13,506	270
1977	11,359	227
1978	10,827	217
1979	11,637	232
1980	12,544	250
1981	13,320	266
1982	12,593	252
1983	12,933	259

Table 2 summarizes 11 categories of ordinary crime in Bangkok and Thonburi from 1976 to 1983. The eight-year trend indicates that there were increases and decreases in some types of ordinary crime throughout the Metropolitan Area. The figures reveal that larceny was the most frequently-occurring type of ordinary offense in Bangkok/Thonburi within the past 8-year period. Assault and robbery ranked second and third, respectively. However, property crimes in 1983 slightly decreased, less than one percent over 1982, whereas crimes against the person rose about 15.7 percent in 1983 over 1982. In fact, the proportion of property offenses had been consistently greater than that of offenses against the person and sex offenses. In short, reported property crime, neither crime against the person nor sex crimes, made up a principal portion of ordinary criminality. The average rate of murder in Bangkok and Thonburi from 1976 to 1983 was about 9.87 cases per 100,000 population. Additionally, the average rate of forcible rape in the twin cities within the 8-year period was roughly 5 cases per 100,000 population. In Thailand, as in any other country, forcible rape is likely to be underestimated, while the murder rate is more likely to be considered as a reliable and valid account of actual criminality.

It is worth noting that the private Association for Intensive Development of the Quality of Life has revealed that :

Table 2 Volumes of Crimes against the Person, Crimes against Property, and Sex Crimes in Bangkok and Thonburi, 1976-1983

Offenses	1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983	
	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests	Known	Arrests
Murder	467	165	434	179	447	205	506	248	531	251	602	279	501	259	458	246
Manslaughter	32	18	24	20	32	17	26	11	31	19	29	17	15	11	16	10
Attempted Murder	467	234	339	160	332	159	409	213	404	201	375	162	322	134	351	156
Assault	1790	1291	1549	978	1336	925	1519	1057	1491	1066	1668	1191	1667	1220	2072	1594
Gang Robbery	412	202	382	203	319	173	432	243	385	247	291	181	251	172	254	165
Robbery	720	261	649	278	625	308	875	481	872	414	832	405	678	300	760	373
Pickpocketing	409	279	470	348	456	363	527	447	493	400	403	300	452	310	445	336
Larceny	8184	2966	6600	2558	6450	2585	6350	3081	7132	3575	7913	3717	7341	3671	7126	3634
Fraud	761	595	625	475	580	443	736	521	923	623	975	644	1157	730	1216	747
Forcible Rape and Murder	0	0	3	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	6	3	2	1
Forcible Rape	264	196	284	226	247	191	257	191	281	210	228	176	203	144	233	183

Source : National Police Department, Thailand.

(Based on) statistics compiled from 45 Bangkok hospitals and a number of analyses conducted by social study groups, ...more than four raped women are admitted to each hospital every hour, so that there are more than 88 known cases of rape per day. (Bangkok World, October 14, 1985 : 2)

Moreover, according to news-coverage analysis done by the National Women's Council in 1985, one of every seven child-rape offenses took place on the way between home and school and one of every eight child victims was raped in a school. The Research and Planning Division of the National Police Department adds that :

Although records revealed the ages of the rape victims ranged from two to over 80 most of them were unmarried, between 16 and 20 years of age. It was also noticeable that most of the girls raped and admitted to the Police General Hospital (in Bangkok) were hired workers, with students next in number. (Bangkok World, October 14, 1985 : 2)

In numerous rape cases, victim and offender are known to each other prior to the offense. Further, alcohol is a stimulating factor in many rape cases.

Another significant concept in an analysis of official crime data is the rate of offenses cleared up by the police. The clearance rate is basically utilized as an indicator of the effectiveness and efficiency of the police agency. Generally speaking, an offense is considered cleared up when the offender has been ascertained and there is enough evidence to charge the offender, irrespective of whether or not he is taken into custody. Practically speaking, the Thai police were successful in solving approximately 57.6 percent of the recorded ordinary crimes in 1983, while they were able to solve about 55.2 percent in 1982. Stated differently, the Bangkok Metropolitan Police Bureau in 1983 increased the annual clearance rate by 2.4 percent. During 1976 and 1983, the police were able to solve about 46.3 percent of the murder cases, 46.9 percent of the robbery cases, and 45.2 percent of the larceny cases.

II. Unofficial Crime Statistics²

At present, the Ministry of the Interior has implemented a policy of strengthening the control of vice, such as prostitution, gambling, and other victimless crimes. This includes the stringent control of vendors. Nonetheless, since the formation of a criminal policy cannot be independent of public needs, a priority of

public needs should be assessed, Table 3 presents a priority of public-problem arrangement in order ranking from the most to the least significant. Crime is viewed as the most important problem in the eyes of Bangkokians, whereas traffic congestion and narcotics use are ranked second and third, respectively. However, 22.1 percent of the interviewees (243 subjects) did not consider crime as an important public problem. Similarly, 34.2 percent and 33.2 percent of the interviewees did not think of traffic congestion and narcotics use as important public problems either. Moreover, gambling, prostitution, vendors, and discotheques were assigned the rank of seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth, respectively.

According to the victimization survey of 1,100 subjects, the type of offense that had the greatest impact upon the way of life of Bangkokians was crimes against property. The Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan has established the objective of ideally limiting the expansion of property crimes to not more than 100 cases per 100,000 population or .001 percent. In fact, the result of the victimization study in Table 4 indicates that, in 1983, about 11.2 percent of Bangkokians were victimized by property criminals at least once a year. In other words, 8.9 percent were victimized once a year, 1.4 percent twice a year, and 0.9 percent three or more times a year. Further, the number of victims of crimes against the person was much lower than the number of victims of crimes against property. Otherwise stated, only 0.2 percent of Bangkokians became victims of crimes against the person, having been victimized once (0.1 percent) or twice (0.1 percent) yearly. Finally, other ordinary crimes which include sex offenses and unreported offenses, were as few as the offenses against the person.

The victimization survey further reveals that only 477 of 820 crime occurrences (or 58.2 percent) were reported to the police, as shown in Table 5. Why did more than half of the ordinary crime victims fail to report the crime to the police? For each victimization that was not reported to law enforcement officers, the crime victim was asked to specify the reason. A classification of the twelve reasons is presented in Table 6. The two most often cited reasons are as follows :

- (1) The victims had suffered what they felt to be only a minor loss. About 45.3 percent of the non-reporting victims are classified under this category.

Table 3 Public Problems in the Bangkok and Thonburi Metropolis, as Perceived by Residents

Public Problems	Ranks	Scores	Number of Persons who did not view the problem to be important	
Crime	1	6,433	243	(22.1%)
Traffic	2	5,081	376	(34.2%)
Narcotics	3	4,994	372	(33.8%)
Flood	4	4,700	401	(36.5%)
Unemployment	5	4,604	423	(38.4%)
Pollution	6	3,215	565	(51.4%)
Gambling	7	2,755	603	(54.8%)
Prostitution	8	1,538	724	(65.8%)
Vendor	9	1,460	786	(71.5%)
Discotheques	10	1,237	794	(72.2%)
Others	11	838	1,001	(90.9%)

(2) It would have produced no result. This category encompasses 29.7 percent of the non-reporting victims.

Based on the question "within the past two years, do you feel that the chance of being victimized has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?" almost half of the respondents (47.3 percent) believed that chances of being victimized had increased, while 36.3 percent and 5.2 percent thought that such chances had remained unchanged, or decreased, respectively. The remaining 11.2 percent were undecided of the matter.

For the question "within the past two years, do you think crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?" Table 7 shows that 41.9 percent felt that the ordinary crime level in their neighborhoods was about the same as it had been two years earlier, 36 percent believed that ordinary crime had increased, and 11.8 percent judged the crime level to have declined in their neighborhoods. Further, the respondents were asked whether ordinary crime in the Bangkok and Thonburi Metropolis has increased, decreased,

Table 4 Victimization Survey of Bangkok and Thonburi Residents

Types of Crimes	Non-victimized	Victimized		
		1	2	3 or more
(1) Prior to 1983				
1.1 Crimes against Property	809 (73.6%)	195 (17.7%)	56 (5.1%)	40 (3.6%)
1.2 Crimes against the Person	1093 (99.4%)	6 (0.5%)	1 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)
1.3 Other Crimes	1090 (99.1%)	6 (0.5%)	1 (0.1%)	3 (0.3%)
(2) 1983				
2.1 Crimes against Property	977 (88.8%)	98 (8.9%)	15 (1.4%)	10 (0.9%)
2.2 Crimes against the Person	1098 (99.8%)	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)
2.3 Other Crimes	1095 (99.5%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)	1 (0.1%)
(3) The First Four Months of 1984				
3.1 Crimes against Property	1031 (93.7%)	55 (5.0%)	4 (0.4%)	10 (0.9%)
3.2 Crimes against the person	1095 (99.5%)	4 (0.4%)	1 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)
3.3 Other Crimes	1098 (99.8%)	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)

or remained about the same within the past two years. More than three of every four Bangkokians (78.5 percent) perceived that ordinary crime was on the increase in Bangkok and Thonburi, as shown in Table 7. Only 6.2 percent and 4.2 percent judged ordinary crime levels to be about the same or to have declined, respectively. Finally, 29.5 percent and 40.1 percent perceived the increasing offenses in their neighborhoods and in the Bangkok and Thonburi Metropolis, distributively, to be property crimes. The perception is consistent with the outcome of the aforementioned survey of victimization.

Although a majority of Bangkok and Thonburi residents felt that crime was on the increase in the twin cities, they provided negative responses to the question "Is crime in Bangkok and Thonburi serious enough to make them think about moving to other provinces?" About 89.5 percent did not think that the crime problem was serious enough to warrant moving outside Bangkok and Thonburi. In contrast, 5.7 percent had seriously considered moving elsewhere. The rest, 4.8 percent, had no opinion on the matter.

Table 5 Frequency and Percentage of Crime Unreported to the Police

Times per Year	Frequency	Percentage
One	174	66.1
Two	43	16.3
Three	18	6.8
Four	10	3.8
Five	7	2.7
Six	2	0.8
Seven	2	0.8
Eight	1	0.4
Nine or more	6	2.3
Total	263	100.0

Generally, fear of crime committed by strangers is a factor arousing public attention towards crime. Table 8 shows that roughly 31.8 percent of Bangkok and Thonburi residents felt very or reasonably unsafe when they went out alone in their neighborhoods at night, whereas 54.5 percent felt very or reasonably safe

under the same circumstances. Moreover, a majority of Bangkokians (80.7 percent) perceived themselves as very or reasonably safe when they were alone at home during the day, 70.6 percent when they were alone at home at night, and 79.8 percent when they were out alone in their neighborhoods during the day. Nonetheless, a number of urban people preferred to employ several crime-control measures, 30.4 percent possessing firearms, 22.6 percent raising watchdogs or geese, and 17.2 percent installing alarm systems.

Table 6 Reasons For Not Reporting Personal Victimization to the Police

Reasons For Not Reporting	Frequency (Percentage)
(1) The victims felt they suffered only minor losses.	119 (45.3%)
(2) It would have produced no result.	78 (29.7%)
(3) The victims did not have any idea of wrongdoer's identity.	20 (7.6%)
(4) The victims were put off by the police's working process.	8 (3.1%)
(5) It involved private matters (e.g. inconvenient transportation, afraid of reprisal, etc.).	6 (2.3%)
(6) The victims did not want to get involved.	5 (1.9%)
(7) The victims did not have time.	4 (1.5%)
(8) The victims discovered the crime's occurrence long after the facts.	4 (1.5%)
(9) Criminals were known to the victims as acquaintances.	4 (1.5%)
(10) The victims captured and voluntarily released the criminals.	3 (1.1%)
(11) The police arrived at the crime scene before the crime could be reported.	3 (1.1%)
(12) Matter the victims preferred not to discuss.	9 (3.4%)
Total	263 (100.0%)

Table 7 Felt Change of Crime Levels in the Neighborhood and in the Bangkok and Thonburi Metropolis from 1982 to 1984

Change of Crime Levels	Crime Location	
	Neighborhoods	Bangkok and Thonburi
Decreased	130 (11.8%)	46 (4.2%)
Same	460 (41.9%)	68 (6.2%)
Increased	401 (36.5%)	864 (78.5%)
Undecided	109 (9.8%)	122 (11.1%)
Total	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)

III. Public Experience of and Opinions about Criminal Justice

The word "criminal justice" is a rather new term and concept in Thai language. Consequently, it is not surprising that 49.4 percent of the 1,100 respondents were not familiar with it. Whereas 50.6 percent said that they had heard of the term prior to this interview, only 43.7 percent of all interviewees were able to indicate some functions of the criminal justice system. Moreover, a number of respondents did not know what agencies are organized under the system of criminal justice. As shown in Table 9, the greatest number of interviewees (29.8 percent) thought that the existing system included the courts, while the smallest number (5.3 percent) felt that it was made up of the corrections. It can be said that a vast majority of Bangkokians still do not know that the Thai system of criminal justice is composed of both public and private sectors, including the police, the public prosecutor, the defense counsels, the courts, and the corrections department.

According to public experience of criminal justice subsystems, Table 10 points out that the police were the component which delivered services to the greatest number of people (44.2 percent), as compared to other criminal justice components, whereas the corrections is the subsystem from which only 3.6 percent of Bangkokians had directly received public services. The number of people gaining direct experience of other criminal justice components can be ranked in the following order : 10.0 percent with the defense counsels, 7.5 percent with the courts, and 3.7

percent with the public prosecutors. They obtained both satisfactory and unsatisfactory services from these components. The further question was how many people were confronted with difficulties in obtaining the services of criminal justice components. Table 10 showed that 18.2 percent of the residents in Bangkok and Thonburi were confronted with some difficulties in obtaining police services. The percentage of people facing difficulties in receiving other criminal justice services was very small, ranging from 1.8 percent with the courts, 1.4 percent with the defense counsels, 0.9 percent with the corrections, and 0.5 percent with the public prosecutors. The characteristics of such obstacles in obtaining the criminal justice services are summarized in Table 11. According to Table 11, a delay in service delivery was likely to be the most significant problem challenging every criminal justice component. This means that backlogs in the system of criminal justice have become a well publicized indicator of inefficiency in the entire process. A number of criminal cases have been subject to a long period of delay--sometimes years--from arrest to trial and final disposition.

Another important topic is the basic evaluation of criminal justice performance. The presentation in Table 12 is in accordance with that in Table 10 in the sense that a majority of Bangkokians, ranging from 72.3 percent to 81.8 percent, did not have adequate experience, either directly or indirectly, to form any

Table 8 Neighborhood Safety as Perceived by Bangkok and Thonburi Residents

Neighborhood Safety	Place and Time in Neighborhood			
	Home Alone during the Day	Home Alone At Night	Out Alone During the Day	Out Alone At Night
Very safe	213 (19.4%)	175 (15.9%)	178 (16.2%)	99 (9.1%)
Reasonably safe	674 (61.3%)	602 (54.7%)	700 (63.6%)	490 (44.5%)
Undecided	88 (8.0%)	126 (11.5%)	98 (8.9%)	161 (14.6%)
Somewhat unsafe	122 (11.1%)	164 (14.9%)	111 (10.1%)	284 (25.8%)
Very unsafe	3 (0.2%)	33 (3.0%)	13 (1.2%)	66 (6.0%)
Total	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)

attitudes toward the public prosecutors, the defense counsels, the courts, and the corrections. In contrast, only 4.5 percent did not possess sufficient information to evaluate police performance. Otherwise stated, a vast majority of the people (95.5 percent) were able to express their attitudes toward the police, while only 19.3

Table 9 Subsystems of Criminal Justice as Perceived by The People in Bangkok and Thonburi

Does the term "criminal justice" include the following agencies?	Criminal Justice Subsystems				
	Police	Prosecutors	Defense Counsels	Courts	Corrections
Yes	251 (22.8%)	120 (10.9%)	104 (9.5%)	328 (29.8%)	58 (5.3%)
No	849 (77.2%)	980 (89.1%)	996 (90.5%)	772 (70.2%)	1042 (94.7%)
Total	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)	1,100 (100.0%)

Table 10 Public experience in obtaining criminal justice services from various components

Criminal Justice Subsystems	No Previous Experience with the Subsystems	Some Previous Experience with the subsystems	
		Without Difficulties	With Difficulties
Police	614 (55.8%)	286 (26.0%)	100 (18.2%)
Prosecutors	1059 (96.3%)	35 (3.2%)	6 (0.5%)
Defense Counsels	990 (90.0%)	95 (8.6%)	15 (1.4%)
Courts	1017 (92.5%)	63 (5.7%)	20 (1.8%)
Corrections	1060 (96.4%)	30 (2.7%)	10 (0.9%)

Table 11 Difficulties in Obtaining Criminal Justice Services from Various Components as Perceived by Bangkok and Thonburi Residents

Details of Difficulties	Frequency (Percentage)
1. Police	
1.1 Delays in working processes	70 (35.0%)
1.2 Indifference to the victims' problems	62 (31.0%)
1.3 Gross rudeness	20 (10.0%)
1.4 No perceivable effect	15 (7.5%)
1.5 Bribery	10 (5.0%)
1.6 Injustice	10 (5.0%)
1.7 Inconvenience	9 (4.5%)
1.8 No specification	4 (2.0%)
2. Public Prosecutors	
2.1 Delays in working processes	2 (33.3%)
2.2 Injustice	2 (33.3%)
2.3 Indifference to the victims' problems	1 (16.7%)
2.4 Refusal to accept responsibility	1 (16.7%)
3. Defense counsels	
3.1 Delays in working processes	3 (20.0%)
3.2 No effectiveness	3 (20.0%)
3.3 Income oriented	3 (20.0%)
3.4 Grossly Dilatory	2 (13.3%)
3.5 Injustice	2 (13.3%)
3.6 No specification	2 (13.3%)
4. Courts	
4.1 Delays in working processes	12 (60.0%)
4.2 Injustice	4 (20.0%)
4.3 Indifference to the people's problems	1 (5.0%)
4.4 Inconvenience	1 (5.0%)
4.5 Lack of emotional control	1 (5.0%)
4.6 No specification	1 (5.0%)
5. Corrections	
5.1 Delays in working processes	5 (50.0%)
5.2 Too restrictive about prisoner visits	2 (20.0%)
5.3 Gross rudeness	2 (20.0%)
5.4 Overcrowded visiting room	1 (10.0%)

percent, 27.7 percent, 26.8 percent, and 18.2 percent could rate their attitudes toward the prosecutors, the defense counsels, the courts, and the corrections, respectively. The findings are crucial for the understanding of why the police come under stronger public criticism than any other criminal justice component. However, about 14.6 percent of the public expressed their satisfaction with the police, 14.0 percent with the courts, 10.4 percent with the defense counsels, 6.0 percent with the prosecutors, and 5.0 percent with the corrections. On the contrary, roughly 40 percent of the people were not satisfied with the police, 4.2 percent with the courts, 3.4 percent with the prosecutors, 3.1 percent with the defense counsels, and 2.4 percent with the courts.

The final question was whether or not any criminal justice components should be improved. Most Bangkok and Thonburi residents (73.8 percent) felt that improvement in the police component was warranted, whereas only 10 percent

Table 12 Public Satisfaction with the Criminal Justice Components

Criminal Justice Subsystems	Don't know	Level of Satisfaction				
		Excellent (40-37)	Good (36-29)	Average (28-21)	Poor (20-13)	Worst (12-8)
Police	49 (4.5%)	1 (0.1%)	160 (14.5%)	450 (40.9%)	375 (34.1%)	65 (5.9%)
Public Prosecutors	888 (80.7%)	0 (0.0%)	66 (6.0%)	109 (9.9%)	34 (3.1%)	3 (0.3%)
Defense Counsels	796 (72.3%)	4 (0.4%)	110 (10.0%)	156 (14.2%)	33 (3.0%)	1 (0.1%)
Courts	806 (73.2%)	7 (0.6%)	147 (13.4%)	114 (10.4%)	23 (2.1%)	2 (0.3%)
Corrections	900 (81.8%)	1 (0.1%)	54 (4.9%)	98 (8.9%)	45 (4.1%)	2 (0.2%)

mentioned the improvement of the courts, 10.1 percent the corrections, 9.9 percent the defense counsels, and 7.1 percent the prosecutors. The details and shown in Table 13.

IV. Summary

This article presents official crime data, unofficial crime data, and an initial analysis of public experience of and opinions toward criminal justice. Even though the police statistics on ordinary crime do not reflect the actual amount of

Table 13 Do the Criminal Justice Components Need Improvement?

Criminal Justice Subsystems	Yes	No	Don't know
Police	821 (73.8%)	125 (11.4%)	163 (14.8%)
Public Prosecutors	78 (7.1%)	86 (7.8%)	936 (85.1%)
Defense Counsels	109 (9.9%)	115 (10.5%)	876 (79.6%)
Courts	112 (10.2%)	165 (15.0%)	823 (74.8%)
Corrections	111 (10.1%)	87 (7.9%)	902 (82.0%)

ordinary criminality, they are useful indicators for displaying annual trends of known crime fluctuation. In Bangkok and Thonburi, reported property offenses occurred much more frequently than reported offenses against the person and reported sex offenses. This pattern is not unique to Bangkok/Thonburi, but may well fit any developing city.

The unofficial crime data portrayed in this article were gathered in the Bangkok and Thonburi survey conducted in 1984. Crime was more commonly cited as the most important public problem than any other in the twin cities. This may be due to the fact that one of every 10 Bangkok and Thonburi residents had been victimized at least once a year. Property crimes were the type that aroused most public attention. The victims of property crimes were mainly in the 30-50 age group with no more than a Mathayom IV level of education. Moreover, a number of ordinary crimes were not reported to the police for various reasons. The slight value of the property lost was the most frequently cited reason for the nonreports. Although the people judged the volume of ordinary crime in their neighborhoods to remain unchanged, they sensed that the ordinary crime level in the capital city was higher than it had been two years earlier. Nonetheless, most people did not think that the ordinary crime problem was serious enough to warrant moving out of Bangkok and Thonburi.

Almost half of the Bangkok and Thonburi residents had no idea about what the term "criminal justice" might mean. However, the urban people had more frequent contacts with the police than with any other criminal justice component. Moreover, although the police agency had closer contact with the public than other criminal justice components, the number of people who expressed positive attitudes

toward the police was lower than those who possessed negative attitudes. Consequently, public attitudes about areas of police improvement were likely to be stronger than those toward the improvement of other criminal justice components. Nonetheless, the respondents mainly concurred that delays in delivery of public services was the most serious shortcoming in the entire criminal justice process.

FOOTNOTE

¹The Penal Code of B.E. 2491 was mostly enacted upon a combination of French, Indian, Japanese, British, and Belgian models.

²Section Two and Section Three of the present article present a victimization survey of "dark figures," and public attitudes toward the criminal justice system and subsystems. The major design includes a cross sectional survey of the Thai residents of Bangkok and Thonburi. Twenty-two of the sixty-nine police districts throughout the twin cities were randomly selected through the technique of multi-stage cluster sampling. The sample size is 1,100 subjects. The data were gathered through the use of structured interviewed in 1984.

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