

# Jurnal 2

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## **Analysis of Amnesty International Success in Enforcing Human Rights in Deep South**

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### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami alasan mengapa Amnesty internasional berhasil dalam menegakkan hak asasi manusia di deep south Thailand konflik. Konflik deep south Thailand memiliki akar permasalahan yang bersejarah, semenjak aneksasi kerajaan Patani oleh kerajaan Siam, yang saat ini menjadi negara Thailand. Konflik yang awalnya muncul sebagai konflik antar etnis melayu dan Thai perlahan bertransisi menjadi antar Agama, Islam dan Buddha. Masyarakat Deep South sebagai identitas Muslim merasakan diskriminasi oleh pemerintah Thailand sebagai identitas Buddha. Atas permasalahan tersebut, masyarakat Deep South membuat gerakan perlawanan untuk membela mereka dari diskriminasi. Pemerintah Thailand menganggap gerakan tersebut sebagai sebuah gerakan separatis yang berarti pemberontakan. Untuk membendung perlawanan tersebut, pemerintah Thailand kemudian merumuskan rangkaian undang-undang yang memfasilitasi perangkatnya untuk melakukan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia seperti penyiksaan dan penahanan. Ketika masyarakat Deep South sebagai rakyat lokal tidak memiliki akses ataupun pengaruh kepada pihak otoritas Thailand. Melihat kondisi tersebut, amnesty internasional sebagai organisasi internasional yang bergerak di bidang hak asasi manusia melakukan upaya yang berhasil untuk menegakkan hak asasi manusia di konflik tersebut. Dengan menggunakan konsep Transnational Advocation Network, penelitian ini menjelaskan keberhasilan yang dilakukan oleh amnesty internasional. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah leverage politics dan accountability politics untuk dapat memahami keberhasilan yang digunakan oleh Amnesty Internasional. Kedua pendekatan tersebut digunakan dalam menganalisis keberhasilan amnesty internasional dalam membentuk jaringan advokasi, mempengaruhi aktor berpengaruh, dan menekan pemerintah Thailand lewat jaringan advokasi. Penelitian ini menerapkan Metode Kualitatif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui Library Research. Dalam penelitian ini juga dibahas sedikit mengenai Pandangan Islam terhadap hak asasi manusia. Dengan adanya penelitian ini, diharapkan bagi aktor negara maupun non-negara untuk dapat memahami keberhasilan peran Amnesty Internasional, dan dapat mengambil langkah yang serupa dalam dinamika dunia internasional, dan dapat menjadi bahan acuan bagi akademisi untuk dapat mengembangkan penelitian ini.

**Kata Kunci:** Amnesty Internasional; Hak Asasi Manusia; Gerakan Transnasional; Deep South

### *Abstract*

This study aims to understand the reasons why Amnesty International succeeded in enforcing human rights in the Deep South of Thailand's conflict. The Deep South conflict of Thailand has its roots in historic problems, since the annexation of the Patani Kingdom by the Siamese kingdom, which is now Thailand's state. Conflict which initially emerged as inter-ethnic conflict of Malay and Thai slowly transitioned into inter-Religion, Islam and Buddhism. The Deep South community as a Muslim identity feels discrimination by the Thai government as a Buddhist identity. On this issue, the Deep South people made a resistance movement to defend them against discrimination. The Thai government regards the movement as a separatist movement that means rebellion. To stem the resistance, the Thai government, then, formulated a series of laws that facilitate its tools to commit human rights abuses such as torture and detention, when the Deep South community as a local people has no access or influence to the Thai authorities. In view of these conditions, Amnesty International as an International Human Rights organization makes a successful effort to enforce human rights in the conflict. Using the Transnational Advocacy Network concept, this study explains the successes of Amnesty International. The approach used is Leverage Politics and Accountability Politics to be able to understand the successes made by Amnesty International. Both approaches are used in analyzing the success of Amnesty International in forming advocacy networks, influencing powerful actors, and pressuring the Thai government through advocacy networks. This research applies Qualitative Method, with data collection through Library Research. In this study it will also be discussed slightly about the Islamic Worldview of human rights. The researcher hoped that both state and non-state actors can understand the success of Amnesty International's role, similar steps in international dynamics, and be a reference for academics to develop this research.

**Keyword:** Amnesty Internasional; Hak Asasi Manusia; Gerakan Transnasional; Deep South

### **Introduction**

The issue of human rights is an adequate phenomenon to attract the world's concerns today. The scope of human rights itself has many debates and differences. In fact, the efforts of the gender-oriented group which will be entitled to their rights to be involved in human rights issues. Thus, many scientists are trying to put human rights as an instrument to achieve the self-political interest (Harding). However, human rights should not be seen as the political rhetoric (Muladi, 2009) they usually are, but as the delivery of actual justice to real people because they are human.

Human rights that are realized as natural rights are a necessity of social reality universal. It can touch various aspects such as individuals, groups or even states. The state as the authority has the duty to fulfill, respect, and promote human rights values. In that case, the state has a

responsibility for human rights to formulate a constitution or laws. The Constitution drafted by the state must also be multidimensional, which is not beneficial to one party but only together. All forms of crimes against human rights must be shortly discovered by the state apparatus. From such crimes, it can be formulated a law or policy of the country.

Today, the idea of human rights still challenged by recalcitrant<sup>1</sup> governments (Abdulmani, 2013). Governments that ought to act as protectors of human rights for their people, actually behave otherwise. Such conditions are not new in international dynamics, especially in a human rights case. Such as the case with the conflicts in the Three Provinces of the Southern Thai Border; Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat, or better known as Deep South. The Thai government formulates a law that facilitates its tools for the conduct of human rights violations such as violence, and illegal detention. The situation took place between the Thai government and the Separatism Movement comprising the Malay Muslim Community domiciled in the Deep South.

The Resistance carried out by the Deep South community against the full domination by the state took place in the Southern Borders in some periods during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The current defense built is the result of momentum in the 1990s, but it was not officially recognized until 2004, when the scale and number of violent incidents between the Malay tribes and the government increased rapidly (Burke, Tweedie, & Poocharoen, 2013). The turmoil in the Deep South stems from longstanding tensions between the minority population (Malay) and the state. Therefore, the Thai government often commit torture and illegal detention only on suspicion to the Deep South community and its relation to separatist movements (International, 2016). The important recommendations that can help to enhance peace process are trust among conflicting parties and understanding the needs of the local people, without provoking a rage (Boonpunth, 2016).

The Tortured and Illegal Detention adjusted by government set such as soldiers, police facilitated by policies of various constitutional laws: *Interim Constitution (2014)*, *Martial Law Act (1914)*, *Head of the National Committee for Peace and Order (NCPO) Order 3/2558 (2015)* *Head of NCPO Order No.13 / 2559 (2016)*, and *Emergency Decree on Public Administration in Emergency Situations (2005)* (International, 2016). The law facilitates all forms of human rights violations in particular of torture and illegal detention. These are the military-style enforcement of law and order (Pawakapan, 2015) to extend its power and control far into social, economic, and

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<sup>1</sup> Unwilling to obey orders or to do what should be done, *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary Third Edition*



political life of common people. Looking at the case, it can be said that when access from the public to the government is hampered, it is a meeting point for local communities and international actors. Local people try to suppress their country through international assistance.

Amnesty International (AI) as an International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) working in the field of human rights has wide space in doing advocacy (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/>, 2017). AI is an independent organization of government, ideology, economy, and interests. The only concern is the achievement of human rights for all, with the principle of impartiality, and independence. As an INGO, AI's finances mostly from small donations through individuals all over the world. More than two million individuals donated to AI by 2016 (International, Global Finance Report 2016, 2017).

AI is a humanitarian organization that operates in many countries around the world. AI works on the principle of non-discrimination. Working with community groups around the world, Amnesty works to change discriminatory laws and protect people against all human rights contravention. AI is a Global Movement of over seven million people. Moving on the basis of a sense of injustice. They are campaigning for a better world, where human rights can be felt universally. The paper motive is AI as an actor is based on the history of the establishment of the organization is very close to cases of human rights violations that occurred in Deep South, namely related to the issue of detention.

International agencies like AI have a supporting role in helping to seek peace in the conflict. In a middle-income country and adequate government budget (Abdulmani, 2013), and without any ongoing peace procession, the main contribution that aid agencies can make is to promote policy changes that increase the likelihood of achieving a fair solution to the conflict.

Issues which then became the main focus by the AI on human rights abuses in the Deep South is Illegal Detention, and Torture. The detention perpetrated by government to civil society of Deep South was based on suspicion of involvement of the person in the Separatist Movement (Haberkorn, 2014) and covered with torture. One of the victims described the perceived torture as being kicked, beaten with hands, wooden sticks, and the tip of the weapon grip, strangled, yelled, held in plastic, drowned and unable to breathe, and many other types of torture. All forms of torture are committed to force the victim to admit his crimes, or to seek information against the separatist

movement (International, <sup>6</sup> Make Him Speak by Tommorrow: Torture and All Other Ill-Treatment in Thailand, 2016).

On that basis, AI advocates with the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in Thailand to change the direction of government policy procedures that have been facilitating human rights violations. The AI effort in the conflict can be said to be successful, because AI has successfully changed the policy of law which has facilitated the violation of human rights in Deep South. This achievement can be an example for other special international actors working <sup>9</sup> in the field of human rights in order to imitate and develop approaches used by AI in enforcing human rights violations. To this end, this paper intends to analyze the cause of AI's success in enforcing human rights in Deep South Thailand. In addition, an Islamic Worldview towards human rights would also be discussed slightly in this research.

AI's success in influencing the Thai Constitution's policy on human rights abuses has a good meaning. It can be a boost for other humanitarian cases to be able to change the situation with international help. In this case, the author raises a question that is explained by this research: Why Amnesty International Succeed in Enforcing Human Rights in Deep South Thailand Conflict?

This research should be a milestone for the following related research which knowi the effectiveness of the role of NGO in the dynamics of international conflict, the effectiveness of the Transnational Movement in handling cases of human rights violations, and understanding the AI's success for enforcing human rights in Deep South. In addition, the authors hope that this paper will be a contribution for non-state actors related to human rights to develop the contents of the concept and develop it. Furthermore, this research can serve as a reference for non-governmental agencies and make the practical example of what non-state actors can do.

### **Theoritical Framework**

In this study, the authors will use the concept of Transnational Advocation Network (TAN) in analyzing the AI success which will be seen as a transnational actor in maximizing its function as an INGO. TAN is a network based on values, feelings, and ideas which then they unite to form a network that is advocative. This concept was initiated by Sikkink and Margaret. These networks may take the form of <sup>20</sup> International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), private agencies, and even individuals. In addition to being an agency or

organization, TAN is also a network of activists which motivate their movements with the same value.

The Network is a form of organization that has the characteristics of a voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal communication patterns. Organizational theorist Walter Powell argues that TAN is the third mode of economy, which distinguishes between market and hierarchy. The network is lighter in its movement than the hierarchy, and it is appropriate for situations where there is a need for efficiency, and reliable information.

Actors in TAN include; NGO's, INGO's, International Governmental Organizations (IGO), research and advocacy organizations, Local Social Movements, Foundations, Media, Churches, Trade Unions, Intellectuals, regional and international intergovernmental, and Executive or Parliamentary branches of Government Branches. Not all actors are present in any advocacy network, but preliminary research shows that international and domestic NGOs play a central and significant role in all advocacy networks (Keck & Siikink, 1998).

Concerning the operationalization of the concept, TAN has many approaches consisting of: Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics. All of these approach form a Boomerang Pattern in its implementation. In this case, researcher used Leverage Politics and Accountability Politics approach in TAN. Leverage Politics is used because it is consistent with the effort made with AI which attracts powerful actors whose influence with moral and value equations. While Accountability Politics was chosen because of the role of AI in pressuring the Thai government through laws that have been ratified before with the help of powerful actors.

Leverage Politics, The method relies on actors who are considered stronger or have the strength to be able to campaign for action and efforts in changing policy. Activists in a Campaign Network have anxiety about political effectiveness. Their definition of political effectiveness includes a policy change with "selected actors" such as governments, other countries, and IGO's (Keck & Siikink, 1998). For the sake of achieving a policy change, a network needs to suppress and persuade powerful actors. To gain influence, a network needs to leverage some powerful actors. By affecting several powerful institutions, a small, weak group has an influence far above their ability to influence the state in a practical way. Identification of Moral Leverage or Materials is a crucial strategic move in the campaign network



Leverage material usually connects issues to money or income, and has the potential to speak at international organizations, high-level offices, and more. Human rights issues are a negotiable issue as governments or financial institutions link human rights practices to military and economic aid, or to bilateral diplomatic relations.

Moral Leverage involves the so-called "Mobilization of Shame", in which the actor's behavior is confronted with international supervision. Network Activists use moral leverage in the assumption that the government respects the good opinion of others; which a network can show that the country violates international authority, and does not fulfill its own claims. They hope that with the danger of the violation, the state is motivated enough to change its policies or behavior. The degree to which countries have vulnerabilities to such pressures varies (Keck & Siikink, 1998).

Accountability Politics, Political accountability is an attempt to hold on to influential actors to account for policies previously formulated in the targeted country (Keck & Siikink, 1998). The advocacy network seeks to convince governments and other actors to openly change their position on the issue. This is often overlooked because governments often change discursive positions, and divert the attention of networks and the public. As this happens, the advocacy network seeks to make the statement an opportunity for political accountability. Once the government has publicly committed itself to a principle, the network can use that position, and inform it to expose the distance between the discourse and practice of that principle. These approaches Boomerang Pattern Governments can act as Responsible for a right, and on the other hand can also act as a Violator. When governments violate or refuse to recognize rights, domestic individuals and groups often have no other way in domestic politics, or justice. They seek international connections to express their concerns and even to protect their lives.

If the relationship between the state and its domestic actor is blocked, the Boomerang Pattern enters and influences as a characteristic of the transnational network. Domestic actors seek alternatives, and out of their country's access and look for international allies to try to push their country from the outside. Linkage is very important for both parties (domestic actors and target actors): for less powerful third-world actors (transnational actors), networks provide access, influence, information, and often money (Keck & Siikink, 1998).

In relation to operational concepts, TAN has a wide space in the dynamics of the international world, especially in terms of conflicts such as human rights violations. TANs can



enter into a case where political access from local communities is blocked by the government. This causes the community to have no rights or opportunity to convey their aspirations and values. In the Deep South conflict, AI maximizes its role as an INGO by realizing the TAN concept. AI cooperates with NGO like Thai Lawyers for Human Rights (TLHR), and international organizations such as United Nations (UN) using Leverage Politics and Accountability Politics approaches.

Using moral leverage, AI forms an advocacy network with TLHR through value equations by exchanging information. That value equation is a human right that must be upheld amid the chaos that engulfs the Deep South community. With that information, AI and TLHR pressured the Thai government through the international laws it has ratified, on the implementation of the legal formulation of the international practice. The international agreement is the law contained in *United Nations of Committee Against Torture* (UNCAT) and *United Nations of Human Rights Committee* (UNHRC).

Using the Accountability Politics method, AI holds the UN as an influential international actor to account for statements from the Thai government that have publicly ratified both conventions. From that point on, Thailand is depressed and responsible for its principle, which then formulates policies that are in line with the demands of AI, TLHR, and also the UN.

The success of the Amnesty International in enforcing human rights in the Deep South Thailand conflict is because AI has made the Thai government to initiate the formulation of the Draft Act. The AI success factor in influencing Thailand consists of several advocacy strategies: Establishing Advocacy Networks, Influence Powerful Actor, Pressing Thailand's Government through Advocacy Network.

### **Research Methodology**

This study uses a Qualitative Method (Patton & Cochran, 2007). This method is characterized by its purpose, relating to the understanding of some aspects of social life, and its method (in general) yields words rather than numbers as data analysis. This method aims to answer the question of "what", "how" or "why" a phenomenon rather than "how much", which is answered by quantitative methods. This research applies Library Research.

This research takes data through Literature Research: books, Electronic-book articles, reports, and international journals. All the data is applied in this paper to strengthen the argument of the author.

The type of qualitative research applied in this study is <sup>2</sup> Deductive Approach, which an approach that uses logic to draw one or more conclusions on a set of premises given. In complex deductive systems, researchers can draw more than one conclusion. The deductive approach is often described as making a conclusion from something general to something certain. The deductive approach is a process of reasoning that starts from a general state to a special state.

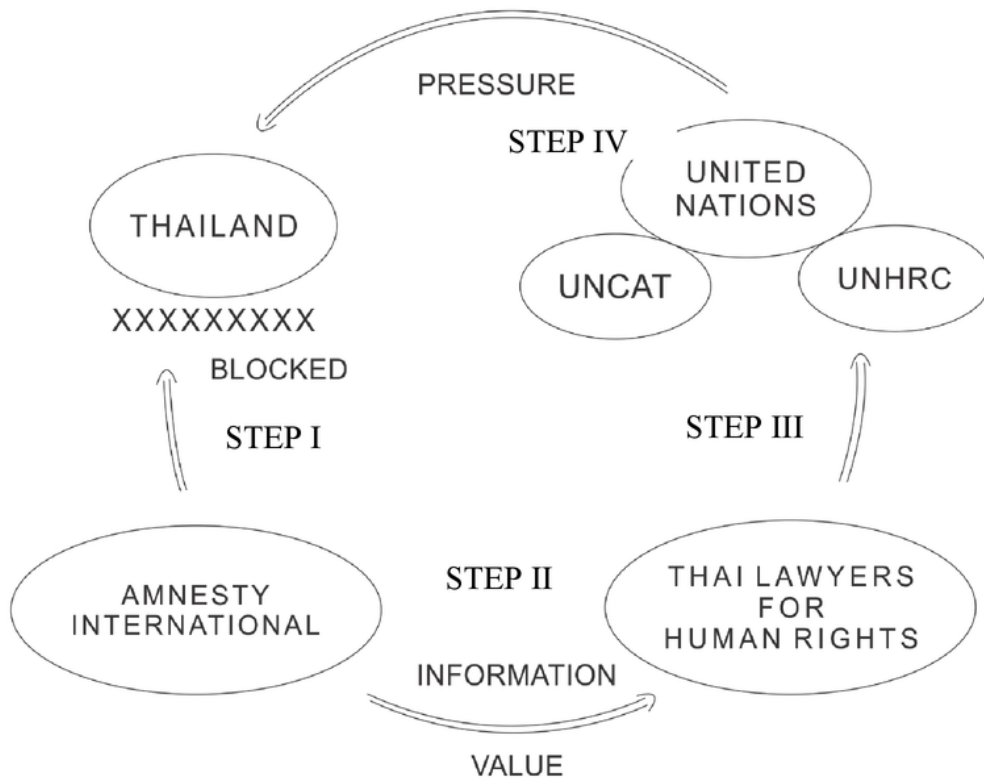
## Discussion

Thailand's obligations as a member country of various anti-torture conventions such as the CAT, the ICCPR requires its government to comply with the provisions of the two conventions. Thailand's commitment by ratifying the convention must coincide with its practice and policy style. The Respect for the commitment is supported by AI as INGO and TLHR as local non-governmental organization in Thailand. The two actors attempted to shape Thai law by jointly building an advocacy network, which then advocated stronger actors such as UNCAT and UNHRC, as well as actors linked to conventions to pressure Thai authorities to account for their commitments. The business carried out by AI managed to persuade the Thai government. The form of its success is manifested in the formulation of the Draft Act, which is a draft law in accordance with respect for human rights, and condemns all acts that undermine human dignity.

AI's success is certainly a good step for non-governmental actors. This step can be a Milestone for other non-state actors in particular organizations that operate within the scope of human rights about the potential that can be achieved. The success of the Amnesty International in enforcing human rights in the Deep South Thailand conflict is because AI has made the Thai government to initiate the formulation of the Draft Act. The AI success factor in influencing Thailand consists of several advocacy strategies: establishing advocacy network, influencing powerful actors, and presses Thailand government through advocacy network.

Thus, this section will analyze the successes made by AI in enforcing Human Rights in Deep South Thailand Conflict. AI's success strategy in enforcing human rights abuses in Deep South includes measures; Establish Advocacy Networks (TLHR), Influencing Powerful Actors

(UNCAT, and UNHRC), and Suppressing Thai Government through Advocacy Networks. The advocacy network strategy in performing its action forms a pattern called the Boomerang Pattern:



**a. Amnesty International's Success in Establishing Advocacy Networks**

During the AI study period in Deep South Thailand, AI certainly experienced various obstacles such as prohibition in accessing the place of detention of the victim. Such problems are encountered by AI researchers with the help of a local NGO, working on human rights, the TLHR. The TLHR provides information to AI regarding information on victims' torture, through interviews with victims' families and their lawyers. Where possible, AI researchers may interview one of the victims of torture and detention with access to TLHR.

On the basis of a sense of humanity and human rights crimes that must be resolved soon, AI and TLHR form an advocacy network. Applying the Moral Leverage approach, AI formed an advocacy network with the TLHR through a value equation<sup>2</sup>, which is human rights that must be

<sup>2</sup> The TLHR urges the Thai authorities to repeal the Emergency Decree law, and any other policy that violates human rights, and stop the processing of civilians in military courts

upheld in the midst of violence that plagues the Deep South community. The TLHR considers that the protection of the right to a fair trial is the key to ensuring justice (Rights, 2015). TLHR's own mission is to provide legal precautions to those arrested, detained, and tried as a consequence of the Emergency Decree law, and the NCPO order, as well as civilians prosecuted in military courts. In addition, TLHR also plays a role to monitor and document the human rights violations that occurred in Thailand, where the idea is in line with the idea believed by AI as well. The similarity of ideas encourages communication between the two to form an advocacy network, which is the real form of the result of Moral Leverage conducted by AI on TLHR.

With this advocacy network, simplify the steps taken by AI in upholding human rights in Deep South. As a Non-Governmental International Organization, AI has wide flexibility in performing its actions. In the TAN concept, the actor who is believed to have the most significant influence in advocating is a non-governmental organization, as she does not ride the interests of any actor. In addition, INGO, according to Margaret E Keck and Katterin Sikkink (Keck & Sikkink, 1998), is an actor who moves on social level, where he moves in the realm of society, which is close to the people especially in the field of humanity such as AI and TLHR. Surely such an organization has the potential to develop its ideas and principles, to then influence civilians with the value of their beliefs.

The advocacy network established by AI does not stop at TLHR alone. TLHR, as a local organization that is engaged in human rights, is not enough to influence the Thai government. For that reason, AI tries to attract the attention of more potent (powerful) international actors to pressure the Thai government.

The steps taken by AI in forming an advocacy network to enforce human rights in the Deep South is a good step. Previously, local NGOs such as the TLHR, and many other organizations certainly did not have juridical access to the government. The problem is solved by an advocacy network established by AI. When merging values and information from AI and TLHR, local organizations such as TLHR will have jurisdictional access to government through the role of AI as an international organization. Because, when local actors do not have access to the government, that is where the intersection for international and local actors. It is this factor which is the meaning of AI's success point in forming an advocacy network.



With this advocacy network, it gives hope for local actors to be able to influence the local government. TLHR as a local organization established after the adoption of the NCPO Emergency Decree and the NCPO Ordinance, has the purpose to dispel the further application of the law. The acts committed by the TLHR are to monitor and collect information related to the victims of detention or torture of the consequences of the legislature. The whole action is as if to provide legal protection for the victims. Therefore, with the advocacy of this advocacy network, TLHR can contribute more, and together can realize a law of protection from detention, torture, and all actions that degrade human dignity. Thus, the efforts made by AI in establishing an advocacy network to enforce human rights violations in the Deep South is a success.

#### **b. Amnesty International's Success on Influencing Powerful Actors**

To be able to influence a country, it takes an actor who has influence that can be said to be comparable with the actor of the country itself. A network is not an actor whose role is proportional to the state, but it can attract and influence other actors to then be able to influence a country. The role in influencing the country will be a joint task for the advocacy network after it attracts powerful actors to join it. Therefore, the advocacy network after attracting powerful actors has the potential to influence the policy style of a country.

In the case of Deep South, AI formed an advocacy network with TLHR, then drew influential actors such as UNCAT and UNHRC. UNCAT as the body responsible for the CAT convention, and UNHRC as the body responsible for the ICCPR convention. AI uses the situation to attract their positions and join the advocacy network. The method used by AI in attracting the two actors is Accountability Politics approach. AI is trying to get the Thai government to account for commitments that have openly ratified the CAT and ICCPR conventions. Through this effort, AI then pulled the two actors together to form an advocacy network and pressure the authorities Thailand, as UNCAT and UNHRC themselves have questioned the respect for Thailand's commitment. The advocacy network seeks to convince the government to openly change their position on the issue. Once the government has publicly committed itself to a principle, then the advocacy network can use that position to suppress that commitment.

The AI Approach to UNHRC is by submitting an AI research report (International, Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, 2017) during the Deep South Thailand as a form of AI supervision of Thai compliance to the ICCPR. The report contains AI

research on torture, detention, and other ill-treatment, as well as restrictions on the right to freedom of expression, and association. In its submission, AI also provides recommendations to the Thai tortias, which it aims to ensure that UNHRC understands that they share the same values and expectations of eliminating all human rights violations throughout the world, especially the Deep South Thailand region. From the exposure of AI recommendations to human rights abuses in the Deep South, UNHRC understands the intentions of the AI and then presses the Thai government through its responsibility to the convention.

In the AI report to UNCAT (International, Submission to the United Nations Committee Against Torture, 2014), she concluded that the Thai government should take urgent steps to end torture other <sup>9</sup> ill-treatment, or cruel, inhuman, and <sup>22</sup> degrading punishment. To immediately enforce and enforce the law to recognize <sup>22</sup> torture as a crime. Amnesty International has urged the Thai government to amend the draft law to bring it in line with international law and to ensure its transition into law without unnecessary delay. The statement was submitted by AI to UNHRC in one of its reports on March 12, 2017 (Statement, 2017). According to the report, UNHRC is encouraged to review Thai compliance in accordance with the ICCPR.

Rupert Abbott, Deputy Director of Asia Pacific AI (International, <sup>4</sup> Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, 2017), said: *"Torture and other ill-treatment are still an endemic problem in Thailand, and the fact that torture has not been recognized as a crime highlights the need for governments to take joint action"*. Thailand's involvement with the UN review is welcomed and offers an opportunity to address long-standing concerns. To that end, Thailand must follow up with concrete actions to end torture.

With various reviews or reports from both influential actors on issues, AI considers that the action is an opportunity to jointly end the torture that has spread in the Deep South. In addition, AI has consistently pressured the government through its research reports, and other publications.

The movement of AI in attracting more influential actors such as UNCAT and UNHRC is the right step. Clearly, Advocacy Networks previously consisting of TLHR and AI are not strong enough to influence the position of a country, because the two actors are non-government actors. Recognizing this, AI is attracting more influential international actors. By using accountability politics method in TAN concept, AI finally succeeded in attracting UNCAT and UNHRC.

AI's efforts in attracting powerful actors into its advocacy network are part of AI's success in upholding human rights in the Deep South. Action conducted by AI is to collect data and information related to torture, and place of detention. AI also monitors how the Thai government acts as a member country of various anti-torture conventions. AI also simultaneously checks Thai compliance through its responsibilities under the conventions. AI views that Thailand itself does not even comply with the convention, and legislation has opposed the provisions of the convention. The form of conflict is by facilitating human rights violations in the law it makes. From the above, AI can attract and influence influential actors to join the advocacy network.

Based on the previous description, AI succeeded in applying the accountability politics method in TAN concept. It has succeeded in influencing IGO's by mobilization of NGOs. The case also confirms the statement from Sikkink and Margaret that NGOs are the most significant actors in the TAN concept. Justification is projected by the role of AI that can influence the influential actors.

The indication of UNCAT and UNHRC as powerful actors is their authority as one of the UN bodies. UN as an IGO certainly has more influence when compared to AI as INGO, and TLHR as a local NGO in Thailand. In addition, Thailand has also committed to ratify international conventions such as the ICCPR and CAT, both of which are actors of the agency concerned. In accordance with the TAN concept, non-governmental actors will seek to attract the attention of government actors who have more potential to be able to change the policies of a country.

Evidence of AI's success in influencing UNCAT and UNHRC is increasing their responsibility as an international body with the authority to resolve the issue in Thailand right away. That responsibility has increased because AI and TLHR have consistently examined torture and incessant detention by Thai authorities and gave it to both actors. To that end, UNCAT and UNHRC are encouraged to join the advocacy network.

#### **c. The Success of Amnesty International Presses Thailand Government through Advocacy Network**

The Thai government's respect for humanity is embodied in ratifying <sup>24</sup> international human rights-related conventions, such as the CAT and the ICCPR. The commitment seems incompatible with the direction of the Thai government's own direction. The policy style of Thai law and law is

in contrast to its commitment to facilitate human rights abuses, in particular the issue of detention and torture. It has become a responsibility for Thai authorities to comply with its provisions. Therefore, Thailand has obligations to the international convention. Advocacy networks consisting of AI, TLHR, UNCAT, and UNHRC have a role in accounting for Thailand's obligations to the convention. To that end, AI together with its advocacy network put pressure on the Thai government to significantly and radically change the direction of its policies and its laws which have thus facilitated various human rights violations, which are inconsistent with the provisions of the convention.

The emphasis of the advocacy network on the Thai government is to consistently report on torture, other ill-treatment, which then UNCAT and UNHRC will emphasize. It shows the value equation and the intention to immediately end the worries will be deep torture and detention in the Deep South. Under such pressure, an initiative for the formulation of an anti-torture law (Draft Act) was introduced. Substantially, the meaning of the draft is the criminalization of acts of torture and other ill-treatment, whereby it can end torture and enforce human rights violations that have been plagued.

The initiation of drafting of the Draft Act is the point of success of AI in enforcing human rights in Deep South Thailand. In fact, AI has been successful in influencing Thai government policy, which is very relevant to the purpose of the TAN concept. For that reason, the main reason for AI's success in establishing Ham in the Deep South is because AI implements the TAN concept, from the first Moral Leverage to TLHR, to the Accountability Politics method of attracting powerful actors (UNCAT and UNHRC) and pressing the Thai government.

The emergence of ideas for the drafting of the Draft Act is a proof of AI's success in upholding human rights in Deep South Thailand. Since, since the end of the Deep South conflict, international assistance to its people has been limited to Human Rights Watch and Deep South Watch as international actors. Seeing this, AI tries to solve the problems directly from its roots, namely by changing the basic laws, and the direction of Thai government policy. Therefore, AI's success in influencing Thai policy is a long-term matter. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) Democracy Index (Index, 2018), Thailand is part of the state of *Hybrid Regime*<sup>3</sup>, in

<sup>3</sup> Combine democratic traits (e.g., frequent and direct elections) with autocratic ones, Oxford Bibliographies



which the formulation of the Draft Act formulation is a success point for AI in enforcing human rights in Thailand. This statement certainly corroborates the answers of this study.

## **Conclusion**

The Deep South Thai conflict is a subnational conflict in the Asian region. This conflict is concentrated in an area along the Thai-Malaysian border, where the majority of the local population is ethnically Malay. The area has three provinces: Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat. The history of the Deep South has a long history of annexation by the Kingdom of Siam (contemporary Thailand) to the Patani region (the three previous provinces) to a unified state, Thailand.

Since the annexation, the region of Thailand or known as Deep South experienced discrimination in education, culture, and others. The permanent residents of the Siamese kingdom are Buddhist Thai, while Deep South is a Muslim Malay. Based on these identity differences, Deep South people experience discrimination. In fact, the accident does not only stop on discrimination, but rather to human rights violation. Deep South societies that have been discriminated against since the Thai annexation sought to defend their rights until a separatist movement emerged. The Thai government, which is a resident of Siam, considers the emergence of the separatist movement as an act of rebellion against the state.

The emergence of separatist movements as a struggle for Malay Muslims must be a threat to the Thai government. Therefore, to stem the resistance of the separatist movement the Thai government commit acts of human rights violations based on its laws. Thai law facilitates all human rights abuses such as torture, unlawful detention of government devices such as soldiers and police.

Interim Constitutions, Martial Act Law, Emergency Decree, and Order NCPOs are laws that together facilitate human rights violations. With regard to the issue of detention, the law supplements each other to structurally endure incessant detriment, which leads to uncontrolled torture. The main target of this crime is the Deep South, which is the majority of Malay Muslims. Their detention and torture are based on suspicion regarding their involvement in separatist movements, or even in some cases as described only to stop them from taking part in political matters.

The situation is bleak due to torture and the constant detention of the Deep South Muslim community. Their access to government has been blocked by the Thai authorities. So they can not

do much. Seeing this condition, AI as an INGO engaged in the field of humanity participated in its efforts to uphold human rights in Thailand.

AI's efforts to uphold human rights in Thailand have several strategies. The strategy adopted by AI uses the TAN concept of Margaret and Katterine. The method used by AI from the TAN concept is leverage politics, with moral leverage with TLHR to then form an advocacy network. Then AI and TLHR attracted influential chords such as UNCAT and UNHRC through the Accountability Politics method. With the establishment of an advocacy network comprising AI, TLHR, UNCAT and UNHRC they jointly urged and pressured the Thai government through media reports, and accounted for Thailand's commitment as a member country of the international torture conventions (ICCPR and CAT).

The form of pressure from the advocacy network on the Thai government is formulated in every research report conducted by actors from the advocacy network in Deep South Thailand. In addition, UNCAT and UNHRC also pressured Thai authorities through further accountability of Thailand's position as a member country of the ICCPR and CAT conventions. The strategy used by AI in enforcing human rights in Deep South Thailand is a success. Indication of the success is the initiation of the formulation of the Draft Act as an anti-torture law. In this law, it will be formulated that torture is a crime that must be stopped immediately.

Thus, AI's success in enforcing human rights in Deep South Thailand conflict is because AI succeeds in influencing the Thai government through initiation of Draft Act formulation using advocacy strategy; building an advocacy network, influencing powerful actors, and pressuring Thailand through advocacy networks.

### **Suggestion**

In accordance with the discussion at the beginning of the section, the benefits and objectives of this research are able to contribute in the future to other non-governmental actors especially in the field of human rights to become a reference in mobilizing internationally. The research generated suggestions from AI's success analysis in enforcing human rights in Deep South Thailand, consisting of three strategies: Establishing Advocacy Networks, Influencing Influential Actors, and Pressuring the Thai government through advocacy networks. In addition, the research could be milestones for any other actors non-governmental organizations, which were how possibly

could non-state actor could act. For the Academics, this research is able to become a trigger for further future research.

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