

1932

**1932**

Absolute monarchy is abolished. Over the next 85 years, Thailand sees 20 charters and constitutions, 12 coups, and 34 years of military control.

**1973**

Army opens fire on students protesting 26 years of military rule. Seventy-seven are killed and 800 injured.

**1976**

Protests at Thammasat University against former military dictator Thanom Kittichorn end in carnage when security forces and ultra-right-wing groups kill 45 students.

**1992**

Black May protests against Suchinda Kraprayoon's premiership. He resigns when the king intervenes.

**2004**

Coordinated attacks in the Deep South mark new wave of Malay Muslim insurgency. Nearly 6,500 are killed between 2004 and 2016. Over two-thirds are civilians.

**2007**

Thaksin's People's Power Party (PPP) wins the first post-coup elections.

**2010**

Pro-Thaksin Red Shirts occupy Bangkok's business center demanding new elections. Protests and a military crackdown kill at least 91 and injure more than 2,000.

**2013**

Yellow Shirts take to the streets for six months calling for Yingluck to step down.

**2014**

Military seizes power from Yingluck Shinawatra amid increasingly violent protests.

**2016**

A new constitution, written under the military regime, is adopted by referendum.

**1948**

Militant separatists in the country's Deep South start resisting perceived forced assimilation of the Malay Muslim population.

**1974**

Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) begins armed insurgency, costing 3,415 lives by 1982.

**1982**

CPT armed insurgency draws to a close.

**2001**

Thaksin Shinawatra is elected prime minister. He will be the first Thai premier to serve his full term, and to win reelection.

**2006**

Military overthrows Thaksin Shinawatra following massive street protests by the Yellow Shirts. He goes into self-imposed exile.

**2008**

New Yellow Shirt protests again bring down the PPP government. Constitutional Court orders PPP disbanded.

**2011**

Thaksin's sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, is elected prime minister in fresh elections.

**2013**

First attempt at dialogue with Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN) insurgents in the Deep South. Talks fail the following year.

**2015**

Bombing of the Erawan Shrine, in the heart of Bangkok, by transnational terrorists kills 20 and injures 125.

**2016**

Coordinated attacks by Malay Muslim insurgents in seven provinces, including popular seaside tourist resorts, raise fears that the Deep South conflict is entering a violent new phase.

2016

# Thailand

## At a glance



National civil war  
**Absent**



Communal/ideological conflict  
**Absent**



National political conflict  
**Shifting between low and medium**



Local political and electoral conflict  
**Low**



Transnational terrorism  
**Low**



Local resource conflict  
**Low**



Separatism and autonomy  
**High**



Urban crime and violence  
**Medium, moving toward low**

*\* Rankings are based on the last 15 years and are relative to other Asian countries.*

## Overview

From 2004 to 2014, Thailand experienced a national political crisis leading to intermittent violence, regular street protests, and unstable governance. Many observers have described the conflict as a contest for power between traditional elites and supporters of the populist former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. During this period, political tensions were high, and national politics were deeply polarized. Tensions culminated in a military coup d'état in May 2014, the country's twelfth. The coup restored stability to Thailand, but it came at the cost of increased restrictions on political activities and civil liberties. Despite the current calm, there are clear signs that political tensions remain high, and the deep polarization of national politics that fueled previous crises has not gone away. In August 2016, a new constitution was approved by referendum, though open debate on the text was restricted, leading many to criticize the process. With the promulgation of the new constitution in April 2017, the government has begun a process that will lead to elections, though the timing is unclear. Thailand is also affected by an ethnonationalist insurgency in its southern border provinces, a region known as the Deep South, which is currently the deadliest in Southeast Asia. The conflict is grounded in historical grievances of the Malay Muslim majority community toward the Thai Buddhist state. Despite the current military government's dialogue with some separatist factions, violent attacks and counterinsurgency operations remain frequent. The conflict has resulted in nearly 6,500 deaths since 2004.<sup>1</sup> Gender-based and local political violence, as well as local contention over community rights, also affect large numbers of people and deserve more attention.



### National civil war

Not present in Thailand since 1777.



### National political conflict

Since the abolition of absolute monarchy in 1932, Thai politics have been characterized by a high level of instability as new and old elites jostle for power, with the army frequently stepping in to seize control. Since then, the country has had 20 charters and constitutions, 12 coups d'état, and 34 years of military rule. Since the 1980s, Thailand has seen longer stretches of democracy, while military interventions have become less frequent. During the past decade, however, street politics have returned to center stage. There has been protracted conflict between an alliance of groups commonly known as the Red Shirts,<sup>2</sup> which includes supporters of the controversial former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra, many of whom hail from rural, northern and northeastern Thailand, and political parties linked to him (e.g., Pheu Thai), and an alliance of groups known as the Yellow Shirts, which includes traditional elites, the urban middle class, and some leaders from other parties (e.g., the Democrat Party). Thaksin's political parties have won every election since 2001, although since 2005, every elected government has been forced out of office. Both sides have used mass protests to achieve their goals, plunging the country into gridlock. Between 2008 and 2014, 127 people were reported killed and around 3,500 injured in the resulting clashes.<sup>3</sup> This situation has led to two military coups since 2004, the most recent of which installed the current military regime.

After World War II, Thailand experienced 26 years of military dictatorship, from 1947 to 1973. During that period, the armed forces established themselves as a major part of Thailand's political establishment. They forged a strong alliance with the civilian bureaucracy and sidelined politicians, turning the country into a bureaucratic state and presiding over a period of economic development and modernization. However, demands for democratic government, and antimilitary sentiment, increased over the years.

By the early 1970s, the democracy movement had begun to take shape. In 1973, there was a surge in student protests calling for the military government to step down and for a new constitution. It ended in tragedy as the government ordered the army to open fire on protestors, causing 77 deaths and over 800 injuries.<sup>4</sup> The military regime was eventually overthrown, and a new constitution was promulgated in 1974. In 1976, another mass demonstration at Thammasat University, opposing the return from exile of the former military dictator Thanom Kittikachorn, led to another government crackdown. The crackdown led to a massacre involving ultra-right-wing groups and security forces that claimed at least 46 lives.<sup>5</sup> The ensuing crisis was used to justify a coup, which brought the military back into power.

From the 1980s to the mid-2000s, the country returned to democracy, except for a brief period of military rule in 1991 and 1992. The Black May protests, organized in 1992 against Suchinda Kraprayoon's premiership, left at least 52 demonstrators dead.<sup>6</sup> After the intervention of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Suchinda resigned as prime minister. From 1992 to 2004, the country enjoyed a decade of civilian rule and genuine democratic participation.

Beginning in 2004, Thailand once again experienced political turmoil. Thaksin Shinawatra, a former police officer and telecommunications tycoon, was elected prime minister in 2001 and became the first democratically elected premier to serve a full term, winning reelection in 2005.

# Since 1932

**20** charters and constitutions

**12** coups d'état

**34** years of military rule

While Thaksin presided over a rapid recovery of the Thai economy, still suffering from the 1997 Asian financial crisis, the traditional elite and a large part of the broader public became frustrated with him, accusing him of populism, corruption, and abusing political power. The Yellow Shirts<sup>7</sup> organized massive street protests between 2004 and 2006, leading the country into political gridlock that paved the way for a military coup that overthrew Thaksin in September 2006. His party was outlawed, and Thaksin went into self-imposed exile to avoid a prison sentence on corruption charges, but he continued to influence Thai politics from abroad. His People's Power Party (PPP) won the first post-coup elections in 2007, leading to seven months of renewed protests by the Yellow Shirts in 2008. Yellow Shirt protestors occupied key government offices and closed Bangkok's international airport for several days. Over the seven-month period, eight people were killed and 737 injured, the result of anonymous grenade attacks and clashes with security forces and the Red Shirts. Two Constitutional Court rulings eventually disqualified Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej from office and later disbanded the PPP. The opposition Democrat Party formed a government in December 2008. In response, the Red Shirts adopted the same strategy of street politics, occupying the main business areas of Bangkok to pressure Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva to step down and announce an immediate election. Unlike previous protests by the Yellow Shirts, the Red Shirts were met by a military crackdown, and at least 91 people were killed and more than 2,000 injured in street clashes in April and May 2010.<sup>8</sup>

Fresh elections in 2011 once again brought Thaksin's party to power, with his sister Yingluck Shinawatra becoming prime minister. The Yellow Shirts<sup>9</sup> once more took to the streets, this time led by former Democrat Party member and former deputy prime minister Suthep Thaugsuban. Protests lasted from November 2013 to May 2014, and resulted in 28 deaths and over 700 injuries.<sup>10</sup> Assassinations of protest leaders on both sides, sporadic shoot-outs, grenade attacks, and occasional mobilization of Red Shirts, all prompted fears of escalation in an increasingly polarized society. This served as justification for Thai Army leaders to step in and seize power once again.

With military rule now suppressing political activity, the cycle of street protests and political violence has subsided. There have been arrests and summonses of people joining public gatherings or expressing opinions against the junta on social media. A new constitution was adopted by voters in a referendum on August 7, 2016, in a context where the government barred opposition groups from openly campaigning against it or monitoring the referendum. Sixty-one percent voted in favor, with only 59 percent of the electorate turning out to vote. The new constitution provides considerable power to unelected bodies, weakens political parties, and strengthens military influence in politics.<sup>11</sup> In April 2017, the constitution was ratified by King Maha Vajiralongkorn, who had acceded to the throne after the death of his father, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the previous October.



### Transnational terrorism

Due to Thailand's weak border controls and tourist-friendly visa requirements, transnational terrorist and separatist groups have used the country as a hideout and a base to hold meetings, maintain transit routes, acquire arms, and mobilize financial support.<sup>12</sup> At times, terrorist networks have also attacked targets in Thailand. In 1972, the Palestinian Black September organization seized the Israeli Embassy and held six staff hostage. The Kurdistan Islamic Movement targeted the Iraqi consulate in Thailand with a C4 explosive device in 1982. In 1993, Iranian men were caught in a truck carrying explosives to the Israeli Embassy. In 2003, the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) leader, Hambali, was apprehended in Thailand after the 2002 Bali bombings. It was reported that before the bombing, senior JI leaders had convened in Thailand in early 2002 to plan the attack. In addition, separatist operatives from South Asia, such as the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka and some Naga separatists from India,<sup>13</sup> have reportedly used Thailand as a base.

The latest high-profile transnational terrorist attack in Thailand took place in August 2015 when a bomb was detonated inside the Erawan Shrine, in the heart of Bangkok's business district, killing 20 and injuring 125. Two suspects were identified as being ethnic Uighurs from Western China's Xinjiang region. Officials claimed that the blast was carried out as an act of vengeance against Thai authorities for suppressing a network smuggling Uighur migrants through Thailand. However, it is widely speculated that the attackers were avenging the deportation of Uighur militants to China in July 2015.<sup>14</sup>

There has so far been no evidence of operational linkages between the Malay Muslim insurgents of Thailand's Deep South (see next section) and transnational Islamic terrorist networks such as the Islamic State (IS).

# 6,500

**killed** in the **Deep South conflict**  
**2004–2016**

## Subnational level



### Separatism and autonomy

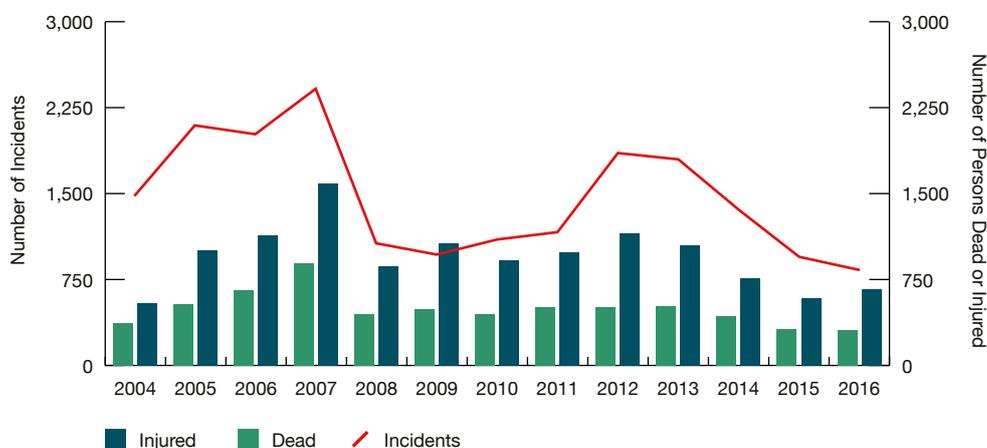
The predominantly Malay Muslim southern border provinces have seen waves of insurgency against the Thai state over the last century. Since the conflict reemerged in 2004, it has been especially violent, and Thailand's Deep South conflict is currently one of the deadliest in Southeast Asia in terms of intensity.<sup>15</sup> The current violence is a legacy of a century-old conflict between Bangkok and the region, which comprises the former sultanate of "Patani," which became a tributary of the kingdom of Siam (the former name of Thailand) in 1786. Since then, attempts by the local Malay Muslims to resist Siamese Buddhist rule have led to rebellions and unrest. The sultanate was annexed and internationally recognized as part of Thailand in 1909.

From 1948 onward, militant separatists started resisting what they perceived as systematic attempts by the Thai state to suppress local identity and forcibly assimilate the predominantly Malay Muslim population. They carried out attacks against government officials, public schools, and railways.<sup>16</sup>

The insurgency ebbed and flowed until January 4, 2004, when coordinated attacks in nine districts marked the beginning of a new wave of violence of unprecedented intensity. Attacks occurred daily and became less discriminate, with bombings and shootings in public places frequently causing civilian casualties. Between 2004 and 2016, nearly 6,500 were killed and over 12,000 were injured (figure 1); two-thirds of the victims were civilians.<sup>17</sup> Approximately 60 percent of the dead were Muslims, killed by insurgents or security forces. The Thai Buddhists who made up 40 percent of the victims were mainly killed in insurgent attacks. Schools, government offices, and state institutions remain the most common targets. Similar levels of violent incidents appear in all three affected provinces: Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat. Within each, however, the degree of violence differs across districts, with the five most violent districts accounting for nearly 40 percent of all incidents.<sup>18</sup>

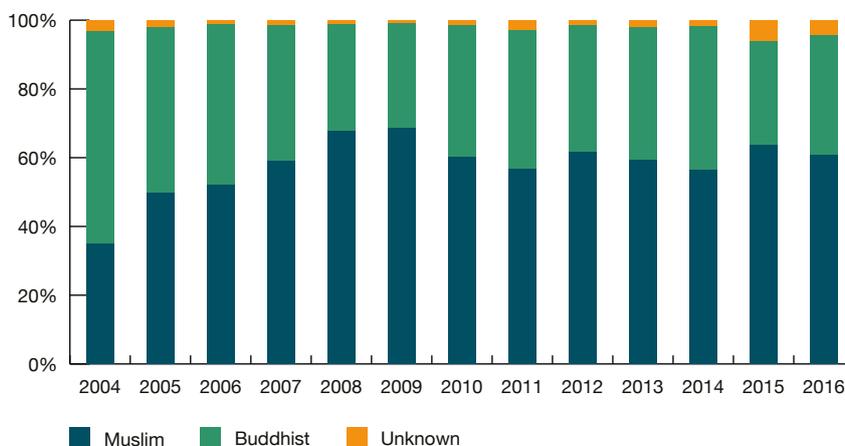
Significant increases in government budgets for counterinsurgency operations and socioeconomic development in the region have so far failed to improve the situation. The Thai government has engaged in peace talks with insurgents. The first official dialogue with the most prominent separatist group, Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN), started in February 2013, but soon stalled. Since the 2014 coup, the government has continued informal talks with several groups, including a faction of BRN, assembled under an ad hoc umbrella group called MARA Patani.

While overall levels of violence have declined, it is unlikely that an end to the conflict is in sight. During the summer of 2016, a series of coordinated attacks in multiple locations outside the Deep South, some of them seaside resorts popular with domestic and international tourists, raised concerns about a possible shift in BRN's strategy. The attacks used improvised explosive devices, which blew up on August 11 and 12, 2016, in Trang, Hua Hin, Surat Thani, Phuket, Phang Nga, Krabi, and Nakhorn Si Thammarat. Four were killed and more than 30 were injured.<sup>19</sup> BRN claimed responsibility on September 9, and announced that the attacks were in response to the government's lack of sincerity in the peace talks. The move was unprecedented, as BRN and other separatist groups had never previously claimed responsibility for attacks. Their theater of operations had been generally confined to the three provinces and adjacent districts of Songkhla Province.<sup>20</sup>



**Figure 1.** Yearly incidents, deaths, and injuries in the Deep South (2004–2016)

Source: Deep South Incident Database



**Figure 2.** Share of deaths, by ethnoreligious group and by year, in the Deep South (2004–2016)

Source: Deep South Incident Database



### Large-scale communal and ideological conflicts

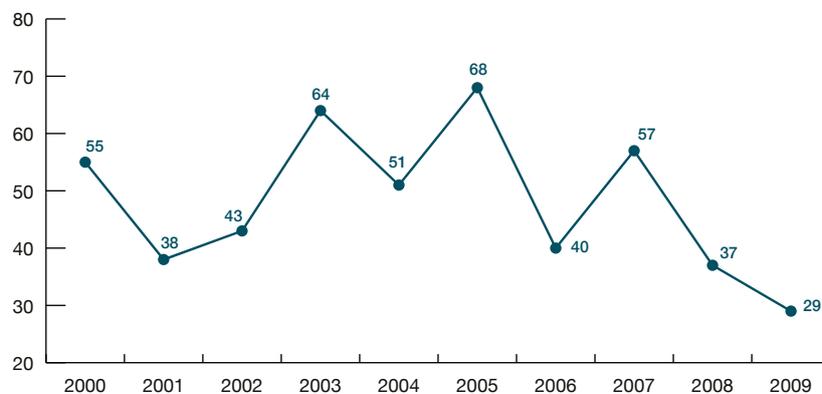
In the 1970s and 1980s, parts of the country were affected by an armed conflict between the Thai government and the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT). It is estimated that the conflict took at least 3,415 lives between 1974 and 1982.<sup>21</sup> The CPT was originally formed as the Thai section of the Chinese Communist Party in 1942 and received support from China. In the 1960s, the CPT shifted its strategy toward seizing political power by force, and it increased its military activities. Armed clashes intensified in the mid-1970s. The 1976 military coup bolstered support for the CPT, especially among students, labor unionists, intellectuals, and the opposition. In addition to China, Cambodia also supported the guerilla movement in Thailand by providing funds, weapons, and training. However, foreign support decreased at end of the 1970s. Worsening relations between China and Vietnam created a rift within the CPT, causing occasional clashes between pro-Chinese and pro-Vietnamese factions. Large-scale campaigns by the Thai army hurt a weakened CPT, and an amnesty granted to rebels in 1980 led to considerable attrition. The conflict was considered over by 1982.

## Local level



### Local political conflict and electoral violence

Competition for political power at the local level has sometimes led to violence, but no recent studies have quantified this. A study of local political violence recorded 459 murders and attempted murders between 2000 and 2009, which resulted in a total of 362 deaths.<sup>22</sup> The number of victims fluctuated in the first eight years, then declined in the last two years of the study, a trend coinciding with levels of political violence during national elections. Only 86 cases led to arrests. The victims included local politicians, political canvassers, and government administrative officers. Over 40 percent of the incidents took place in Thailand's south, including 18 percent in the three southern border provinces also affected by the Malay Muslim insurgency (see section on separatism and autonomy, above), with Narathiwat registering the highest assassination rate.



**Figure 3.** Victims of local political violence (2000–2009)

Source: Vititanon (2010)<sup>23</sup>



## Local conflict over resources and community rights

Conflicts over natural resources, community rights, and the resettlement of populations displaced by public and private investments such as dams, power plants, or mining operations occur frequently in Thailand. Although the 1997 and 2007 constitutions upheld the right of affected communities to review and approve infrastructure projects affecting them, in practice they are seldom consulted, and protests often lead to violent clashes. Activists face legal charges, and in numerous cases have been victims of assault or murder. Over 35 have been killed in the last 19 years.<sup>24</sup>

In northern Thailand, forest and water use is often contested between hill tribes, such as the Hmong, Karen, and Lahu, and lowland Thai farmers.<sup>25</sup> The lowland farmers resent the impact of slash-and-burn agriculture, on which hill tribes rely, which they say results in water shortages and contamination downstream. In the Chiang Mai region, simmering tensions broke out in the late 1990s due to a drought. Mobilized by environmental organizations, lowland farmers engaged in a series of protests, blockading access roads to the highlands and fencing off forested areas. Nan Province experienced similar incidents in 2000, when lowland farmers blocked the road to a Hmong village, raided Hmong lychee plantations, and burned houses that belonged to Hmong families.<sup>26</sup>

Tensions between the state and indigenous communities over the boundaries of traditional land have been a long-running problem in Thailand, particularly in the upland regions of the north. In 2014, the government passed a new Forestry Master Plan, which has significantly increased pressure on highland communities, particularly poor, ethnic-minority groups. There have been reports of increasing arrests for illegal logging and encroachment, along with harassment and intimidation by local authorities, park officers, and security forces during evictions.<sup>27</sup>

Tensions over land use and community rights also help fuel the ethnonationalist conflict in Thailand's Deep South. In 2015, plans to build coal-fired power plants in Pattani were met with protests from the Malay Muslim community, because the work would result in the forcible relocation of people, mosques, and cemeteries and expose them to environmental damage. MARA Patani, an umbrella organization for multiple factions of the separatist insurgency, expressed opposition to the plan. The dispute may have been a key motive behind the motorcycle bombings of January 19 and April 19, 2016, which killed two and injured 16.<sup>28</sup>



## Urban crime and violence

Thailand's homicide rate was 4.8 intentional homicides per 100,000 people in 2011, the last year for which UNODC data is available. This is higher than the average rate of 2.9 in Southeast Asia, with only the Philippines and Laos having higher rates in the region.<sup>29</sup> The homicide rate in Bangkok, the country's capital, was only half as high (2.6 per 100,000 people).<sup>30</sup> Both rates have been gradually declining since 2005, when they stood at 7.3 and 4.3, respectively. Data from the National Statistical Office also show a steep decline in all major forms of crime concerning life and bodily harm between 2006 and 2015—by roughly half across all categories (table 1).

On the other hand, there has been an alarming increase in the number of crimes involving violations of the Firearms Act<sup>31</sup> (table 2), which rose from 18,701 in 2006 to 35,280 in 2014, an 88 percent increase.

In 2012, Reuters reported that Thailand had the most guns in civilian hands in Southeast Asia.<sup>32</sup> Given Thailand's history of political instability and the current high levels of political polarization, the high rate of gun possession is cause for concern.

**Table 1.** Crimes concerning life and bodily harm (2006–2015)

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Murder</b>	4,687	4,436	3,974	3,703	3,654	3,176	3,217	2,927	2,648	2,228
<b>Attempted murder</b>	7,125	6,713	5,564	5,452	4,852	4,141	4,331	4,421	4,112	4,001
<b>Assault</b>	25,798	22,667	18,802	18,359	16,066	12,338	13,152	12,349	12,966	15,153
<b>Rape</b>	5,308	5,155	4,644	4,676	4,255	3,537	3,431	3,303	2,968	2,848

Source: Statistical Forecasting Bureau of the National Statistical Office of Thailand<sup>33</sup>

**Table 2.** Reported cases of Firearms Act violations

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>General weapon (gun)</b>	18,701	21,023	22,169	25,087	21,463	23,941	28,134	34,895	35,280	31,232
<b>War weapon</b>	1,455	1,049	773	855	699	546	605	620	713	570

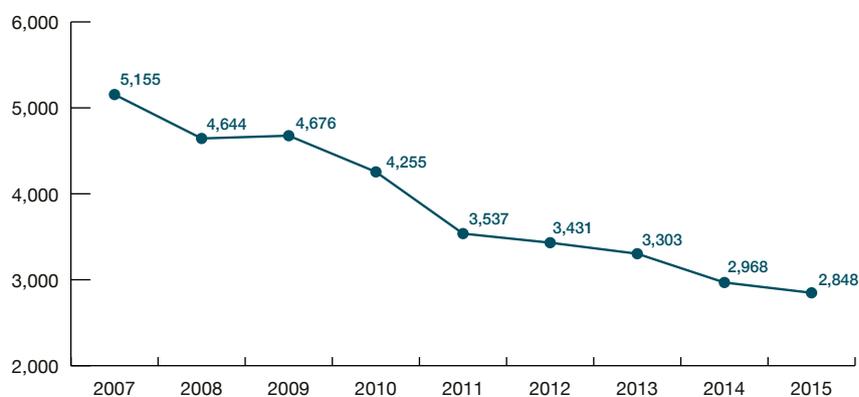
Source: Statistical Forecasting Bureau of the National Statistical Office of Thailand



### Domestic and gender-based violence

Thailand passed the Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence Act in 2007. In 2005, the Ministry of Public Health created emergency One Stop Crisis Centers (OSCCs) across the country. Between 2007 and 2016, OSCCs recorded a total of 227,909 cases of women and children seeking assistance for domestic abuse.<sup>34</sup> Sixty percent of the victims were children and 40 percent were adult women. Violence was usually committed by those who were close to and trusted by the victims, such as spouses, boyfriends, and friends. Eighty-three percent of cases involved physical violence, and 5.9 percent involved sexual violence.<sup>35</sup>

Even though the number of rape cases reported to the police has declined since 2007 (figure 4), the Thai Development Research Institute estimates at least 30,000 cases remain unreported each year, amounting to one case every 15 minutes.<sup>36</sup>



**Figure 4.** Reported rape cases (2007–2015)

Source: Royal Thai Police<sup>37</sup>

## Notes

- 1 “Deep South Incident Database,” Deep South Watch website, accessed May 9, 2017, <http://www.deepsouthwatch.org/en>.
- 2 The movement is formally known as the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD). They are called the Red Shirts because protestors generally wear red.
- 3 “Casualty toll after PAD ended protests: 737 injured, 8 killed” [in Thai], MGR Online, December 4, 2008, <http://www.manager.co.th/QOL/ViewNews.aspx?NewsID=9510000143152>; Human Rights Watch, *Descent into Chaos: Thailand’s 2010 Red Shirt Protests and the Government Crackdown* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2011), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/05/03/descent-chaos/thailands-2010-red-shirt-protests-and-government-crackdown>; Charlie Campbell, “Thai Army Declares Military Coup,” Time, May 21, 2014, <http://time.com/108719/thai-army-declares-military-coup/>.
- 4 “1973: Thai army shoots protesters,” BBC: On This Day, 1950–2005, accessed May 1, 2017, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/14/newsid\\_2534000/2534347.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/14/newsid_2534000/2534347.stm).
- 5 Feliz Solomon, “Thailand is Marking the Darkest Day in its Living Memory,” Time, October 5, 2016, <http://time.com/4519367/thailand-bangkok-october-6-1976-thammasat-massacre-students-joshua-wong/>.
- 6 Seth Mydans and Thomas Fuller, “Renegade Thai General Dies as Chaos Continues,” New York Times, May 16, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/17/world/asia/17thai.html>.
- 7 The Yellow Shirts movement of 2004–2008 was formally known as the People’s Alliance for Democracy (PAD).
- 8 Human Rights Watch, *Descent into Chaos*.
- 9 This time, the Yellow Shirts movement, known by the same name, was led by the People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC).
- 10 Campbell, “Thai Army Declares Military Coup.”
- 11 Jonathan Head, “Thailand’s constitution: New era, new uncertainties,” BBC News, April 7, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-39499485>.
- 12 Bruce Vaughn et al., *Terrorism in Southeast Asia* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2009), <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL34194.pdf>.
- 13 Dinesh Kotwal, “The Naga Insurgency: The Past and the Future,” *Strategic Analysis* 24 no. 4 (2000): 751–772, <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-content.htm>.
- 14 “Thai military court charges Bangkok blast suspects,” Aljazeera, November 24, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/11/thai-military-court-charges-bangkok-blast-suspects-151124041245335.html>.
- 15 *Intensity* refers to deaths per capita. Patrick Barron, Anders Engvall, and Adrian Morel, *Understanding Violence in Southeast Asia: The Contribution of Violent Incidents Monitoring Systems* (San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2016), <http://asiafoundation.org/publication/understanding-violence-south-east-asia-contribution-violent-incidents-monitoring-systems/>.
- 16 Rohan Gunaratna, Arabinda Acharya, and Sabrina Chua, *Conflict and Terrorism in Southern Thailand* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International, 2005), 2.
- 17 All data on the Deep South conflict are from the Deep South Incident Dataset (DSID), an independent project implemented by Deep South Watch and hosted by Prince of Songkla University–Pattani Campus. DSID uses military and police reports, as well as media reports and information from a government call center in Yala, to monitor violent incidents in the region. According to DSID, 4,517 of those killed and 7,135 of those injured between 2004 and 2016 were civilians.
- 18 Adam Burke, Pauline Tweedie, and Ora-orn Poocharoen, *The Contest Corners of Asia: Subnational Conflict and International Development Assistance, The Case of Southern Thailand* (San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2013), 24.
- 19 “Seven provinces in upper South under attacks, 17 bombings, referendum and Southern insurgency possible cause” [in Thai], *Khaosod Daily*, August 13, 2016, [http://daily.khaosod.co.th/view\\_news.php?newsid=TUROdo1ERXdNakV6TURnMU9RPT0=&sectionid=TURNdo1RPT0=&day=TWpBeE5pMHdPQzB4TXc9PQ](http://daily.khaosod.co.th/view_news.php?newsid=TUROdo1ERXdNakV6TURnMU9RPT0=&sectionid=TURNdo1RPT0=&day=TWpBeE5pMHdPQzB4TXc9PQ).
- 20 In the previous twelve years, there were only two suspected separatist attacks outside of the Deep South, in Samui and Phuket.
- 21 Bethany Lacina and Nils Petter Gleditsch, “Monitoring trends in global combat: A new dataset of battle deaths,” *European Journal of Population* 21, no. 2 (2005): 145–166.
- 22 Nuttakorn Vititanon, “Assassination in Thai Local Politics: A Decade of Decentralization (2000–2009),” *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, 21 (March 2017), <https://kyotoreview.org/issue-21/assassination-thai-local-politics/>.
- 23 Nattakorn Vititanon, “Assassination in Thai local politics: an initial survey of number in the last decade (2000–2009)” [in Thai], *King Prajadhipok’s Institute Journal* 3 (2010), accessed January 19, 2015, <http://128.199.181.253:8001/?edmc=1686>.
- 24 Nitirat Samsomboon, “19 years from Pravian’s death to disappearance of Por Chalee: tracking the state crimes against local activist” [in Thai], *Prachathai*, July 18, 2014, <http://www.prachatai.com/journal/2014/07/54631>.
- 25 International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), *Communities and Forest Management in South Asia* (Gland: IUCN, 1999).
- 26 Chusak Wittayapak, “History and geography of identifications related to resource conflicts and ethnic violence in Northern Thailand,” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 49, no. 1 (2008): 111–127, <http://www.newmandala.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/chusak.pdf>.
- 27 Nanchanok Wongsamuth, “Forest clampdown hurts poor,” *Bangkok Post*, November 9, 2016, <http://www.bangkokpost.com/print/1083356/>.
- 28 Paritta Wankiat, “Songkhla bombings ignite fears of a southern power struggle,” *Bangkok Post*, May 15, 2016, <http://www.bangkokpost.com/print/973481/>.
- 29 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes, *Global Study on Homicide 2013: Trends, Contexts, Data* (Vienna: UNODC, 2013), 151, <http://www.unodc.org/gsh/>.
- 30 However, questions remain regarding the quality of official homicide data in Thailand.
- 31 The Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, Fireworks, and the Equivalent of Firearms Act B.E.2490 (1947)

- generally covers the illegal possession, carrying, and trade of firearms.
- 32 Amy Sawitta Lefevre, “Friendly Thailand stares down the barrel of rising gun crime,” Reuters, October 21, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/21/us-thailand-guns-idUSBRE89K0GE20121021>.
  - 33 Statistical Forecasting Bureau, *Important Criminal Cases* [in Thai] (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 2013), <http://service.nso.go.th/nso/web/statseries/statseries13.html>.
  - 34 Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), *Thailand's Social Development in Q4/2016 and Overall Situations in 2016* (Bangkok: NESDB, 2017), [http://www.nesdb.go.th/nesdb\\_en/download/article/Social%20Press\\_Eng\\_Q4-2559.pdf](http://www.nesdb.go.th/nesdb_en/download/article/Social%20Press_Eng_Q4-2559.pdf).
  - 35 Montakarn Chuemchit and Usaneyya Perngparn, “Intimate Partner Violence: Thailand Situation and Intervention Programme,” *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 4, no. 4 (2014): 275–278.
  - 36 “Thai Government Rules Out Death Penalty for Rapists,” *Voice of America*, July 5, 2016, <http://www.voanews.com/a/thai-government-rules-out-death-penalty-for-rapist/3404520.html>.
  - 37 Royal Thai Police, “Crime Statistics by Type of Case and Months: 2007–2015,” National Statistical Office website, accessed May 5, 2017, [http://service.nso.go.th/nso/nso\\_center/project/search\\_center/23project-en.htm](http://service.nso.go.th/nso/nso_center/project/search_center/23project-en.htm).