

PANDEMIC **X INFO**DEMIC

HOW STATES SHAPED NARRATIVES DURING COVID-19

Country Reports on

INDONESIA

BURMA/MYANMAR

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

THE PHILIPPINES

Thematic Reports on

Migrants and COVID-19 Disinformation

SINGAPORE

THAILAND



Thematic Report on
**SINGAPORE
THAILAND**

Copyright © 2021 Innovation for Change-East Asia. All rights reserved.

No part of this report in printed or electronic form may be reproduced, transmitted or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without written permission of Innovation for Change-East Asia.

Copyright belongs to Innovation for Change-East Asia unless otherwise stated.

Civil society organizations and educational institutions may use this report without requesting permission on the strict condition that such use is not for commercial purposes.

When using or quoting this report, every reasonable attempt must be made to identify owners of the copyright.

Introduction

MIGRANT WORKERS AND COVID-19 DISINFORMATION

At the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the world witnessed solidarity among nations and communities working together to tackle the challenges of the dreaded disease. However, the pandemic also gave rise to a new wave of discrimination against certain groups. This has been exacerbated as a result of the outbreak of a new variant of coronavirus. The worst-hit are migrants and foreigners who have been blamed and vilified for spreading the virus.¹ Migrants are sometimes used as scapegoats; the advance of the virus has accentuated the unfavorable perceptions of the migrant population who also have less access to healthcare related to COVID-19.²

This paper analyses how COVID-19-related disinformation about migrant workers shaped and spread in migrant-receiving countries in Singapore and Thailand. This research aims to reveal how COVID-19 disinformation exacerbates the vulnerability and insecurity of migrants who are often targeted due to their ethnicity, which are often witnessed in other migrant-receiving East Asia countries.

In the Singapore case study, we found that existing prejudice against migrant workers from Singaporeans leads and feeds disinformation. Some disinformation shared on media implies that the culture and lifestyle of migrant workers make them prone to contracting coronavirus. Also, disinformation shared through messaging apps claimed migrant workers would get paid if they tested positive and would be relocated to nice hotel rooms. However, the truth was that the migrant workers did not get a financial benefit for testing positive to COVID-19, and most of the migrants with confirmed cases needed to stay in the dormitory with many others.

This tendency of blaming migrant workers as the vector of the pandemic is also happening in Thailand, another biggest migrant-receiving country in East Asia. In Thailand, there was fake news that migrant workers deserved to be neglected because they did not comply with the health measures. In fact, migrant workers were alienated from health information due to language barriers. Without acknowledging this, xenophobic disinformation against the migrant population reinforced the prejudice that they did not follow the health regulation and were not hygienic.

In this research, we also witnessed that the government's intervention for this disinformation was inactive, insufficient, and sometimes it provided the source of the rumors. In Singapore, the government was unwilling to verify the issue about the migrant workers' dormitory conditions. In Thailand, the government's Anti-fake News Center took less than 1 percent legal actions against "fake news" while it initiated over 42 percent legal actions on other issues such as national security. Furthermore, the prime minister, Gen. Prayuth Chan-ocha, blamed undocumented migrants for causing the new wave of COVID-19 outbreak.

The findings of this study show that the impact of COVID-19 on people's perception of the migrant population highlighted how disinformation can be dangerous not only for public health but also for social unity.

Endnotes

1. "United Nations Guidance Note on Addressing and Countering COVID-19 related Hate Speech," United Nations, May 11, 2020, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3863213?ln=en>.
2. "The Disinformation Escalation during the Pandemic and How to Contain It," International Organization for Migration, <https://rosanjose.iom.int/site/en/blog/disinformation-escalation-during-pandemic-and-how-contain-it>.

MISINFORMATION, MIGRANT WORKERS, AND COVID-19 IN SINGAPORE

by **Kirsten Han**

Over the past one-and-a-half years, Singapore's struggle with the COVID-19 pandemic has been a roller coaster ride, zipping between the highs of global praise and the lows of lockdown and economic pain. But although many different groups in Singapore—from F&B operators to arts and creatives—have been hit hard, no community has been hit as hard as the migrant workers in the city-state.

In early April 2020, just days before Singapore headed into a partial lockdown the government described as a “circuit breaker”, the authorities reported that COVID-19 clusters had been found in migrant worker dormitories. Two dormitories were gazetted as “isolation areas”, putting almost 20,000 men in quarantine.¹ More were added in the following days, as cases were identified in different dormitories across the country. By 14 April 2020, the government announced that all migrant worker dormitories would be locked down, affecting about 300,000 workers in large purpose-built dormitories and smaller factory-converted facilities.²

This outbreak of the coronavirus within this exploited and marginalized community was the largest humanitarian crisis to hit Singapore.

BACKGROUND: MIGRANT WORKERS IN SINGAPORE

As a city, Singapore is highly dependent on cheap labor. The country imports many low-wage migrant workers from developing countries in the region to perform a range of roles: while women from countries like Indonesia, the Philippines, and Myanmar tend to work as domestic workers, hundreds of thousands of men from places like Bangladesh, India, and China have been brought in to work in the construction, shipyard, and petrochemical industries, among others. At the end of December 2019 (the latest set of official figures available before the pandemic), there were 999,000 work permit holders in Singapore. Those working in the construction, marine shipyard, and process sectors, numbering 370,100, will be the focus of this piece.³

Singapore’s reliance on these workers is not proportionate to the wages, dignity, or respect that they receive. There is no set minimum or living wage in Singapore, allowing employers to pay very low wages for backbreaking work. A 2017 position paper by the migrant labor rights NGO Humanitarian Organization for Migration Economics (HOME) stated that workers from Bangladesh and India typically earn anywhere from SGD18 to SGD30 per day, depending on the amount of time they’ve spent in Singapore. The same paper noted that late, short, or unpaid wages are common problems.⁴

Along with the financial aspect comes other forms of exploitation and marginalization. Unlike others—such as white-collar professionals—who move to Singapore, there is no path for migrant workers to gain residency in the country, no matter how long they live and work in the city. Instead, their right to remain in Singapore is tied to their work permit and employer, where the employer has the power to cancel the permit at any time and repatriate them. This puts workers in extremely precarious and disempowering positions, disincentivizing them from speaking out or complaining about unfair practices.

Migrant workers are also treated differently from the rest of the population. With no right to ever settle down in Singapore, they are seen as “transient” workers instead of residents. They are also often physically segregated from Singaporeans, housed in dormitories built in remote, industrial parts of the island where others do not want to live.

COVID-19 STRIKES

When cases of COVID-19 emerged in Singapore in early 2020, the government encouraged people to take care of their personal hygiene and also observe safe distancing of at least a meter apart from the next person. However, migrant workers living in dormitory rooms with about 12 to 20 men sleeping in bunk beds found it near impossible to observe such safe distancing requirements. It was observed that safety measures were also not as well communicated to the workers.⁵

Given common work-sites and the limited number of spaces in Singapore that are welcoming to migrant workers on their day off, the virus was able to spread from one dormitory to another. Once in the dormitory, the crowded conditions and lack of safe distancing made it easy for COVID-19 to spread.

The outbreak of the coronavirus among the migrant worker population was so bad that, in December 2020, the government reported that almost half of the migrant workers living in dormitories—152,794 of them—had been infected at some point.⁶

MISINFORMATION ABOUT MIGRANT WORKERS

As the authorities grappled with the virus among the migrant worker population, some Singaporeans blamed the workers themselves for the outbreak. These attitudes were often fed by existing racism and prejudices in society towards migrant workers, particularly those from South Asia. For example, a forum letter published by the Chinese-language daily Lianhe Zaobao came under heavy criticism for attributing abysmal dormitory conditions to the cultural and lifestyle habits of workers from “backward” countries.⁷

Around May 2020, it surfaced that messages had been circulating on WhatsApp with misinformation about migrant workers and COVID-19 in Singapore. Although there has not been any study or analysis into how widespread these messages were, or where they originated, there were Singaporeans sharing claims over these messaging apps that migrant workers were deliberately trying to get infected with the virus.

One audio clip forwarded on WhatsApp involved a man speaking in Hokkien—a language still commonly spoken by many older Chinese Singaporeans, although younger generations are generally no longer proficient—claiming that migrant workers will receive money if they test positive, which then incentivizes them to get infected.

Such claims were built on an existing prejudice that leads to the Othering and distrust of migrant workers, portraying them as foreigners who will take advantage at the expense of Singaporeans.

The narrative peddled by this misinformation tended to follow this line of “reasoning”: because of COVID-19, most construction and work-sites were closed, so the migrant workers weren’t required to do their usual backbreaking labor. Instead, the government said that they would continue to be paid their salaries. If they tested positive, some could even get relocated to a nice hotel room, so the conclusion was that migrant workers were greatly benefiting from the situation, collecting wages even as they relaxed in nice lodgings.

The reality was very different. Workers were not given money for testing positive. Although it was true that work-sites had been shut down, migrant workers were hardly enjoying themselves in their dormitories. Instead, most were being confined to hot, stuffy rooms with many others. Their movements were restricted, the quality of food varied (especially in the early days of the lockdown as the authorities struggled with the scope of the problem), and there was limited information about what was happening.

Workers reported feeling anxiety about their situation, seeing the news of hundreds of cases of migrant workers testing positive for COVID-19 without knowing what that really meant for them. There was confusion about who got tested and who didn't, a lack of communication about test results, or why men were being moved from place to place.^{8 9}

On the point of salaries, the NGO Transient Workers Count Too (TWC2) pointed out that the ministry's advisory to employers about salaries wasn't very clear, and in fact signalled that they were allowed to reduce already low salaries as part of cost-cutting measures.¹⁰ Even if workers were getting paid, many were still earning less than usual due to the lack of overtime hours.

MISINFORMATION AMONG MIGRANT WORKERS

Confined to their poorly-ventilated dormitories, workers were hungry for information and understandably active on their own social media pages and messaging apps, communicating with friends in other parts of their dormitory complex, or in accommodation elsewhere.

Again, there has been no systematic study of the content that was communicated among migrant workers in Singapore during COVID-19. However, some workers reported receiving misinformation, including distressing content.

In April 2020, a video circulated among migrant workers depicting an unidentified man hanging in a stairwell. It was claimed to be a video of a worker who had died by suicide in Singapore due to worries about money and not having a job. Singapore's Ministry of Manpower quickly clarified that the video had not been taken in the country.¹¹ Similarly, another video showing two men fighting had actually been filmed in Dubai.¹²

The government also accused some of spreading falsehoods among migrant workers to create unhappiness, or to build an impression in the public's mind that workers were being ill-treated.¹³ While it was true that there was some inaccurate information about conditions in dormitories circulating, activists were also pointing to lapses and issues within the dormitories that the government either refuted or were reluctant to acknowledge. Due to a lack of access by independent groups to monitor and document issues within the dormitories, it was difficult to verify the government's claims about how the situation was being handled.

CONCLUSION

The outbreak of COVID-19 in migrant worker dormitories created a massive logistical challenge for the government to manage. While that was going on, misinformation circulated

among both Singaporeans and migrant workers, usually in closed messaging groups that made them hard to track and to address.

Although the Protection from Online Falsehoods and Manipulation Act (POFMA) was already in force at the time, it was generally not used against such misinformation circulating about migrant workers in messaging apps. It is not very clear how the government decides whether or not to use POFMA to deal with falsehoods.

Endnotes

1. "Punggol, Toh Guan Dorms Gazetted as 'Isolation Areas', Almost 20,000 Foreign Workers under Quarantine," *TODAYonline*, accessed July 29, 2021, <https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/punggol-toh-guan-dorms-gazetted-isolation-areas-almost-20000-foreign-workers-under>.
2. "COVID-19: Foreign Worker Dormitories to be 'Effectively' in Lockdown–Josephine Teo," *Yahoo! Singapore*, 2020, <https://sg.news.yahoo.com/covid-19-all-foreign-worker-dormitories-to-be-effectively-in-lockdown-josephine-teo-111750968.html>.
3. "Foreign Workforce Numbers," Ministry For Manpower, 2021, <https://www.mom.gov.sg/documents-and-publications/foreign-workforce-numbers>.
4. Stephanie Chok and Jevon Ng, "Wage Theft & Exploitation among Singapore's Migrant Workers," Humanitarian Organization For Migration Economics, 2017, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a12725612abd96b9c737354/t/5a1fce6f652dead7763c970/1512033911372/Position_Paper_Wage-Theft-Exploitation-among-Singapores-Migrant-Workers.pdf.
5. Kirsten Han, "WTC Long Read: A Perfect Storm for an Outbreak," *We, The Citizens*, 2020, <https://www.wethecitizens.net/wtc-long-read-a-perfect-storm-for/>.
6. Min Zhang Lim, "Nearly Half of Migrant Workers in Dormitories Have Had Covid-19," *The Straits Times*, 2020, <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/nearly-half-of-migrant-workers-in-dormitories-have-had-covid-19>.
7. Ilyas Sholihyn, "Zaobao Forum Letters Go Viral for Telling Off Writer Who Blamed Migrant Workers for Their Dormitory Conditions," *Asiaone*, 2020, <https://www.asiaone.com/digital/zaobao-forum-letters-go-viral-telling-writer-who-blamed-migrant-workers-their-dormitory>.
8. Grace Yeoh and Ruth Smalley, "Recovered from COVID-19, Migrant Workers Live on a Cruise Ship and in an HDB Flat," *Channel News Asia*, 2020, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/cnainsider/covid19-recovered-migrant-workers-cruise-ship-hdb-flat-12761650>.
9. Kokila Annamalai, Facebook, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/kokila.annamalai/posts/10163993280515085>.
10. "Manpower Ministry's Advisory on Circuit Breaker Still Unclear," *Transient Workers Count Too*, 2020, <http://twc2.org.sg/2020/05/04/manpower-ministrys-advisory-on-circuit-breaker-still-unclear/>.
11. Charmaine Ng, "Video Clip of Man Hanging at Stairwell was not Recorded in Singapore, Say Police," *The Straits Times*, 2020, <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/courts-crime/video-clip-of-man-hanging-at-stairwell-was-not-recorded-in-singapore-say>.

12. "Fake Videos being Spread to Create Trouble in Foreign Worker Dorms, Risk 'Serious' Law and Order Incidents: Shanmugam," *Channel News Asia*, 2020, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/covid-19-fake-videos-foreign-worker-dorm-trouble-shanmugam-12687564>.

13. *Channel News Asia*, "Fake Videos."

Bibliography

- Annamalai, Kokila. Facebook, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/kokila.annamalai/posts/10163993280515085>.
- Channel News Asia*. "Fake Videos being Spread to Create Trouble in Foreign Worker Dorms, Risk 'Serious' Law and Order Incidents: Shanmugam." 2020. <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/covid-19-fake-videos-foreign-worker-dorm-trouble-shanmugam-12687564>.
- Chok, Stephanie, and Jevon Ng. "Wage Theft & Exploitation among Singapore's Migrant Workers." Humanitarian Organization For Migration Economics. 2017. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a12725612abd96b9c737354/t/5a1fce6f652dead776d3c970/1512033911372/Position_Paper_Wage-Theft-Exploitation-among-Singapores-Migrant-Workers.pdf.
- Han, Kirsten. "WTC Long Read: A Perfect Storm for an Outbreak." *We, The Citizens*. 2020. <https://www.wethecitizens.net/wtc-long-read-a-perfect-storm-for/>.
- Lim, Min Zhang. "Nearly Half of Migrant Workers in Dormitories Have Had Covid-19." *The Straits Times*. 2020. <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/nearly-half-of-migrant-workers-in-dormitories-have-had-covid-19>.
- Ministry For Manpower. "Foreign Workforce Numbers." 2021. <https://www.mom.gov.sg/documents-and-publications/foreign-workforce-numbers>.
- Ng, Charmaine. "Video Clip of Man Hanging at Stairwell was not Recorded in Singapore, Say Police." *The Straits Times*. 2020. <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/courts-crime/video-clip-of-man-hanging-at-stairwell-was-not-recorded-in-singapore-say>.
- Sholihyn, Ilyas. "Zaobao Forum Letters Go Viral for Telling Off Writer Who Blamed Migrant Workers for Their Dormitory Conditions." *Asiaone*. 2020. <https://www.asiaone.com/digital/zaobao-forum-letters-go-viral-telling-writer-who-blamed-migrant-workers-their-dormitory>.
- TODAYonline*. "Punggol, Toh Guan Dorms Gazetted as 'Isolation Areas', Almost 20,000 Foreign Workers under Quarantine." Accessed July 29, 2021. <https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/punggol-toh-guan-dorms-gazetted-isolation-areas-almost-20000-foreign-workers-under>.
- Transient Workers Count Too. "Manpower Ministry's Advisory On Circuit Breaker Still Unclear." 2020. <http://twc2.org.sg/2020/05/04/manpower-ministrys-advisory-on-circuit-breaker-still-unclear/>.
- Yahoo! Singapore*. "COVID-19: Foreign Worker Dormitories to be 'Effectively' in Lockdown –Josephine Teo." 2020. <https://sg.news.yahoo.com/covid-19-all-foreign-worker-dormitories-to-be-effectively-in-lockdown-josephine-teo-111750968.html>.
- Yeoh, Grace, and Ruth Smalley. "Recovered from COVID-19, Migrant Workers Live on a Cruise Ship and in an HDB Flat." *Channel News Asia*. 2020. <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/cnainsider/covid19-recovered-migrant-workers-cruise-ship-hdb-flat-12761650>.

Dirty, Dangerous, and Demanding:

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MISINFORMATION ON MIGRANTS IN THAILAND

by Chutimas Suksai

Migrant workers contribute to four million workforce, both registered and irregular migration, in the Thai industries where Thais find undesirable to work due to demeaning working conditions and pays. As of December 2020, there are 2,482,256 registered or regular migrant workers in Thailand.¹ However, the pandemic resulted in dwindling number of regular migrant workers and irregular migration has been strategically recorded. During the first wave and especially during the second and third wave, the government strategically communicate irregular migration to the public using social media platform, calling migrants “disease spreaders.” Under the narrative, the government has been using the security sector social media accounts to display arrests of irregular migrants who access Thailand, aiming to create public sentiment that the COVID-19 is very presence and use the COVID-19 to weaponize migrants and Thai citizen’s freedom of expression, freedom to information, the rights to movement, and the rights to political participation.

On 20 December 2020, The Thai public health authority announced newly emerging mass infection in Talad Klang Kung or Central Shrimp Market and Sri Muang dormitory, where migrant workers live and work. The Market is one of the biggest seafood wholesale market in Samut Sakon Province. The “Shrimp Market” cluster was identified in a shrimp seller’s shop, where migrant workers work. The seafood wholesale market was sealed, the province was placed under lockdown and restriction on leaving a premise from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m.² Moreover, people’s movement out of the province and any kind of gathering more than five persons had been banned. Migrant workers around the market and the dormitories buildings had been told to relocate to the market in an attempt to provide them with a field hospital in the market. They were not allowed to leave the market or the dormitories. The area had been fenced with razor barbed wires. Workers with mild symptom were transported to a stadium used as a field hospital. Other seafood wholesale markets had been ordered to close until further notice.

Gen. Prayuth Chan-ocha, the prime minister, commented on the newly emerging COVID-19 in one of migrant workers in the epicenters that “*they snuck out and came back in*”³ to work from neighboring countries. After the new “migrant cluster,” the Thai authorities intensified border control and arrested migrants smuggled from neighboring countries, as he claimed “illegal” migrants caused the new COVID-19 outbreaks. Netizens criticized the government and the security apparatus as being ineffective or even colluding with weak border control and migrant smuggling.

On 1 February 2021, a coup d’état in Myanmar began. Despite the restriction on gathering and movement in Samut Sakon under the lockdown, Myanmar migrant workers in Bangkok began to rally in front of the Embassy in Bangkok to condemn the coup. Thai political protesters also joined the rally in solidarity with people from Myanmar.⁴ The newly emerging COVID-19 had, by early January, dissuaded Thai citizens to join mass rallies. Likewise, migrant workers in Samut Sakon had been under tighter control, either quarantines at factories, shrimp markets, or in own dormitories. However, after 1 February coup, migrant workers in Bangkok may relatively have had more freedom of movement to join political rallies in front of the Burmese embassy and the United Nations Regional Office but the police used the COVID-19 as reason to shorten the duration of protests. When workers quarantined in the central shrimp market found out about the coup, they staged a protest for 20 minutes but local authorities and the police ordered them to stop gathering because of the COVID-19.

After increasing protests led by Myanmar people in Bangkok and other provinces, it was reported that migrant workers in Ranong were prohibited from protesting because of COVID-19 restrictions and potential violation of the emergency decree issued national-wide for the purpose of disease control.

The border control enforcement had arrested 14,258 migrants, 137 smugglers, 336 harborers for irregular migrants, and 152 smuggling rings from 1 January to 15 July 2021. Arrest photos and border control operation multimedia content could be found daily in security sector’s accounts.

ANALYSIS

The character of disinformation about migrant workers in Thailand stems from target propaganda against migrants from Myanmar and Cambodia. Oftentimes, it involves manipulated state-sponsored authoritative facts mixed with angst and fearmongering content. For instance, videos and photos of a military unit arresting migrant workers being smuggled into Thailand.⁵ Factual information is twisted by other pro-Thai military sector accounts while adding anti-migrant content in tweets.



ดบช. Fully (SINOVAC) Vaccinated #นะจ๊ะ 🙏

@DoubleSsine

รักเอปประเทศไทย 🇹🇭 สนับสนุน ม.112 เพราะการกล่าวหา+หมิ่นประมาท ≠ เสรีภาพในการวิจารณ์ การใส่ร้ายโดยไม่มีมูลความจริง = อาชญากรรม

| กฎแห่งกรรมยุติธรรมเสมอ |

📍 Kingdom of Thailand 📅 Joined October 2009

296 Following 3,681 Followers

"Thailand, I love you. 🇹🇭 Support Art. 112 Because defaming + slandering ≠ freedom of expression. Slandering without any truth = a crime.

What goes around, comes around. It's fair."

ดบช. Fully (SINOVAC) Vaccinated #นะจ๊ะ 🙏

@DoubleSsine

Replying to @DoubleSsine

ยังใกล้เตอรใหม่ก็ต้องมา เพราะเราห้ามแรงงานต่างด้าวหลบหนีเข้าเมืองไม่ได้ เราไม่ได้ปิดพรมแดน

บางทีก็อยากให้รัฐบาลเด็ดขาดกว่านี้ ใจร้ายได้แล่มมั้ง... จะเอามนุษยธรรมหรือจะเอาคนเอาระบบสาธารณสุขในประเทศให้รอดก่อนบางทีก็ต้องเลือกแล้วอะ

9:23 AM · Jun 29, 2021 · Twitter for Android

"There will be a new cluster because we cannot prohibit migrant workers being smuggled in the country. Borders are not sealed.

Probably the government could have been more decisive. Time to probably be mean ... Need to make a choice: humanitarian vs. survival of the people or domestic healthcare system. Need to make a choice."

Everyday the border control forces #royalthaiarmy arrested illegal migrants in many border areas. Detect/ Screen/ Deport/ Prosecute. Our army officials patrol 24 hrs to control COVID. Here are their actions on 17 June 2021

Thailand

Our investigation uncovered a network of accounts partaking in information operations that we can reliably link to the Royal Thai Army (RTA). These accounts were engaging in amplifying pro-RTA and pro-government content, as well as engaging in behavior targeting prominent political opposition figures.

Tweet

We are disclosing 926 accounts today and continue to enforce against small-scale activity associated with this network, as we identify it.

Furthermore twitter discovered Royal Thai Army network information operations⁶ of which some tweets perpetrated prejudice and justify mistreatment against migrant workers, including but not limited to poor conditions in quarantine facilities, foods inadequacy, lack of utilities, no testing and treatment, etc. Fake news spread in social media and chat applications allege migrant workers are noncompliant with health measures, and that they deserve to be neglected because they are causing infection to themselves. The "it serves you right" narrative justified the government's inaction to test, treat, and provide

assistance packages and vaccination. This mentality significantly reduces migrant's rights to health and employment compensation during job losses or lockdowns when they cannot earn regularly.



The Thai government's fact checking agency and other verification agencies shared accurate information after incidents but the first impression against migrants as illegal, unruly, and unhygienic, perpetuates fear and justifies discriminate practices. Disinformation from security sectors and misinformation from Thai citizens contribute to discrimination and fear in the public. However, there are people resisting this narrative, which will be discussed in the next section.

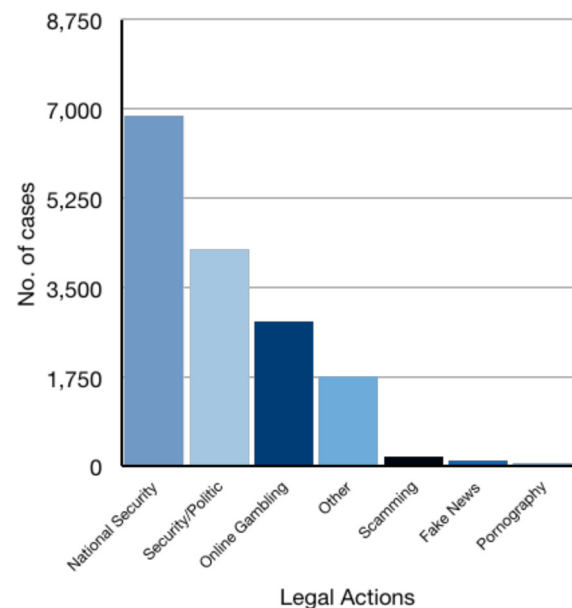
Finally, migrants also lack access to proper information on the pandemic. Myanmar Democracy Reporting International, reported from the survey on Myanmar (2020) that “nearly 50% of shared [COVID misinformation] images came from personal Facebook pages or those unassociated with media. ...Half of this content was also not authoritative and 39 percent of images contained health misinformation, with 410 linking to content that was fearmongering or targeted minority groups.”⁷ Migrant workers from Myanmar relied on social media content from Myanmar when pandemic and prevention information had been sporadically available in migrant's languages in Thailand. Among migrant workers in Thailand, easy access to smart phones and social media are common but the majority of migrants in Thailand may have lost access because of the need to prioritize survival from job losses⁸ (Internews, 2021). Misinformation on healthcare and prevention make migrants even more alienated and feared because of their risky practices stemming from lack of accurate information.⁹

INFODEMIC IN THE SHRINKING HEALTH AND CIVIC SPACE

The synergy of state-sponsored fearmongering disinformation and public misinformation contributed to the public perception, especially to the older generations who do not verify sources and check the accuracy of the information sent from peers in chat applications. Although the royal Thai government has the fact-checking “anti-fake news” website along with several other citizen-based fact-checking social media sites, the first impact of fake news or disinformation is lasting and often spurs discrimination or justifies mistreatment or rights violation of migrant workers. The anti-fake news center updates or provides corrections, but people share only photos or memes rather than checking and sharing fact-checked information.

Moreover, both the Thai and Myanmar government controlled “fake news” by selective criminalization. For example, the Thai Government's Anti-Fake News Center which was established to “control” the spread of COVID-19 fake news does not address disinformation that fosters xenophobic sentiment against migrant workers if the content is featured in security sector's social media accounts.

There were reported action against four Thai “fake news spreaders” on COVID-19. On 19 February 2020, [four offenders were charged with the Computer Crime Act](#), for fake coronavirus news.¹⁰ The government has not imposed the Emergency Decree, so the offenders were charged under the Computer Crimes Act for inputting fake news into the internet system. The penalty is up to seven years imprisonment and a maximum fine of THB140,000. Later, during the declaration of the Emergency Decree to “control the spread of the corona virus” an offender “posting information that could provoke social unrest and threaten national security, carries a punishment of up to five years in prison and a fine up to THB100,000 and, if it also violates the Emergency Decree, a maximum penalty of two years imprisonment and a THB40,000 fine.” In [February 2021, the police hosted a press conference](#) to announce that thirty-five people were arrested for posting “online claims that migrant workers had broken out of a quarantine facility” and other corona virus misinformation.¹¹



THAILAND ANTI-FAKE NEWS LEGAL ACTIONS IN 2020

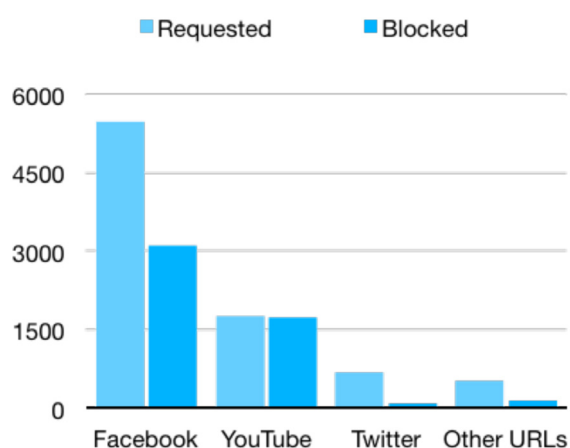
Source: Ministry of Digital Economy for Society Press Conference, 2020.

Likewise, in Myanmar, the Natural Disaster Management Law’s Article 27 states “anyone who spreads misinformation about a disaster with the aim of sparking dread among the public shall be punished with a maximum of one year in prison and a fine.”¹²

The Digital Economy Ministry’s [Anti-fake News Center identified 7,402 pieces of information to be checked for fake news](#), of which 56 percent (4,190 items) are on health, 38 percent on government agencies and government’s policies, and 4 percent on the economy.

From the statistics, it should be noted that the government’s Anti-fake News Center can initiate legal action on 0.63 percent of “fake news” compared to identifying and taking action against “illegal information” on 26.43 percent “security/politic” and 42.73 percent on “national security.” The Thai government’s Anti-fake News Center only addressed 101 cases of fake news using legal action, a method that does not promote internet literacy to people to identify fake news and protect themselves from misinformation during the pandemic.¹³ Elder Thais have not been taught to verify information or to use government and non-government’s fact-checking services and internet literacy is rarely taught in Thai curricula.

The use of hash laws and criminalization could not address the infodemic. It further brings fake news to the domain that fact-checking agencies or anti-fake news cannot reach, namely in chat applications. Criminalization further endanger the rights to information and freedom of expression. In 2020, the Digital Economy and Social Minister requested court orders to block 8,443 URLs.



THAILAND ANTI-FAKE NEWS BLOCKING REQUESTS IN 2020

Source: Ministry of Digital Economy for Society Press Conference, 2020.

The press conference did not give any information which category of “fake news” content was blocked. Associate Professor Youwanush Kongdan, M.D, the director of Namarak Hospital alleged the hospital staff had been contacted to remove “contact the Minister of Public Health if you want to know why the vaccines have not arrived” from a post in the hospital’s Facebook page after the hospital announced they did not receive vaccination for the elderly and high-risk populations.¹⁴ However, doctors criticizing government’s pandemic

management and vaccination use other platforms, namely Clubhouse or Twitter, to air their discontent and to share simplified academic papers digests to push against shrinking walls of surveillance and counter-information operation from military halted accounts.

For Thais, the infodemic is another symptom of repressive government. Internet literacy youngsters can find fact-checking information to debunk fake news and talk to parents. Netizens can use Clubhouse to either anonymously or publicly criticize government’s pandemic failure. In contract, for migrant population, their lives are caught between series of health misinformation from home countries and lack of communication in destination countries. The policy toward migrants in Thailand is being driven partly by fake news and disinformation that the state is not reducing, but turning a blind eye to, or even sponsoring xenophobic disinformation. Everyday, photographs from the security sector operations against “illegal” migrants can be captured and shared in other platforms to show why the pandemic is surging.

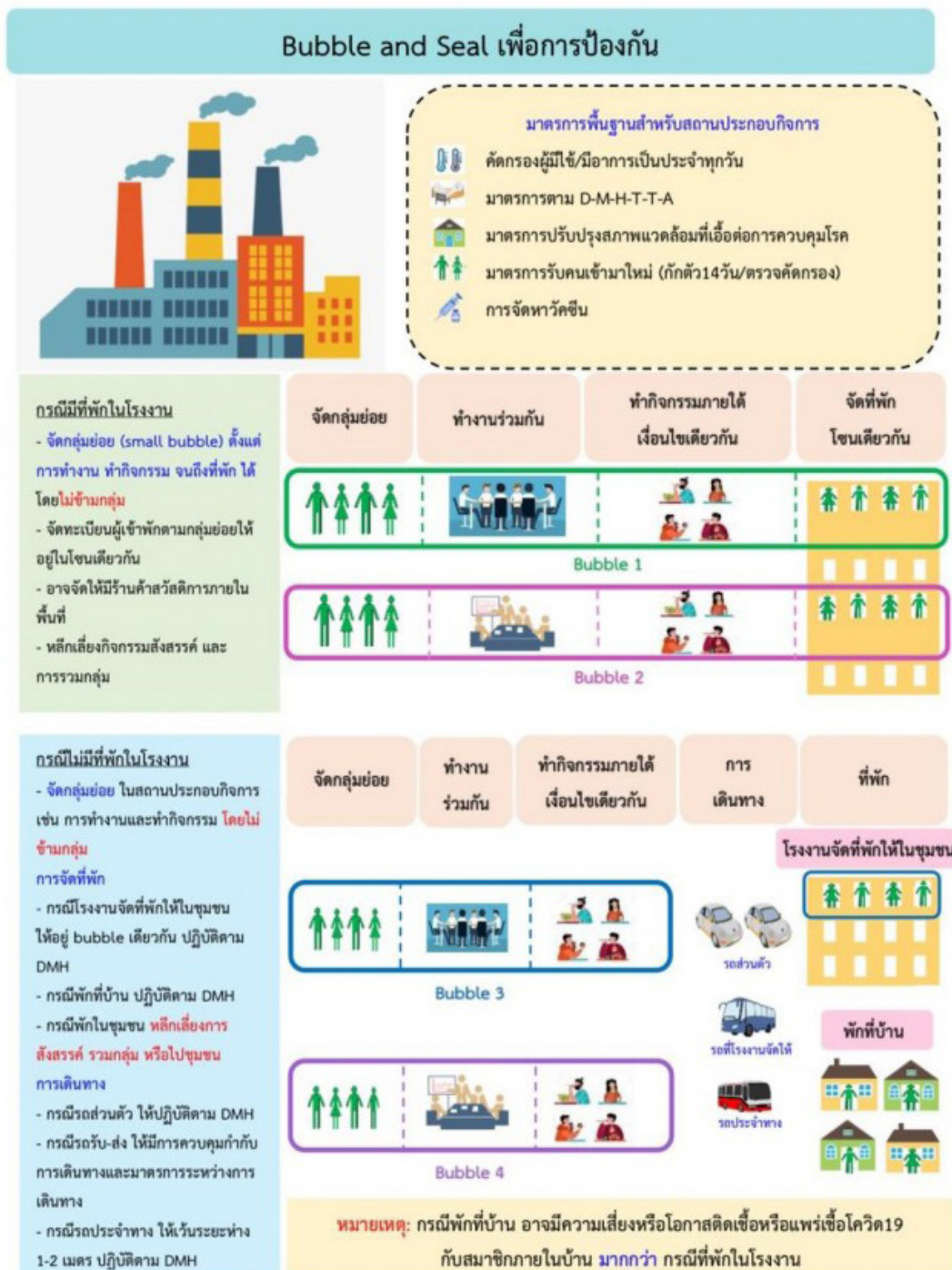
Additionally, alleged coordinated inauthentic accounts are engaged in creating disinformation that Thai protesters will get infected from rallies and spread the COVID-19 to elderly at home. The hashtag #paimobpaimen (#ProtestThenFuneral) fake chat with elderly style language have been used in a recent attempt to use COVID-19 disinformation to control Thais’ political rights and freedom of assembly.

FACTORIES AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS CAMP CLUSTERS

Total COVID infection cases in Thailand (as of 22 August 2021)			
10,046,363			
Infection since first wave	112,572	1 April–22 August 2021	99,244
Myanmar	88,769	Myanmar	78,770
Cambodia	18,771	Cambodia	18,542
Laos	5,032	Laos	4,932

Source: Department of Disease Control and Open Government Data (as of 22 August 2021)

It is expected that the same approach will be applied to migrant workers from Myanmar locked in dormitories-factories “bubble and seal”¹⁵ (see chart below) and construction workers’ camp isolation.¹⁶ Many migrant construction workers’ camps and dorms are guarded with armed security sector personnel and armed administrative personnel. Migrant worker related infodemic echoes national security propaganda targeting migrants helps some Thai rationalized that migrants are infected and illegal, they deserved to be treated inhumanely, whilst ignoring the fact that access to free and convenient testing, treatment, and vaccination, can address the pandemic and recovery that locking down and restriction of freedom of movement.





"Pluakdaeng [authority] use guns to control COVID isolation camp. Army-Administrative officers armed with rifles cordoned Wang Burapha Mansion. They guarded the entrance-Exit. They said Myanmar workers are inside. It can be horrible if they break out or incite unrest. Allegedly, almost 600 migrant workers are infected. Rayong health authority said on 20 [July] there were 63 persons tested positive."

Restriction of the freedom of movement allegedly to prevent the surge seem to be the facade. Young netizens understand that the restriction of movement means they government does not want to them to protest. Many netizens voiced concern that the pandemic management is a political decision and demand the change in the government to flatten the curve and vaccination.

There is the dim light at the end of this long infodemic tunnel? I think it is. After the hashtag #WhatIsHappeningInMyanmar had been a global trend and there were several rallies where Myanmar protesters also joined Thais, therefore, the #MilkTeaAlliance digital solidarity manifested into physical work actions.

There is the dim light at the end of this long infodemic tunnel? I think it is. After the hashtag #WhatIsHappeningInMyanmar had been a global trend and there were several rallies where Myanmar protesters also joined Thais, therefore, the #MilkTeaAlliance digital solidarity manifested into physical work actions. Thai young adults and students also support migrant construction workers by crowdfunding food donation and crowdsourcing construction workers' camp survey. CSOs provide interpreters, migrants health volunteers, and information on health, COVID-19 in migrants' languages on social media: including: how to access relieve packages, migrant workers registration. Increasingly, local government organizations/ hospitals arrange village public address in Burmese/ Cambodians and work with CSOs to promote health and hygiene among migrants populations. Online alternative media agencies also exploring the root causes of pandemic, irregular migration and prejudices. They also spotlight migrants' active contributions to the society and the economy before and during the pandemic.

Endnotes

1. Office of Foreign Workers Administration , Statistic of Remaining Foreign Workers Permitted to Work in Thailand December 2020 (Department of Employment, Ministry of Labor of Thailand, December 2020), https://www.doe.go.th/prd/assets/upload/files/alien_th/a0bf3232bdb42f5fe6dbe66cfa75b02c.pdf.

2. World Health Organization, "Coronavirus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) Who Thailand Situation Report - 20 December 2020 [En/Th] - Thailand," Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) WHO Thailand Situation Report - 20 December 2020 (Relief Web, December 20, 2021), <https://reliefweb.int/report/thailand/coronavirus-disease-2019-covid-19-who-thailandsituation-report-20-december-2020>.

3. Radio Free Asia. Thai PM, Officials Suspect Foreign Workers as Source of New COVID-19 Outbreak. Radio Free Asia, January 9, 2021. <https://apmigration.ilo.org/news/thai-pm-officials-suspect-foreign-workers-as-source-of-new-covid-19-outbreak>.

4. Vijitra Duangdee, "From Afar, Myanmar Migrants Lament Military Takeover, Fear Economic Ruin," (Voice of America, September 2, 2021), https://www.voanews.com/a/east-asia-pacific_afar-myanmar-migrants-lament-military-takeover-fear-economic-ruin/6201518.html.

5. Royal Thai Army, "Border Patrol Mission Everyday," Twitter (Royal Thai Army, June 18, 2021), https://mobile.twitter.com/armypr_news/status/1405680372512280578.

6. Twitter, "Disclosing Networks to Our State-Linked Information Operations Archive," Twitter (Twitter, October 8, 2020), https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/disclosing-removed-networks-to-our-archive-of-state-linked-information.

7. Democracy Reporting International. "COVID-19 MISINFORMATION IN MYANMAR: FACEBOOK GROUPS AND DISCRIMINATION OF MINORITIES." Democracy Reporting International (DRI), October 2020, accessed https://merin.org.mm/sites/merin.org.mm/files/publication/covidreport_single.pdf

8. Internews. Information Ecosystem Assessment: Migrant in Thailand During Covid-19. Internews, June 2020. https://internews.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/covid_migrant-access-to-health_english.pdf.

9. Ibid

10. Bangkok Post, "Four Held for Fake News over Coronavirus," Bangkok Post, February 19, 2020, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1860504/four-held-for-fake-news-over-coronavirus>.

11. Caitlin Ashworth, "Thai Police Arrest 35 People for Allegedly Spreading Fake News on Covid-19," The Thaiger, February 5, 2021, <https://thethaiger.com/news/national/thai-police-arrest-35-people-for-allegedly-spreading-fake-news-on-covid-19>.

12. Zarni Mann, "Myanmar Govt Cracks Down on Fake COVID-19 News," The Irrawaddy, April 6, 2020, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/myanmar-covid-19/myanmar-govt-cracks-fake-covid-19-news.html>.

13. Ministry of Digital Economy and Society, "DES Concluded Fake News/ Illegal Social Media and Websites Data in 2020," DES Concluded Fake News/ Illegal Social Media and Websites Data in 2020, December 22, 2020, <https://www.mdes.go.th/news/detail/4026-ดีอีเอส-สรุปสถิติข่าวปลอมและเว็บ-สื่อโซเชียลผิดกฎหมายในรอบปี-63>.

14. Online Reporters, "Govt Urged to 'Give People the Facts' on Vaccine Shortages," Bangkok Post, June 13, 2021, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/2131675/govt-urged-to-give-people-the-facts-on-vaccine-shortages>.

15. Department of Occupational and Environmental disease, Department of Disease Control, Ministry of Public Health, "Bubble and Seal in Specific Area for Factory.pdf" (Nonthaburi, Thailand, August 2021), 7, accessed: https://ddc.moph.go.th/uploads/ckeditor2//files/BBS_Final_02.pdf

16. See for example, Sirote Klampaiboon, "Twitter," Twitter (blog) (@Sirotek, July 20, 2021), <https://twitter.com/sirotek/status/1417340955808567297>.

Bibliography

- Ashworth, Caitlin. "Thai Police Arrest 35 People for Allegedly Spreading Fake News on Covid-19." The Thaiger. February 5, 2021. <https://thethaiger.com/news/national/thai-police-arrest-35-people-for-allegedly-spreading-fake-news-on-covid-19>.
- Bangkok Post. "Four Held for Fake News over Coronavirus." Bangkok Post. February 19, 2020. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1860504/four-held-for-fake-news-over-coronavirus>.
- Democracy Reporting International. "COVID-19 MISINFORMATION IN MYANMAR: FACEBOOK GROUPS AND DISCRIMINATION OF MINORITIES." Democracy Reporting International (DRI), October 2020.
- Duangdee, Vijitra. "From Afar, Myanmar Migrants Lament Military Takeover, Fear Economic Ruin." Voice of America. From Afar, Myanmar Migrants Lament Military Takeover, Fear Economic Ruin, September 2, 2021. https://www.voanews.com/a/east-asia-pacific_afar-myanmar-migrants-lament-military-takeover-fear-economic-ruin/6201518.html.
- Internews. Information Ecosystem Assessment: Migrant in Thailand During Covid-19. Internews, June 2020. https://internews.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/covid_migrant-access-to-health_english.pdf.
- Klampaiboon, Sirote. Web log. Twitter (blog). @Sirotek, July 20, 2021. <https://twitter.com/sirotek/status/1417340955808567297>.
- Mann, Zarni. "Myanmar Govt Cracks Down on Fake COVID-19 News." The Irrawaddy. April 6, 2020. <https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/myanmar-covid-19/myanmar-govt-cracks-fake-covid-19-news.html>.
- Ministry of Digital Economy and Society. DES Concluded Fake News/ Illegal Social Media and Websites Data in 2020. December 22, 2020. <https://www.mdes.go.th/news/detail/4026-ดีอีเอส-สรุปสถิติข่าวปลอมและเว็บ-สื่อโซเชียลผิดกฎหมายในรอบปี-63>.
- Office of Foreign Workers Administration . Statistic of Remaining Foreign Workers Permitted to Work in Thailand December 2020. Department of Employment, Ministry of Labor of Thailand, December 2020. https://www.doe.go.th/prd/assets/upload/files/alien_th/a0bf3232bdb42f5fe6dbe66cfa75b02c.pdf.
- Online Reporters. "Govt Urged to 'Give People the Facts' on Vaccine Shortages." Bangkok Post. June 13, 2021. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/2131675/govt-urged-to-give-people-the-facts-on-vaccine-shortages>.

Radio Free Asia. Thai PM, Officials Suspect Foreign Workers as Source of New COVID-19 Outbreak. Radio Free Asia, January 9, 2021. <https://apmigration.ilo.org/news/thai-pm-officials-suspect-foreign-workers-as-source-of-new-covid-19-outbreak>.

Royal Thai Army. "Border Patrol Mission Everyday." Twitter. Royal Thai Army, June 18, 2021. https://mobile.twitter.com/armypr_news/status/1405680372512280578.
Twitter. "Disclosing Networks to Our State-Linked Information Operations Archive." Twitter. Twitter, October 8, 2020. https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/disclosing-removed-networks-to-our-archive-of-state-linked-information.

World Health Organization. "Coronavirus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) Who Thailand Situation Report - 20 December 2020 [En/Th] - Thailand." Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) WHO Thailand Situation Report - 20 December 2020. Relief Web, December 20, 2021. <https://reliefweb.int/report/thailand/coronavirus-disease-2019-covid-19-who-thailand-situation-report-20-december-2020>.

Department of Occupational and Environmental disease, Department of Disease Control, Ministry of Public Health, คมอมาตรการป้องกันควบคุมโรคในพหุพื้นที่เฉพาะ (Bubble and Seal) สำหรับสถานประกอบการ." Nonthaburi, Thailand: Department of Disease Control, Ministry of Public Health of Thailand, August 2021.

PANDEMIC **X INFO**DEMIC

HOW STATES SHAPED NARRATIVES DURING COVID-19



INNOVATION
FOR CHANGE

WHERE PEOPLE CONNECT TO CREATE TOMORROW
