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Independent Study Title NEWS FRAMING OF THAIRATH NEWSPAPERS ON
MIGRANT WORKERS FROM CAMBODIA, LAOS, AND
MYANMAR DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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นิชากร พัฒนาการ : การกำหนดกรอบข่าวของหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยรัฐเรื่องแรงงานข้ามชาติจากกัมพูชา ลาว และเมียนมาในสถานการณ์ระบาดของโรคโควิด-19. (NEWS FRAMING OF THAIRATH NEWSPAPERS ON MIGRANT WORKERS FROM CAMBODIA, LAOS, AND MYANMAR DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : ผศ. ดร.อลงกรณ์ ปรีวฉิมพงศ์

งานวิจัยนี้ศึกษาการกำหนดกรอบข่าวและการสร้างภาพแทนแรงงานข้ามชาติจากกัมพูชา ลาว และเมียนมาในหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยในสถานการณ์ระบาดของโรคโควิด-19 แรงงานข้ามชาติจากประเทศเหล่านี้นับเป็นกว่า 70% ของแรงงานข้ามชาติทั้งหมดในประเทศไทย มีส่วนสำคัญในการสนับสนุนการเติบโตทางเศรษฐกิจของประเทศ อย่างไรก็ตาม ข้อมูลชี้ว่าพวกเขาต้องเผชิญความท้าทายมากมายเกี่ยวกับสิทธิแรงงาน การเข้าถึงบริการด้านสุขภาพ และการถูกกีดกันทางสังคมในช่วงการแพร่ระบาดของโรค

งานวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพครั้งนี้ตั้งคำถามเกี่ยวกับวิธีการกำหนดกรอบข่าวและการแสดงภาพตัวแทนของแรงงานข้ามชาติจากกัมพูชา ลาวและเมียนมา ในช่วงการระบาดของไวรัสโควิด-19 ที่ปรากฏในการรายงานข่าว บทความ/สารคดี และความคิดเห็น จำนวน 225 เรื่อง ในหนังสือพิมพ์ไทยรัฐ ทั้งฉบับพิมพ์และฉบับออนไลน์ ระหว่างปี พ.ศ. 2563 และ 2564 โดยวิเคราะห์เรื่องเนื้อหาหลัก กรอบข่าว การแสดงภาพตัวแทนที่ปรากฏในช่วงการระบาดของไวรัสโควิด-19 ผลการศึกษาพบว่าไทยรัฐมีเนื้อหาการรายงานข่าวที่เกี่ยวกับข้อกำหนดทางกฎหมาย โดยเฉพาะที่เกี่ยวข้องกับสุขภาพและการควบคุมชายแดนมากที่สุด มีการใช้แหล่งข่าวทางการจากรัฐบาลเป็นหลัก แต่ให้ความสำคัญน้อยกับเรื่องราวของประสบการณ์ของแรงงานในฐานะปัจเจกบุคคล แรงงานข้ามชาติจึงถูกถ่ายทอดภาพในลักษณะผู้มีส่วนได้ส่วนเสียที่พึ่งพาความช่วยเหลือจากรัฐ หรือในฐานะผู้กระทำความผิด ซึ่งล้วนสร้างภาพลักษณ์และอคติเชิงลบ

การอภิปรายผลการศึกษาสรุปว่าแนวปฏิบัติด้านสื่อสารมวลชน ทั้งการวางกรอบข่าว การเลือกแหล่งข่าว และการสร้างภาพของการมีส่วนร่วม ยังเป็นจุดที่สามารถปรับปรุงได้เพื่อเพิ่มความครอบคลุมของการรายงานเกี่ยวกับข่าวแรงงานข้ามชาติเหล่านี้ นอกจากนี้ ยังชี้ให้เห็นว่าประเด็นสิทธิมนุษยชนและความครอบคลุมทางสังคมยังเป็นสิ่งที่ควรคำนึงถึงในการสื่อข่าว เพื่อที่จะสร้างภาพแทนที่เป็นธรรมและหลีกเลี่ยงการตีตราแรงงานข้ามชาติในประเทศไทย

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Nichakorn Phathanathavorn : NEWS FRAMING OF THAIRATH NEWSPAPERS ON MIGRANT WORKERS FROM CAMBODIA, LAOS, AND MYANMAR DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC.

Advisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. ALONGKORN PARIVUDHIPHONGS

This research examines the framing and representation of migrant workers from Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar in Thai news coverage during the COVID-19 outbreak. Migrant workers from these countries constitute over 70% of the total migrant worker population in Thailand, playing a significant role in the country's economic growth. However, they reportedly face numerous challenges related to labor rights, access to health services, and social exclusion during the outbreak.

This qualitative study examines 225 pieces of news reports, scoops/features, and editorial opinions in the Thairath newspaper—both print and online editions—during a specific timeframe in 2020 and 2021 that depict the coverage of these migrant workers. Through content analysis of news framing and media representation, the study uncovers the prevailing themes surrounding migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic. The findings reveal that Thai Rath's news coverage primarily focuses on such themes as legal requirements, particularly those related to health and border control, with a reliance on official government sources. However, individual labor experiences receive less attention, resulting in the portrayal of migrant workers as dependents on government assistance or offenders, reinforcing negative stereotypes and prejudices.

The research discussions conclude that journalistic practices, including news framing, source selection, and active portrayal, can be reviewed in order to give inclusivity to CLM migrant workers. Also, it suggests that human rights and social inclusion aspect can be integrated in the newsgathering process to provide fair representation and avoid stigmatization against migrant workers in Thailand.

Field of Study: Communication Arts

Student's Signature

Academic Year: 2022

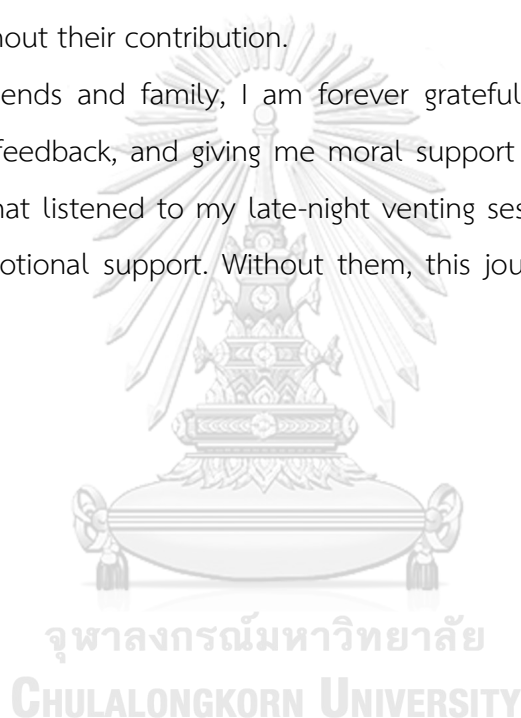
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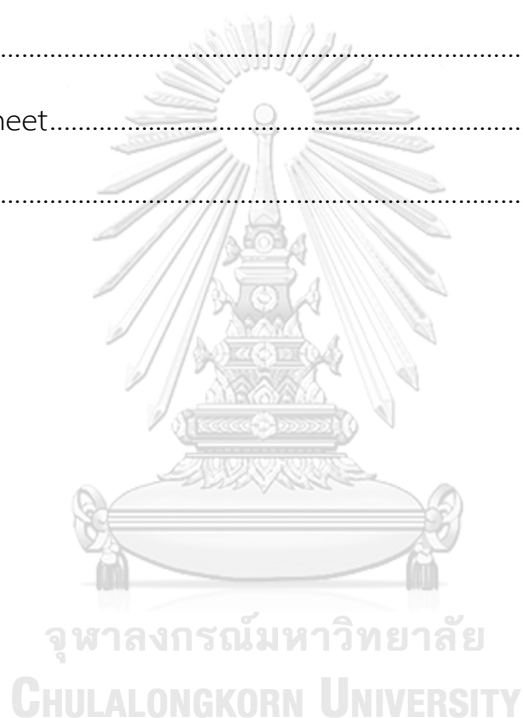
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Chapter 1: Rationales and research questions

1.1 Background and significance

Following Thailand's economic growth in the 1980s and the subsequent shortage of unskilled labor in the 1990s, the country's immigration policy became a subject of debate between the government and the private sector (Chantavanich, 2007). Thailand is a country with a high labor flow, both inbound and outbound; a part of Thai workers decided to emigrate due to factors such as limited employment opportunities in rural Thailand and lower wages compared to more developed countries (Pholphirul, 2012).

On the other hand, Thailand has a higher income level than Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar (CLM countries hereafter), which, combined with the unfavorable social and political environment in those countries, makes Thailand an attractive destination for the migrant workforce (Huguet & Punpuing, 2005). This shift allowed Thailand to transition from being a net labor emigration country in the 1970s to a net labor immigration country in the 1990s (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development & International Labour Organization, 2017). Amidst the labor shortage in Thailand, immigrant workers filled many gaps for Thai employers due to the lower cost compared to their local counterparts and the lack of willingness of many Thai workers to take on “dirty, dangerous, and difficult” —coined as 3Ds jobs (Chantapong & Tansri, 2013).

Thailand's migrant workforce mainly comprises workers from CLM countries. According to the statistics from the Department of Employment (2023), Ministry of Labour of Thailand, almost 1.9 million out of 2.7 million registered migrant workers are Myanmar nationals, accounting for 70 percent of the total number, followed by 415,682 Cambodian nationals and 210,670 Lao nationals. Furthermore, an estimated 1 to 2.5 million migrants reside in Thailand without proper documentation or a regular status, as reported by the International Organization for Migration (2017). This situation persists despite the implementation of various regulations aimed at addressing irregular migration. Challenges such as employers' reluctance to pay

registration fees and corruption among authorities contribute to inconsistent enforcement of these regulations, as highlighted by Orbeta Jr and Gonzales (2013).

According to the statistics collected by the Department of Employment (2023), Ministry of Labour, the majority of these workers are unskilled and work primarily in construction, agriculture, and service industries.

Type/Country		Cambodia	Laos	Myanmar
Permanent			3	
Section 59*	MOU	129,052	117,811	317,871
	General	435	225	2,518
Section 62*	Investment promotion	73	28	507
Section 63/1*	Minorities	214	237	4,662
	Minorities (refugees)		65	488
	Minorities (no entry permit)			238
Section 63/2*	Cabinet resolution, 7 February 2023	274,287	92,301	1,543,355
Section 64*	Seasonal workers	11,621		1,355
Total		415,682	210,670	1,870,994

*Sections of the Royal Ordinance Concerning the Management of Employment of Foreign Workers, B.E. 2560 (2017)

Table 1 Number of CLM migrant workers registered in Thailand in May 2023 compiled from the statistics of the Department of Employment (2023), Ministry of Labour

The migration situation in Thailand aligns with the general situation in the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), characterized by significant movements of unskilled and semi-unskilled worker, the majority of whom engage in irregular migration (Orbeta Jr, 2013). Within ASEAN, Thailand follows the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers which promises to protect migrant workers according to local laws and regulations (Orbeta Jr & Gonzales, 2013).

Thailand has significantly benefitted from the migrant workforce. From the data gathered by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and International Labour Organization (2017), migrants contribute significantly to Thailand's GDP and economic growth; in 2010, the estimated GDP contribution of migrant workers was 4.3 percent to 6.6 percent, while they represented 4.7 percent of the entire workforce. More specifically, unskilled workers from CLM countries fill the gap in labor-intensive industries such as agriculture, construction, and textile at lower costs which allows goods to be produced and sold at lower prices (Chalamwong & Prugsamat, 2009).

1.1.1 Thailand's public attitudes towards CLM countries

Although a large number of CLM migrant workers are present in Thailand and their contribution to the country's economy is noteworthy, a number of Thai people believe that the migrants compete with Thais for jobs, that they should not receive equal wages as Thais, and that they are a threat to national security (Harkins & Ali, 2017).

According to Harkins and Ali (2017), amidst many roots of negative attitude towards migrant workers are Thailand's educational system, historical relationships between Thailand and CLM countries, Thai national identity building, and the news reporting of migrants.

The educational, historical, and national identity factors can be linked, since the Thai educational curriculum tends to portray the neighboring countries in a hostile way in history textbooks. The history curriculum which reinforces the prejudices against neighboring countries, when combined with the monocultural image of Thai national identity, serves to alienate migrants who speak a different language and have a different cultural identity (Harkins & Ali, 2017).

As part of nationalism in Thai history, CLM countries are viewed with biases and resentment. The history of Cambodia and Thailand has been ambivalent; Siam embraced the art and culture of the Khmer Empire, which was integrated into the Thai culture, while more modern conflicts such as the Cold War encouraged Thailand's antagonistic view of Cambodia (Kasetsiri, 2003). The sentiment was

heightened further with the lengthy border dispute over the land surrounding Preah Vihear temple that led to constant violent clashes in the area (Silverman, 2010).

Similarly, as recorded in the long history of both countries, Myanmar and Thailand had endured a turbulent relationship marked by wars and political conflicts. These historical events have, to some extent, shaped the perception of Myanmar as an adversary among certain segments of the Thai population. However, despite these tensions, successive governments have made efforts to foster a more amicable bilateral relationship and enhance economic cooperation between the two nations. (Chachavalpongpun, 2010). In contrast, Laos has enjoyed a generally positive relationship with Thailand, often seen as a kinship between the two nations, albeit with occasional undertones of superiority from the Thai perspective (Soonthornpasuch, 2020). Unfortunately, the term "Lao" still carries derogatory connotations in certain contexts, implying social inferiority. This sentiment may have originated from decades of nationalist curricula in Thailand (Ward, 2016).

In addition to the aforementioned factors, the media coverage of migrant workers, which is the primary focus of this research, can also contribute to the formation of negative public attitudes towards immigration. Migrants are often portrayed in the media as a perceived threat or burden (Harkins & Ali, 2017). These portrayals can influence public opinion and further exacerbate negative perceptions of immigrants in society. It is important to recognize the potential impact of media narratives on shaping public attitudes towards migration and consider the need for more balanced and accurate representations of migrant experiences. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

1.1.2 Structural vulnerability of CLM migrants in Thailand

Apart from facing discriminatory attitudes from the public, migrant workers also encounter structural problems that hinder their ability to advocate for their rights and access affordable healthcare through social protection programs. These obstacles create significant challenges for migrant workers, leaving them vulnerable and disadvantaged in terms of their well-being and access to essential services.

Even though regular migrant workers are included under the same social protection laws as local workers, including Labour Protection Act B.E. 2541 (1998), Social Security Act B.E. 2533 (1990), and Workmen's Compensation Act B.E. 2537 (1994), they have difficulties filing grievances against rights violations such as non-payment and underpayment of wages, mainly due to the unfamiliarity with their own rights, the language barriers, and fear of retaliation (Harkins & Åhlberg, 2017)

In terms of healthcare access, Thailand has implemented three social security plans that cater to regular migrant workers, depending on their specific type of regular status, which is the mandatory Social Security Fund (SSF) Article 13 and the Workmen's Compensation Fund (WCF), and the optional Migrant Health Insurance Scheme (MHIS), while irregular migrant workers are not eligible for any type of coverage. These plans aim to provide healthcare coverage and benefits to migrant workers who meet the requirements for each respective program. By offering these social security plans, Thailand strives to ensure that regular migrant workers have access to essential healthcare services based on their designated status. Despite the availability of social security plans, numerous barriers hinder workers from accessing the associated benefits. These barriers include the high costs and time required to regularize their status, making it unfeasible for many workers to qualify for coverage under the schemes. Quite often, the claims processes are time-consuming and inadequately enforced, further impeding workers' ability to receive the benefits they are entitled to. This can result in an unsuccessful claim, and migrants' lack of knowledge of the protection schemes and the workers' rights (International Organization for Migration, 2021b). These obstacles create significant challenges for workers seeking to access the healthcare benefits provided by the social security plan.

These coverages proved to be inadequate when the COVID-19 pandemic reached clusters of immigrant workers in Thailand in 2020; the measures to detect, quarantine, and treat workers who contracted the virus were ineffective, causing Thailand to be downgraded from *Tier 2* to *Tier 2 Watchlist* in the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report of the U.S. Department of State (Anukul & Charoenratana, 2022). This downgrade indicates that Thailand's efforts to combat human trafficking and protect

the rights of vulnerable populations, including immigrant workers, were considered inadequate. Accordingly, Thailand faces increased scrutiny and potential consequences in terms of international relations, trade, and reputation. It highlights the need for more effective measures and policies to protect the health and well-being of immigrant workers, especially during times of the pandemic hardship.

1.1.3 CLM migrants' welfare during the COVID-19 pandemic

The impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on Thailand became evident in 2020 when the government declared an Emergency Decree and established a Center for COVID-19 Situation Administration (CCSA) on 26 March (Royal Thai Government, 2020). The number of cases grew steadily throughout 2020 and exploded in 2021 to over 2.2 million cases by the end of the year (WHO, 2020). For over two years, the pandemic disproportionately affected migrant workers, with over 138,000 cumulative cases among workers from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia in September 2021, which represents a high proportion of the total population of migrant workers (United Nations Network on Migration, 2021). As reported by the Thai Ministry of Public Health, during the fourth wave of COVID-19 in July 2021, 14 percent of the cases were CLM migrants, with an infection rate three times higher than Thai nationals (International Organization for Migration, 2022). This might have been due to general living conditions of the workers which are often crowded and unsanitary, allowing the virus to spread more easily among the group (Pross, 2021).

Thailand's overall measures to manage public health, economy, and border controls during the outbreaks was considered by the World Health Organization to be successful (International Organization for Migration, 2022). However, it added a layer of complexity to the already challenging situation for migrants in Thailand. According to the data collected by the International Organization for Migration (2021a), even though the majority of migrant workers surveyed continued working during the lockdown, an increasing number of workers were paid below minimum wage (from 31 percent to 42 percent), two out of three reported reduced wages following the outbreak despite working the same number of hours, and one out of

four migrants surveyed were left without a job during the lockdown from March to June 2020.

Moreover, migrants had difficulties maintaining regular migration status—a necessary condition for the workers to gain access to healthcare in Thailand—due to more complicated paperwork which became too costly for them. IOM also reported that migrants lacked awareness of social protection and the benefits and compensations they are entitled to, with only one out of four workers enrolled in a benefit scheme. In addition, migrants who were aware of the social protection scheme were hesitant in accessing it; only one out of ten have tried (International Organization for Migration, 2021a).

During the pandemic, the topic of migrant workers and the spread of COVID-19 was picked up by the media; stories came out on various topics such as migrant COVID-19 clusters (Bangkok Biz News, 2020; PPTV Online, 2020a), closure of borders (Thaipost, 2021; Thairath, 2020) which led to migrant smuggling (MGR Online, 2021; Thaipost, 2020; Thairath Online, 2021), and governmental orders related to migrant workers (MGR Online, 2020; PPTV Online, 2020b), among others.

It is therefore essential to examine how the news reports during the pandemic captures those incidents related to migrant workers from various perspectives, with different moods and tones, which could have different effects on how the audience perceives issues related to migrant workers. Accordingly, this research examined a Thai newspaper's coverage of CLM migrant workers and the COVID-19 pandemic, using agenda-setting and news framing theories as a base, in order to better understand the media representation of the migrant workers during the pandemic.

1.2 Objective of the study:

This study aims to examine news framing and media representation by analyzing the portrayal of migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic as covered by Thairath newspapers. The research aims to achieve the following specific goals:

1. Identify the topical themes that frequently and consistently appear in the coverage of Thairath newspaper regarding CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic.
2. Analyze the news frames commonly employed by Thairath journalists in their news coverage of CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic.
3. Explore the factors that potentially influence the news framing process of Thairath on issues concerning CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic.

1.3 Research questions:

To address the above objectives, the following research questions guide the study:

1. What are the prevalent topical themes found in Thairath newspaper reports on CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic?
2. How do Thairath journalists employ news frames in their reports on CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic?
3. What factors may influence the news framing approach of Thairath in relation to issues surrounding CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic?

1.4 Scope of the study

The paper examined 225 pieces of news reports from printed and online versions of Thairath, one of the most highly circulated newspapers in Thailand. Regarded as a Thai popular newspaper, Thairath had a substantial coverage of CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thairath newspaper was chosen in this study due to its high gross income and daily circulation, as well as its past issues with news presentation as shown by previous studies. The choice of Thairath as the focus of this study provides a valuable opportunity to explore the news coverage of CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic from a popular and influential media outlet. This choice allows for a nuanced examination of how migrant worker-related issues are portrayed, framed, and potentially perceived by a broad audience in Thailand.

Meanwhile, based on the COVID-19 timeline in Thailand provided by International Organization for Migration (2021a), specific periods were identified that were significant for migrant workers. These periods include 1) the state of emergency declaration on 26 March 2020, 2) the COVID-19 outbreak among Myanmar migrant workers on 17 December 2020, and 3) further outbreaks in construction camps on 25 June 2021. It can be assumed that news articles on migrant workers would be more prevalent during these three 30-day periods: 15 March–13 April 2020 (P1), 15 December 2020–13 January 2021 (P2), and 15 June–14 July 2021 (P3). The justification of the sampling selection and period of study can be found in Chapter 3.

1.5 Key terms used in this study

- Agenda setting: Based on a theory by McCombs (2005) that explains the influencing power of the media to the public, this research hypothesized that the Thai media has the ability to increase the salience of migration topics in the public eye and to affect how the public view these issues.
- CLM migrants: Migrant workers from Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar are often grouped together under the term CLM migrants by International Organization for Migration (IOM) and International Labour Organization (ILO). In the context of this study, *CLM migrants/migrant workers* and *migrants/migrant workers from CLM countries* refer to regular (legal) and irregular (illegal) unskilled workers who are from Cambodia, Laos, or Myanmar.
- COVID-19 pandemic: The 2019 novel Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is a contagious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus. In this study, the focus was on the situations caused by the spread of COVID-19 in Thailand from 2020 to 2021, especially those affecting migrant workers.
- Media portrayal: The media portrayal in this research refers to the depiction of CLM migrant workers in the news. The researcher studied how the workers are presented in the news, organizing the portrayals into categories: wrongdoer, victim, passive beneficiary, passive stakeholder, advocator, and problem-solver.

- Media representation: Media representation in this research drew from Hall (2020) that viewed representation as a part of the production and exchange of meaning in society, combined with the Marxist concept of ideology which looked at the media as a tool to propagate meaning through a system of representation that shapes the way people perceive the world.
- News framing: News framing theory views framing as a process, as outlined by de Vreese (2005). The study looked at framing as dependent variables, with a goal of understanding the frame-building processes, focusing more on how frames are developed instead of the effects the frames have on audiences.

1.6 Expected outcomes

The findings of this study are expected to provide insights into the news framing and media representation of migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic as covered by Thairath newspapers. Three expected outcomes are as follows:

- 1) Enhance understanding of news framing and media representation of migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic in Thai context,
- 2) Improve news coverage by promoting more accurate, balanced, and fair portrayals of migrant worker in line with social cohesion,
- 3) Contribute to the protection of human rights for vulnerable groups during health crises and reduce discrimination against migrants.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter reviews relevant literature including agenda-setting theory, news framing theory, and media representation of immigrant workers, especially in relation to stereotypes and stigmatization caused by them. The topic of news source selection and the roles of the media in relation to human rights of vulnerable people will also be examined. An overview of these theories is detailed within the context of the study, followed by a discussion of their relevance to the topic of immigration.

2.1 Agenda Setting

Studying agenda-setting is crucial for understanding the power of the media in shaping public discourse and prioritizing certain issues in the public's attention. In media studies, agenda-setting broadly refers to the ability of the media to influence what topics and issues are considered important by the public (McCombs, 2002). By examining agenda-setting, researchers can explore how the media's selection and emphasis of news stories can shape public awareness, perceptions, and policy priorities. Understanding agenda-setting contributes to critical analysis of media content, and a deeper understanding of how media influences public opinion and the broader societal agenda.

According to McCombs (2005), the basic agenda-setting theory explains how the media has the ability to tell the public *what* to think about by emphasizing the salience of the issue, while the attribute agenda setting refers to how the media can also tell the public *how* to think by emphasizing attributes of an object and turning them into a dominant perspective. The basic or first-level agenda setting suggests that the amount of media coverage on a topic affects the topic's salience or importance perceived by the public, while the attribute or second-level agenda setting studies the salience of attributes—characteristics or quality—that the media assigns to the topic, claiming that attributes that are salient in the media will also be prominent in the public's perception (Wu & Coleman, 2009).

Lecheler et al. (2019) examined research on the topic of mass media and its agenda-setting effect on migration, which reflect the understanding that the media has the ability to set the agenda for discourse on migration, highlight the problems, and contribute to the public's acceptance or rejection of migrants in the receiving country. In their paper, they noted that "the salience, sentiment and framing of immigration does affect public attitudes" (Lecheler et al., 2019, p. 695). They also observed that the existing literature has shown that the coverage of migration in traditional mass media varies across time and location.

In a study of British news coverage on immigration by McLaren et al. (2017), the agenda-setting concept was used in combination with the *obtrusiveness hypothesis* (Zucker, 1978, as cited in McLaren et al., 2017) which suggests that the media's influence on an individual is stronger when the issue is unobtrusive or not experienced directly by the individual, and vice versa. In addition, it was posited that unobtrusive issues that have tangible consequences for the people are likely to have stronger effects than abstract ones. These hypotheses were found to be supported by the study.

The above-mentioned hypotheses might also be applicable to Thailand's case, since according to a study by the International Labour Organization (2019), the majority of Thai people do not know migrant workers on a personal level but through news reports which remain their main source of information on migration. Migration issues can be considered unobtrusive to many people since they do not have direct experiences with migrant workers, but issues such as those related to economy and health may have concrete impacts on the people, therefore affecting the public opinion on migration more.

In the context of Thailand, several studies have employed agenda-setting theory and analyzed news coverage of different issues, such as the political violence in the country between March and May 2010 by Pongpo (2013), in which she analyzed the frequency, size, and language of headlines in Thai newspapers. However, even though researchers claimed that the media has played a large role in shaping the negative public attitudes towards migrant workers (Brees, 2010; Harkins & Ali, 2017), there is very little literature on the agenda-setting of migration issues by

Thai media. Understanding agenda-setting helps to shed light on the media's role in setting the public agenda and influencing societal discussions.

2.2 News Framing

2.2.1 News frames

Framing, resembling the second-level agenda setting, focuses on *how* a topic is presented in the news media instead of the amount or frequency of the media coverage, though it encompasses aspects beyond the topic's attributes (Weaver, 2007). The news framing concept can be divided into two parts: frame-building, which is the process before the news frames are chosen, and frame-setting, which explains how the frames presented in the news interact with its audience's perception or "learning, interpretation, and evaluation" of the topic (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

According to de Vreese (2005), news frames, defined as textual elements, such as keywords or phrases, or visual elements that can be separated from the news 'facts', are believed to affect an individual's perception and the way they make sense of an issue, a concept known as the *framing effect* (Lecheler, Bos, et al., 2015). Through extensive studies that have been conducted, it has been proven that news frames can affect the audience's perception of issues (Tewksbury et al., 2000) and that repeated exposure to the same news frames can make the effects of the frames stronger (Lecheler, Keer, et al., 2015).

The news framing theory is frequently used in studies on media's portrayal of immigration, such as in a study by Cheng et al. (2011), in which he examined how the topic of immigration was framed by regional newspapers in Spain, and a study by Dekker and Scholten (2017), who analyzed the media framing of immigration policies in the Netherlands in comparison to the actual policy frame. The existing literature shows that the media has the power to influence the public's perception of immigrant workers through their coverage, depending on the frames they choose to present and the frequency of those frames.

There have been a considerable amount of research on Thai news media's framing of various topics, such as the southern border conflict (Tawapitak, 2020),

children (Ruampum et al., 2020), and the elderly (Parivudhiphongs, 2019). On the topic of migration, Magpanthong and McDaniel (2016) studied news frames related to migrants, especially Rohingya refugees from Myanmar, that were employed by the English-language newspaper *The Nation* in comparison with Malaysia's *New Straits Times*. The study shows that both newspapers share the frame of migrants as victims. The Malaysian newspaper focused on diplomatic cooperation angle while the Thai newspaper highlighted the assertiveness and uncompromisingness of Thailand.

This study on news framing of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic fills a significant gap in the existing literature on the news framing of migration in Thailand. While research on migration framing exists, there is limited specific focus on the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on the portrayal of CLM migrants in Thai media. By examining the news frames employed in reporting on CLM migrants during this critical period, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of how media narratives shape public perceptions of migrant communities. Furthermore, it may expand the knowledge base on the news framing of migration in Thailand, providing insights that can inform media practices, policy discussions, and efforts to promote accurate and fair portrayals of migrants in the media.

2.2.2 Frame-building process

Studying the frame-building process is crucial for understanding how news frames are constructed and disseminated by media organizations. Frames shape how events, issues, and individuals are portrayed, influencing public perceptions and interpretations. By examining the frame-building process, researchers can uncover the underlying mechanisms, influences, and agendas that shape media narratives.

In news framing research (Scheufele, 1999), media frames can be studied as an independent variable, with a focus more on the effects of framing, or as a dependent variable, which includes studies of factors that may influence journalists' way of framing a topic. According to Scheufele (1999), the following five factors might be influential to the frame-building process:

1. Social norms and values
2. Organizational pressures and constraints

3. Pressures of interest groups
4. Journalistic routines
5. Ideological and political orientations of journalists

These factors, internal and external, determine journalists' frame-building process and result in media frames or news frames that can be discerned in the news articles (de Vreese, 2005), as seen in the following model:

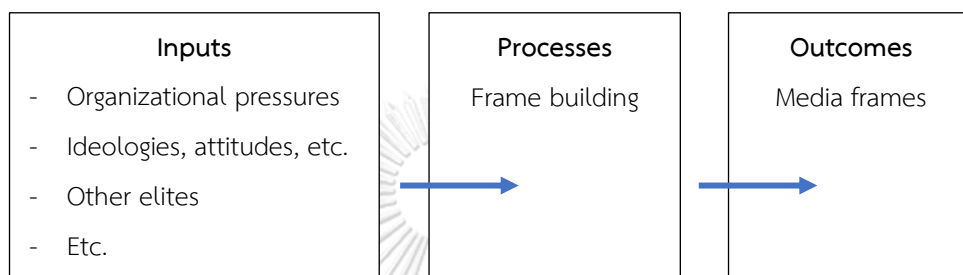


Figure 1 Process model of media framing research, simplified from the process model of framing research by Scheufele (1999, p. 115)

This knowledge provides insights into the construction of news frames, the selection of specific angles or perspectives, and the potential biases or omissions that may exist. Understanding the frame-building process contributes to a more critical analysis of media content, enhances media literacy, and enables a deeper understanding of how news frames influence public opinion and policy discussions.

In the case of Thailand, internal factors, such as news values, journalistic routines, regulations and ethics, and ideological orientations of journalists, and external factors, such as pressures from the government, humanitarian organizations, and the audience, are also possible elements that may affect how journalists frame the news stories related to migrants from Myanmar. This research explored the frame-building processes in the news reporting on migrant workers during COVID-19 and tried to identify specific influential factors that may have affected the frames.

2.3 Media representation of immigrant workers

Studying the media representation of immigrant workers is essential to understand the role that media plays in shaping public perceptions, attitudes, and

policies towards this vulnerable population. Media representations can significantly impact social cohesion, public discourse, and the lived experiences of immigrant workers. By examining how immigrant workers are portrayed in the media, researchers can identify biases, stereotypes, and potential gaps in coverage, leading to a more informed and nuanced understanding of their experiences.

According to Croteau and Hoynes (2013), ideology, from a Marxist point of view, is a way for members of the ruling class or elites to control over society; by imposing the *ideologies* or *meanings* on the working class. One of the ways to reinforce these meanings is through representation in the media. According to Hall (2020), representation is part of the production and exchange of meaning in society; through a shared system of representation within a culture, people use language to communicate meaning, or concepts and images that reflect their understanding of the world, to others.

Media representation of migrant workers can play a part in shaping the Thai public's perception of the workers. For instance, the majority of Thai people believe that migrants commit a high number of crimes, which correlates with how the majority of the Thai public also remembered reading news stories about serious crimes committed by migrants in Thailand (Harkins & Ali, 2017).

In news, migrant workers are sometimes portrayed as troublemakers, a stereotype which possibly contributes to, or stems from, the Thai public's negative perceptions of migrants, such as that they commit a high number of crimes (72 percent of Thais surveyed), cause the crime rate to go up (77 percent), and cannot be trusted (60 percent), among others (International Labour Organization, 2019). These kinds of negative stereotypes might reinforce discriminatory attitudes towards migrant workers, which can lead to the alienation of these immigrants from society, limiting their opportunities for integration as well as social mobility.

Many researchers have explored the topic of harmful media representation and stereotypes of immigrants, their effects on public attitudes towards immigration, and their potential to cause fear and reinforce marginalization (Blinder & Jeannet, 2017; Farris & Silber Mohamed, 2018; Harraway & Wong, 2021; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). However, most of the studies are set in Western contexts, which

can differ considerably from the context of Thailand. For instance, CLM immigrants in Thailand are similar to Thais in terms of race and religion, unlike many inbound immigrants compared with local people in Europe and the United States.

Therefore, this research aims to address a knowledge gap by analyzing the news frames utilized in the portrayal of CLM migrant workers in Thairath newspaper during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study also explores the frame-building processes behind these news frames and examines the media representation and potential stereotypes of the migrants. By doing so, the research aims to shed light on the implications of these portrayals on Thai society and contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics surrounding migrant workers during the pandemic.

2.4 News sources selection

News source selection is important as it influences the representation, balance, objectivity, credibility, and audience engagement in news coverage. By including diverse and reputable sources, a wider range of perspectives can be incorporated, enhancing the accuracy and inclusivity of the reporting.

According to Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel (as cited in Jiajanpong), journalists should strive to present information necessary to the public, contribute to their freedom and independence, be watchdogs monitoring those in power, and give voice to voiceless people who might otherwise be marginalized.

However, according to Brown et al. (1987), many studies in the past have shown that the diversity of sources used in news reporting is oftentimes limited. Several studies have demonstrated that elites, both political and social, tend to dominate news coverage because they meet the criteria for source selection identified by Herbert Gans (1979, as cited in Brown et al., 1987): *availability* due to their close social proximity to the reporters and *suitability* due to their position in the power systems.

In a study by Thorbjørnsrud and Ustad Figenschou (2014) on migrant sources in news reporting, the presence of migrant voices in the Western news media's coverage of irregular migration was investigated. The findings support previous

literature that the migrant voices are often silenced and they are often presented as not as individuals but rather “*en masse*, as objects of criminalization, control, or charity” (Horsti, 2007, as cited in Thorbjørnsrud & Ustad Figenschou, 2014, p. 338). The researchers noted that in the few instances where migrants are quoted in the news, their voices are heard, and their image shifts from passive victims to active members of society.

The above literatures suggest that thoughtful and careful news source selection helps to avoid bias, maintain credibility, and foster audience trust. Careful selection of news sources ensures a more comprehensive, balanced, and trustworthy representation of the subject matter for the audience.

Therefore, this study examines the news sources utilized by Thairath newspaper in their coverage of migration during the COVID-19 pandemic, with a specific focus on whether migrant voices were included. By analyzing the presence or absence of migrant perspectives in the news sources, the study aims to shed light on the representation of migrants in the media discourse and contribute to a more inclusive and diverse coverage of the topic.

2.5 Vulnerable people and human rights in the eyes of Thai journalism

Discussing vulnerable people and human rights in the eyes of Thai journalism is essential for promoting awareness and understanding of the media's role in addressing social issues. By examining how Thai journalism portrays vulnerable populations and human rights concerns, researchers can identify potential biases, gaps, or misrepresentations in media coverage. This analysis can contribute to fostering more inclusive and rights-based reporting, promoting social justice, and advocating for the protection of human rights for all individuals, particularly those who are marginalized or vulnerable.

According to the United Nations (UN), vulnerable people are discriminated against by societal structures and institutions due to their race, gender, language, and religion, among other factors. Migrants are considered by the UN as a vulnerable group. Discrimination that migrants may face includes housing, health, and job security; legal frameworks can be discriminatory towards non-nationals, making it

more difficult for migrants to access basic services such as sanitation or hygiene facilities, healthcare, and information services (United Nations).

Parivudhiphongs (2021), highlights the significance of ethics in news reporting about vulnerable groups, emphasizing the responsibility of journalists to emphasize human values while adhering to news values and journalistic principles. The National Press Council of Thailand has established a code of ethics that emphasizes the protection of human dignity, the promotion of human rights for vulnerable groups, and the avoidance of further harm or suffering with biased representation to and perpetuate discrimination against these groups. These principles align with the sentiments expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948.

According to Mann et al. (1994), the topics of promotion and safeguarding of human rights and dignity are closely intertwined with the promotion and safeguarding of health. The measures imposed by many governments during the COVID-19 pandemic severely affected individual rights, such as freedom of movement restricted by quarantines and border controls and right to privacy through health surveillance (Sekalala et al., 2020). Sekalala et al. (2020) noted that it is crucial that these imposed measures are grounded in scientific evidence, proportionate to the public health risk and temporary in nature, and be applied in a non-discriminatory and non-arbitrary way. In addition, governments should prioritize the protection of the most vulnerable members of society and ensure they still have access to work, social security, housing, food, and access to clean water and sanitation.

Surveys conducted by International Organization for Migration (2021a) show that the COVID-19 measures implemented in Thailand have had grave impacts on CLM migrants. Only between March and July 2020, it is estimated that around 700,000 migrants lost their job. IOM reported that migrant workers were already vulnerable to rights violation and had difficulties accessing information since before the pandemic. COVID-19 has exacerbated these existing inequalities, especially with lockdowns and border closures that immobilized the migrants even more (International Organization for Migration, 2021a).

By analyzing the media's reporting during this period, the study aims to determine if the coverage adheres to ethical and journalistic principles, such as promoting human dignity, respecting the rights of vulnerable groups, and avoiding actions that exacerbate harm or suffering. Through this analysis, the research seeks to discuss the extent to which the media's reporting aligns with ethical and journalistic standards and contributes to the safeguarding of human rights for migrant populations.

2.6 Overall conceptual framework of the study

The diagram below represents the framework of the research, starting with a textual analysis to study the news frames where texts and news sources were analyzed. Possible themes that may appear in the news, gathered from the prior document research, are identified in the table. Interviews were carried out to confirm the researcher's analysis and to identify additional internal and external factors that may influence the frame-building processes, as indicated in the bottom table. The frame-building factors are adapted from the *integrated process model of framing* (de Vreese, 2005).

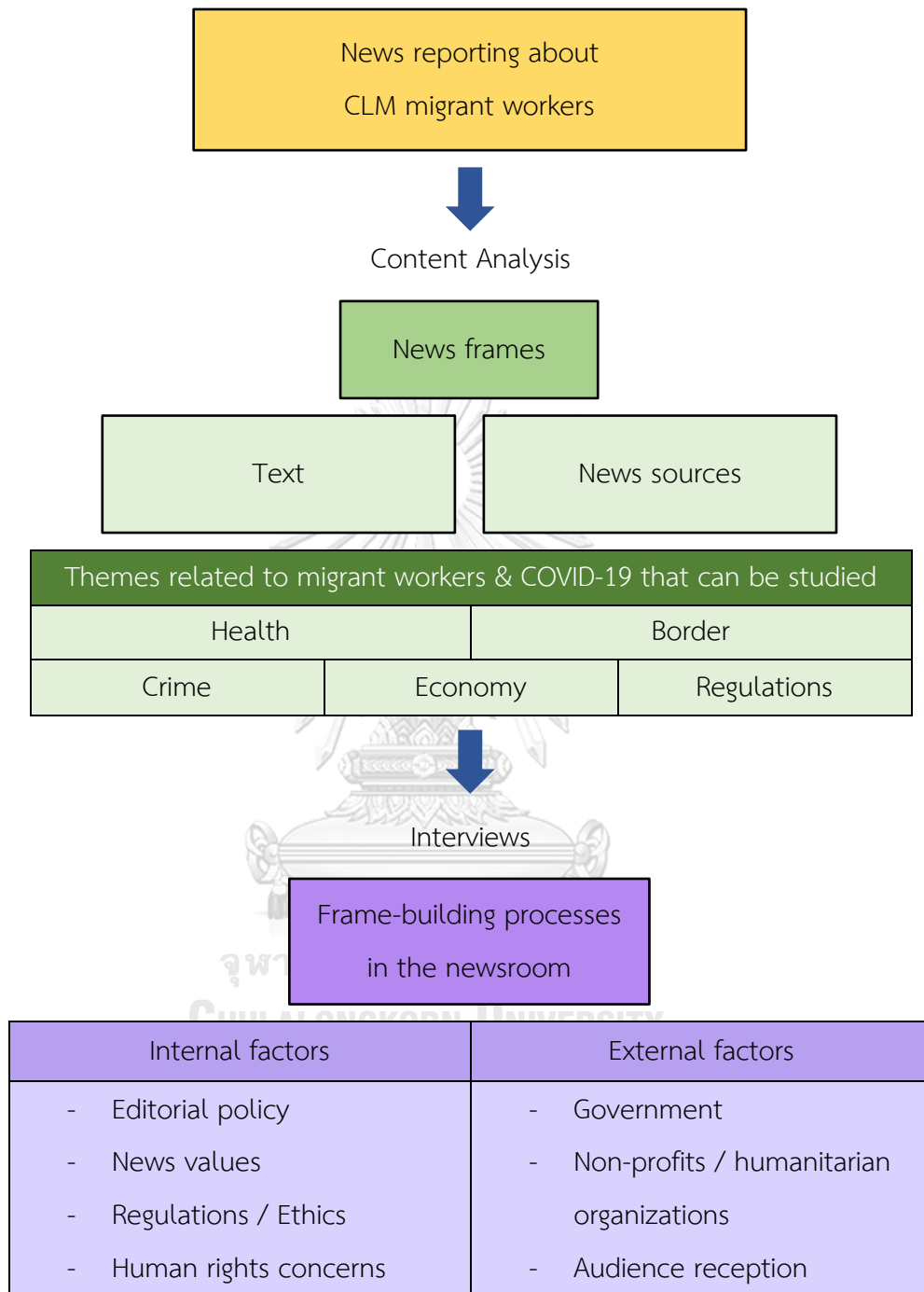


Figure 2 Conceptual framework of the study

In conclusion, Examining the news reports surrounding incidents involving migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic is crucial to understanding the diverse perspectives, moods, and tones presented in the media. These variations can significantly influence how the audience perceives issues related to migrant workers. Therefore, conducting research on the coverage of CLM migrant workers and the pandemic in a Thai newspaper becomes imperative.

By utilizing agenda-setting and news framing theories as a foundation, this research aims to delve into the media representation of migrant workers during the pandemic. Agenda-setting theory explores how the media's selection and emphasis of news topics can shape public awareness and perceptions. News framing theory, on the other hand, focuses on how media framing influences the interpretation and understanding of news events.

Analyzing a Thai newspaper's coverage provides valuable insights into how migrant workers were portrayed and discussed during the pandemic. The research seeks to uncover the various frames and narratives employed, shed light on potential biases or stereotypes, and examine how the media's portrayal of migrant workers may have impacted public attitudes and policies.

Understanding the media representation of migrant workers during the pandemic is crucial for promoting accurate, balanced, and fair reporting. It can help identify any misrepresentations or gaps in coverage, allowing for more informed discussions, policy interventions, and efforts towards addressing the rights and well-being of migrant workers. Ultimately, this research intends to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the role media plays in shaping public perceptions and policies related to migrant workers in times of crisis.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

To examine three research questions, this qualitative research employed content analysis techniques to evaluate news reports on the topic of CLM migrant workers in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic from Thairath, a Thai popular newspaper, in order to categorize certain themes. The themes were analyzed to explain news frames, news sources used were compiled, and interviews with media and migration experts and a journalist were conducted to help with the interpretations of the findings and to gain insights and understanding of the process behind news selection and news framing

These are the details of five steps of research design and methodology:

3.1 Document research

Document research was carried out in order to identify key words related to CLM migrant workers in COVID-19 news reports, as well as periods with high news coverage of the migrants.

The researcher read news articles from Thai online newspapers on the topic of COVID-19 and migrant workers in order to find common, representative words to be used as keywords during sampling as well as identify prevalent themes. Since the news clippings studied were in the Thai language, keywords in Thai were identified.

To represent two aspects of the study scope, CLM migrant workers and COVID-19, the following 9 identified keywords were used: กัมพูชา (Cambodia/Cambodian), เขมร (Khmer, a common word used to call Cambodian people), ลาว (Laos/Lao), เมียนมา (Myanmar), พม่า (Burma/Burmese, the old name of Myanmar), ต่างด้าว (alien, an adjective commonly used to describe CLM migrants), ช้ามชาติ (migrant, an adjective often used by humanitarian organizations to describe migrant workers), แรงงาน (labor), and โควิด (COVID).

Using the timeline of COVID-19 in Thailand by International Organization for Migration (2021a, p. 6) as a basis, the researcher identified periods with occurrences related to migrant workers as follows:

- 26 March 2020: Thailand declared a state of emergency, imposing travel bans and the first lockdown; many migrant workers returned to their home country.
- 17 December 2020: Thailand had a COVID-19 outbreak, with cases detected in Myanmar migrant workers in a seafood market in Samut Sakhon.
- 25 June 2021: More outbreaks of COVID-19 occurred in construction camps near Bangkok; many construction workers were migrants.

From the occurrences identified, the researcher proceeded with the assumption that news articles on migrant workers are more prevalent during those periods. Therefore, the samples were selected from the following 30-day periods: 15 March–13 April 2020 (P_1), 15 December 2020–13 January 2021 (P_2), and 15 June–14 July 2021 (P_3).

3.2 Sample selection

This research examined printed and online version of Thairath. As one of the country's most popular newspapers, Thairath has been among the country's bestselling newspapers for over 60 years (Thairath). In 2020, while viewed as a sunset industry, Thairath still maintained the highest gross income compared to other printed newspapers at over 1.5B baht, and has a daily circulation of 800,000 copies (InfoQuest, 2021). On the other hand, Thairath Online has been a popular online news site with a large number of followers. In 2018, it amassed over 2 million site visitors per day and had a market share of 30% (Thairath Online, 2019).

The scope of this study focuses on analyzing news articles from Thairath, a prominent and widely circulated Thai newspaper. Thairath was selected for several justifications:

- 1) Extensive Coverage: Thairath newspaper has been known for its extensive coverage of various topics, including issues related to migrant workers. Given its high circulation, it is likely that Thairath has provided significant coverage of CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic.

- 2) Representativeness: As one of the most highly circulated newspapers in Thailand, Thairath reflects and influences public opinion to a considerable extent. Analyzing its coverage provides insights into how migrant workers are portrayed and discussed in a media source that reaches a significant portion of the Thai population.
- 3) Print and Online Presence: The study includes both printed and online versions of Thairath, recognizing the importance of analyzing news articles across different platforms. This approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the media representation of CLM migrant workers during the pandemic.
- 4) Accessibility of Data: Thairath's news articles are readily accessible, allowing for a systematic analysis of a substantial number of articles. By examining a significant sample size of 225 news articles, the study can provide robust findings and insights into the news framing and media representation of CLM migrant workers.

Content analysis of news from Thairath has been carried out in various contexts, such as a study of front page headlines that reflect political violence by Pongpo (2013), a study of news reports on feminist issues in the unrest in the deep south by Benharoon and Binsaleh (2013), and a study on the editorials during the government of Gen. Prayut Chan-o-cha by Nattaya Pilangam (2017). Studies show that Thairath has the history of using wordings that incite fear or reflect bias against a certain group (Angsuviriya, 2014; Jitprakong, 2020), as well as discriminatory languages (Dittabanjong & Siri, 2019). Therefore, this research examined the newspaper's reporting on migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic to try to understand how the group was represented during a health crisis. The news clippings of the printed version of Thairath were downloaded from IQNewsClip database, while the online version were taken from from a database used in a study of Thai news coverage during COVID-19 by Parivudhiphongs (2022), along with additional related articles found on www.thairath.co.th.

With printed and online versions of Thairath as sources, the researcher filtered relevant COVID-19 news in connection with migrant labors from CLM countries. The criteria are:

1. The news must contain following keywords:
 - ต่างด้าว (alien) or ข้ามชาติ (migrant) or กัมพูชา (Cambodian) or เขมร (Khmer) or ลาว (Lao) or เมียนมา (Myanmar) or พม่า (Burma)
 - แรงงาน (labor)
 - โควิด (COVID)
2. The news must be from the periods of 15 March–13 April 2020 (30 days), 15 December 2020–13 January 2021 (30 days), and 15 June–14 July 2021 (30 days)
3. The contents (headlines, leads, stories) must be related to the topic of migration or unskilled/CLM migrant workers in Thailand during the COVID-19 pandemic. Irrelevant news, such as news on situations in Cambodia, Laos, or Myanmar, or about Thai nationals who came back from those countries, will not be included in the content analysis.

From the preliminary search made through IQNewsClip, there were 206 news clippings of printed Thairath newspapers available. Additionally, there were 105 online articles from Thairath Online. The researcher then removed duplicate news articles and articles that appeared in both printed and online versions, keeping only the printed ones as they are considered original, resulting in 148 printed and 78 online samples. The following table shows the final number of news clippings after the process.

	Printed	Online	Total
15 March–13 April 2020 (P ₁)	33	25	58
15 December 2020–13 January 2021 (P ₂)	86	42	128

15 June–14 July 2021 (P ₃)	28	11	39
Total	147	78	225

Table 2 Number of news clippings from Thairath on CLM migrants and COVID-19 during March–April 2020, December 2020–January 2021, and June–July 2021

3.3 Coding sheet design

Following document research, the coding sheets were designed by the researcher containing following categories:

3.3.1 News type

In this study, the researcher split Thairath articles into three news types, general news, scoop, and opinion piece, defined as follows:

- General news in Thairath are news articles presented in a straightforward way without any commentaries from the journalist.
- Scoop is a specific category of news articles set by Thairath itself, containing more in-depth information than general news.
- Opinion pieces are news articles that contains the author's opinion on a certain subject.

3.3.2 Topic/Theme

Following document research, the researcher divided possible news topics related to CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic into six groups. In this section, multiple selections are possible.

- Health: topics related to health, public health, and healthcare, in relation to CLM migrants, such as migrant COVID-19 clusters and healthcare scheme for migrants.
- Border: topics related to the land borders between Thailand and CLM countries, such as border closure and migrants' cross-border movement.
- Economy: topics related to CLM migrants and the economy, including migrant labors, economic impacts, and unemployment.

- Crime: topics related to crimes that involve CLM migrants in any capacity, whether they are perpetrator, stakeholder, or victim.
- Regulations: topics related to laws, rules, and regulations imposed by the government during the pandemic in relation to CLM migrants.

3.3.3 News source

The researcher categorized news sources into 7 groups, with the following details:

- Government: representatives of the Royal Thai Government, ministries and its offices, and other governmental organizations
- Police: police officers, including the immigration police
- Organizations, institutions, or enterprises: representatives from an organization, institution, or enterprise, such as the Federation of Thai Industries (FTI), a university, or a company with migrant employees
- Humanitarian organizations: representatives from an entity that aid people in need; in this case, organizations that promote migrant rights and wellbeing
- Individuals: individual sources that do not represent any organization or entity in particular, such as locals and migrant workers

News sources collected in this study include people quoted in the news or cited by the journalist. In this section, multiple selections are possible. The researcher also noted down the name of the sources' organization.

3.3.4 Media Portrayal

The researcher divided possible representations of CLM migrants in the news into 6 categories as follows:

- Passive stakeholder: migrants are affected by the issue but are not involved in the decision-making process.
- Passive beneficiary: migrants receive some kind of benefits without taking an action.
- Victim: migrants suffer from or are disadvantaged by an issue.

- **Advocator:** migrants support an idea or a cause, advocating for themselves.
- **Problem-solver:** migrants take an action to fix a problem or improve their situation.
- **Wrongdoer:** migrants carry out an unfavorable or illegal action.

In this section, it is possible to choose more than one selection as the study focuses on the prevalence of the content, showing how CLM migrant workers are portrayed in the news report. But this does not translate to the frequency of the contents, which is not the center of this study.

To ensure content validity of the coding sheets, they were validated by three experts utilizing Item Objective Congruence (IOC) Index. After the revision, the researcher carried out the research by themselves in order to guarantee reliability of the coding process, ensuring that the coding matches the set coding criteria. The researcher was the only coder for this study, in order to maintain coding consistency and understanding of the coding manual. The final coding sheet can be found in Annex 1.

3.4 Content Analysis

The researcher used coding sheets as an instrument for content analysis, which served as a tool to sort observations of each selected news article from Thairath into four categories: news type, topic/theme, news source, and media portrayal of CLM migrants. The options and their definition and examples are detailed in the following table:

Category	Option	Definition	News Example
News type	General news	News articles presented in a straightforward way without any commentaries from the journalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Articles beginning with date and location, such as “18 March, reporter reports from

			Tak province that... (วันที่ 18 มี.ค. ผู้สื่อข่าว รายงานจากจังหวัด ตาก...)”
	Scoop	A specific category of news articles set by Thairath itself, containing more in-depth information than general news	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any articles under First-page Scoop (สcoop หน้า 1)
	Opinion piece	News articles that contains the author’s opinion on a certain subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any articles under opinion columns such as Chak thong rop (ชักธงรบ) and Maihet prathetthai (หมายเหตุประเทศไทย) Any articles where the author mentions themselves in first person, such as “I think... (ผมคิดว่า...)”
Topic/ theme	Health	Topics related to health, public health, and healthcare, in relation to CLM migrants, such as migrant COVID-19 clusters and healthcare scheme for migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migrants in areas surrounding Samut Sakhon shrimp market crowdedly queues up to get screened for COVID-19... (แรงงานต่างด้าวในพื้นที่รอบตลาดกลางกุ้ง จ.สมุทรสาคร ต่อแถวกันเนืองแน่นเพื่อรอรับการ

			<p>ตรวจหาเชื้อโควิด-19...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ New domestic cases found, mostly Myanmar migrants in Samut Sakhon province (พบผู้ติดเชื้อภายในประเทศที่ส่วนใหญ่เป็นแรงงานชาวเมียนมาใน จ. สมุทรสาคร)
Border	<p>Topics related to the land borders between Thailand and CLM countries, such as border closure and migrants' cross-border movement</p>  <p>จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Kanchanaburi governor orders border closure, temporarily prohibits crossing to curb COVID-19 (ผู้ว่ากาญจนบุรี สั่งปิดชายแดน ห้ามคนและสิ่งของเข้า-ออกชั่วคราวสกัดโควิด-19) ■ Lao and Vietnamese labors overflow from BKK, escape COVID-19, return home (แรงงานลาว เวียดนาม ทะลักจากกทม. หนีโควิด-19 กลับบ้านเกิด) 	
Economy	<p>Topics related to CLM migrants and the economy, including migrant labors, economic impacts, and unemployment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Rubber factory in the South faces migrant labor shortage (โรงงานยางภาคใต้ประสบปัญหาขาดแคลนแรงงานต่างด้าว) ■ Fishermen rejoice, gov. extends migrant crews' 	

			<p>permit (ชาวประมงทะเล กรม.ต่ออายุลูกเรือต่างด้าว)</p>
	Crime	<p>Topics related to crimes that involve CLM migrants in any capacity, whether they are perpetrator, stakeholder, or victim</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Myanmar workers loaded up on a van, abandoned mid way (แรงงานพม่า ถูกนำขึ้นรถมาปล่อยทิ้ง) ■ Quarantine escape hole exposed; Myanmar workers fled in the middle of the night (แฉมุดช่องหนีกักตัวแรงงานพม่าแอบผ่านกลางดึก)
	Regulations	<p>Topics related to laws, rules, and regulations imposed by the government during the pandemic in relation to CLM migrants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Employers reminded to extend migrants' work permit (เตือนต่อใบอนุญาตต่างด้าว) ■ Kanchanaburi governor orders border closure, temporarily prohibits crossing to curb COVID-19 (ผู้ว่ากาญจนบุรี สั่งปิดชายแดน ห้ามคนและสิ่งของเข้า-ออกชั่วคราวสกัดโควิด-19)
News source	Government	<p>Representatives of the Royal Thai Government, ministries and its offices, and other governmental</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Dr. Kiattiphum Wongrachit, Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Public Health (MOPH)

		organizations	<p>said... (นพ.เกียรติภูมิ วงศ์รจิต ปลัดกระทรวงสาธารณสุข (สธ.) กล่าว ว่า...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chiang Mai governor Mr. Charoenrit Sanguansat revealed that... (นายเจริญฤทธิ์ สงวนสัตย์ พวจ. เชียงใหม่ เปิดเผยว่า...)
	Police	Police officers, including the immigration police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pol.Maj.Gen.Woranan Sukcharoen, Commander of Kanchanaburi Provincial Police, revealed that... (พล.ต.ต.วรณัน สุขเจริญ ผบก.ภ.จ.กาญจนบุรี เปิดเผยถึง...)
	Organization, institution, or enterprise	Representatives from an organization, institution, or enterprise (excluding humanitarian organizations)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> President of Fisheries Association of Samut Sakhon explained the story that COVID-19 spread in the shrimp market originated from a migrant source in the fisheries sector that... (นายกสมาคมการประมงสมุทรสาคร ชี้แจงกรณีที่มีข่าวว่าผู้ติดเชื้อโควิด-19 ในตลาดกุ้ง มาจากแรงงานต่าง

			<p>ตัวในภาคประมงว่า...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asst.Prof.Dr.Morakot Meyer, Director of Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University, revealed that... (รศ.ดร. มรกต ไมยเออร์ ผอ.สถาบันวิจัยภาษาและวัฒนธรรมเอเชีย ม.มหิดล เปิดเผยว่า...)
	Humanitarian organization	Representatives from an entity that aid people in need; in this case, organizations that promote migrant rights and wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suthasinee Kaewleklai, Coordinator of the Migrant Worker Rights Network, added that... (สุชาสินี แก้วเหล็กไหล ผู้ประสานงานเครือข่ายเพื่อสิทธิแรงงานข้ามชาติ เสริมว่า...)
	Individual	Individual sources that do not represent any organization or entity in particular	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From an interview with the community leader... (จากการสอบถามประธานชุมชน...)
	Individual (CLM)	Individual sources that are Cambodian, Lao, or Myanmar nationals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From interviews with migrants... (จากการสอบถามแรงงาน...)
Media Portrayal	Wrongdoer	Migrants carry out an unfavorable or illegal action.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quarantine escape hole exposed; Myanmar workers fled in the middle of the

			<p>night (แฉมุดช่องหนีกักตัว แรงงานพม่าแอบผ่าน กลางดึก)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 800 smuggled migrants caught in Jan 21, Immigration reveals (สตรม.เผยเดือน ม.ค. 64 จับต่างด้าวลักลอบเข้าประเทศไปแล้วกว่า 800 คน)
Victim	Migrants suffer from or are disadvantaged by an issue.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chonburi terrified, employer fears of being guilty, abandoned 2 Myanmar workers on the roadside (ชลบุรีหวา นายจ้างกลัวความผิด ลอยแพ 2 แรงงานเมียนมา ปล่อยทิ้งข้างถนน)
Passive beneficiary	Migrants receive some kind of benefits without taking an action.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ISOC urges provinces to raise awareness among migrants in the kingdom (กอ.รมน.เร่ง จังหวัดบูรณาการ สร้างการรับรู้แรงงานอยู่ในราชอาณาจักร)
Passive stakeholder	Migrants are affected by the issue but are not involved in the decision-making process.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chanthaburi governor order border closure at 2 amphoe, preventing COVID-19 spread (ผู้ว่าฯ จันทบุรีสั่งปิดด่านชายแดน ไทย-กัมพูชา 2 อำเภอ)

			ป้องกันโควิด-19 ระบาด)
	Advocator	Migrants support an idea or a cause, advocating for themselves.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Khaing Min Lwin, a Myanmar migrant worker, said that during the pandemic, he surveyed many migrant communities in Bangkok and its vicinity and found that there were thousands of Myanmar migrants effected... (นายคายัง มิน หลุย แรงงานข้ามชาติชาวเมียนมา บอกว่า ช่วงการระบาดได้ลงพื้นที่สำรวจแรงงานข้ามชาติหลายชุมชนในกรุงเทพฯและปริมณฑล พบว่ามีแรงงานเมียนมาที่ได้รับผลกระทบจำนวนหลายพันคน...)
	Problem-solver	Migrants take an action to fix a problem or improve their situation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Playing phin to support 7 lives, sixth-grader helps parents make money (เล่นพิณ..เลี้ยง 7 ชีวิต ป.6 ช่วยพ่อแม่หาเงิน)

Table 3 Coding manual

3.5 Interview

Following the analysis from the coding sheets, the researcher interviewed three academics; two are experts in media and journalism, and one is an

anthropologist specializing in migration. In addition, the researcher interviewed one journalist outside of Thairath who has experience in reporting on migration topics and working with CLM migrants. Through these interviews, the researcher aimed to obtain more objective inputs and impartial judgement on Thairath's reporting during the COVID-19 outbreak which can lead to more insights about news frames and media representation of CLM migrants in general.

During the interviews, the researcher engaged in discussions with experts, sharing the results of the coding sheets and the researcher's interpretation of those findings. The aim was to examine the factors that may have influenced Thairath's reporting on CLM migrants during the pandemic. In these interviews, the interviewees were questioned based on the coding process results, which covered news types, topics, frames, news sources, and the media portrayal of CLM migrants. These interviews provided an opportunity to gather insights, perspectives, and additional context to further understand the dynamics and influences behind Thairath's coverage of CLM migrants during the pandemic. The researcher used the following questions as a basis for the interviews:

- Why are certain news types more common than others? Please explain how journalists select what type of news to produce.
- Why are certain topics of CLM migrants more prevalent than others? How do journalists select what topics should make news?
- What are the relations between the topics and public perceptions? Do they reflect the audience's perceptions of issues or do they influence the audience, and how?
- Why are certain media portrayals of CLM migrants more common than others, and what are the pros and cons of each media portrayal?
- How do journalists pick what news sources to use? What makes certain news sources more accessible than others?
- How do journalists work with migrant workers? Are there any difficulties or challenges? What should be improved and how?

- How was Thairath's coverage of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic comparing to their coverage before the pandemic? Does it align with historical patterns? What aspects are new or unique to the pandemic?
- What values and ethical concerns journalists should consider in news reporting on CLM migrants, especially during crises?

For this research, the interviewees' personal or identifiable information were kept confidential, and strictly not revealed to the public. All information is kept in a private, secured cabinet accessible only by the researcher. Though the researcher requested a formal permission from all interviewees to record the interview in order to facilitate compilation of information, they were not asked personal questions, and they can refuse to answer any questions, and withdraw their consent at any time. To refer to each interviewee in the analysis, the researcher assigned them a brief attribution with running number, i.e., media expert 1.

Interviews were conducted as follows:

- Media expert 1, interviewed online on June 27, 2023
- Media expert 2, interviewed online on June 28, 2023
- Migration expert, interviewed online on June 28, 2023
- Journalist, interviewed online on June 29, 2023

To sum up, information acquired from the interviews was used to help illustrate and explain the results from the content analysis. The findings should show coherent, identified news frames on the topic of CLM migrant workers in the context of COVID-19 and give a better understanding of frame-building processes behind the topic of CLM migrant workers in the context of COVID-19.

In short, this research is qualitative research. By conducting document research of textbooks, news articles, and previous research papers, the researcher developed a coding sheet and selected sample to perform content analysis, compiling news types, news topics, news sources, and media portrayals of the migrants, in order to identify topical themes and news frames that appear during the

pandemic and explore factors that may have influenced the news coverage. In addition, the researcher conducted interviews with four experts to make the interpretations of the results more complete with insights about content, formats, and process behind the news coverage of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic.



Chapter 4 Analysis of the research findings

In order to examine the research questions, the researcher gathered information from news clippings from printed and online version of Thairath from the selected 30-day periods, which are 15 March–13 April 2020 (P_1), 15 December 2020–13 January 2021 (P_2), and 15 June–14 July 2021 (P_3) and categorized the information into four result tables. Each result table was followed by the interpretation table, containing the meaning and implication of the results according to the researcher's understanding following interviews with experts.

As stated in chapter 1, the study raised three research questions as follows:

- 1) What are the prevalent topical themes found in Thairath newspaper reports on CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic? (RQ_1)
- 2) How do Thairath journalists employ news frames in their reports on CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic? (RQ_2)
- 3) What factors may influence the news framing approach of Thairath in relation to issues surrounding CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic? (RQ_3)

RQ_1 was answered by Table 6 Topics/themes in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic. RQ_2 and RQ_3 were answered by Table 7 Interpretation of topics/themes in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study, Table 9 Interpretation of sources of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study, and Table 11 Interpretation of media portrayal of migrants in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study.

4.1 Types of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

	Printed			Online		
	General news	Scoop	Opinion	General news	Scoop	Opinion
P_1	30	2	1	25	0	0

P ₂	28	18	40	38	3	0
P ₃	16	10	2	10	2	0
Total	74	30	43	73	5	0
%	50.34	20.41	29.25	93.59	6.41	0

Table 4 Types of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic in printed and online versions of Thairath from the three selected periods

The data presented in Table 4 shows that, the total of 225 samples selected in this study includes 147 printed and 78 online news. The majority of them (50.34% and 93.59% respectively) is general news. These articles present news stories related to CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic in a matter-of-fact manner, providing only essential information.

The second most prevalent type of news concerning CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic was opinion pieces, accounting for 29.25% of printed news. Thairath online reposted some opinion pieces published in the printed version but did not have any original pieces. The frequency of opinion pieces in Thairath is notably high during P2 (15 December 2022–13 January 2023), following a new outbreak among Myanmar migrant workers in a seafood market.

Scoop news, on the other hand, constituted the smallest portion, with 20.41% of printed news and 6.41% of online news. Scoops concerning CLM migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic found in Thairath allowed for a more extensive exploration of the stories compared to general news.

Interpretation of Table 4 Types of news articles

Results	Interpretation
General news Most common (50.34% printed, 93.59% online)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus on facts - Require less resources - Less likely to contain comprehensive frames
Opinion pieces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allow space for authors to express

Somewhat common (29.25% printed, 0% online*) *excluding reposted articles	their views
Scoops Least common (20.41% printed, 6.41% online)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Require expertise - Expensive to produce - Less readers

Table 5 Interpretation of types of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study

The result shows that most of the news on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic in Thairath were general news. According to media experts interviewed, this type of news offers the advantage of timeliness, as stories are presented promptly. It might also reflect the journalists' goal of objectivity since this news type contains only factual information rather than their personal opinions or biases against the migrants.

According to interviewees, possible reasons for Thairath's preference of general news are the increased competitiveness in the media industry that urges news agencies like Thairath to produce a large amount of content in very limited time. General news do not require many resources and can be produced in little time, which makes them the ideal news type for mainstream media.

The downside of this type of news, according to one media expert, is that it might not present an issue in a comprehensive way.

“It does not make us understand the overview of the situation, since the information comes in separate chunks without a connection that shows a comprehensive account or the way the situation develops”
(Media expert 2, June 27, 2023)

The next news type, scoops, can be an effective way to present a more comprehensive and more analytical picture of the situation which can lead to better understanding of the audience, according to a media expert, though less scoops were found on the topic of CLM migrants during the pandemic. This might be due to the fact that scoops are more expensive and require longer time to write. In addition, the journalist has to be interested in the topic and possibly has some knowledge or

expertise in order to produce an in-depth scoop, which can be a challenge. It can also reflect the level of interest and media consumption habits of the audience who might prefer quick news.

Meanwhile, Thairath newspaper still provided some space for opinion pieces on this topic. In P₂ during the seafood market outbreak, there were many opinion pieces that criticize or raise questions about the government's handling of Myanmar migrants. This shows that Thairath is open to expressing opinions, criticisms, and questions when the topic is of public attention.

4.2 Topics/themes in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

	Printed					
	Health	Border	Crime	Economy	Regulations	Other
P ₁	7	13	4	8	16	4
P ₂	57	47	55	14	37	8
P ₃	17	4	4	8	17	2
Total	81	64	63	30	70	14
	Online					
	Health	Border	Crime	Economy	Regulations	Other
P ₁	3	21	0	3	21	2
P ₂	29	12	18	8	31	1
P ₃	6	3	5	3	8	2
Total	38	36	23	14	60	5

Table 6 Topics/themes in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

Table 6 provides an overview of the most frequently found topics in the news related to CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic. The topic that appeared most frequently was regulations, encompassing measures, policies, and regulations enacted by the Thai government in response to the COVID-19 situation. These regulations were often framed in conjunction with health (screening and

lockdown measures), border (control management), and economic (workers' permits and labor regulations) topics, highlighting their legal and policy dimensions.

Health-related topics were the second most prevalent. The news often framed health-related stories in three main frames: the contagion frames, portraying CLM migrants as virus spreaders; the healthcare system and response frames, examining how migrant cases are handled by the government; and the humanitarian frames, emphasizing the challenges migrants face, such as language barriers hindering their access to health information.

The topic of border, focusing on stories related to the borders between Thailand and Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar, was almost as prevalent. Main frames found in these stories include border regulations (such as the role of border control in national security) and crime (such as migrant smuggling operations). Additional frames explore health threats from border crossings, economic consequences of border closure, and humanitarian perspectives, highlighting the challenges faced by migrant workers due to border closures.

Crime-related stories primarily revolved around migrant smuggling operations. These stories were reported from various frames, including law enforcement response frames that focus on individual incidents and police actions, victimization frames that shed light on the vulnerabilities of migrants to crime, and disease transmission frames that emphasize the risks of COVID-19 spread associated with migrant smuggling. Some stories also examine systemic factors, attributing the root causes of crime to mismanagement and corruption within the authorities.

Lastly, the topic of the economy encompasses articles on migrant labor, employers, and the overall economic impact. News frames in this topic include economic contribution frame, highlighting importance of CLM migrant workers to the economy; labor market impact frames, exploring disruptions in migrant employment caused by the pandemic and its impacts; and economic recovery frames, analyzing steps towards post-pandemic economic recovery.

Interpretation of Table 6 Topics/themes in news articles

Results	Interpretation
Regulations Most common, 70 printed, 60 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High impact - Direct from official sources - One-sided
Health 81 printed, 38 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflect the public concern - Some frames might dehumanize migrants
Border 64 printed, 36 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflect migrant's illegal status - Might add distance and otherness
Crime 63 printed, 23 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mostly combined with border - Might reinforce bias
Economy 30 printed, 14 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can raise awareness about migrants' contribution to Thai society

Table 7 Interpretation of topics/themes in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study

From this result, it can be inferred that the topic of regulations related to CLM migrants was a top-of-mind issue for many during the pandemic. According to interviewees, while regulatory frames might not draw interest of the audience as much as other frames, they still have high impacts and serve a function to inform the public. Moreover, information on regulations can be acquired through official press conferences or sources inside a governmental organization, which is very accessible for journalists and allow them to produce articles within limited time.

The health frames reflect the public concerns during the pandemic, especially the preoccupation with COVID-19 transmission from migrant groups to Thais. The reporting of CLM migrants as health threats during the COVID-19 may lead to further alienation of migrants, adding on to the sense of otherness. Therefore, it is important to present a comprehensive picture of the situation and add nuances to the story.

The topic border is usually combined with the topic of regulations, through border closure and travel restrictions imposed which affected the livelihood of many migrants, and the topic of crime, through illegal border crossing and migrant smuggling operations that followed. The large amount of news related to border closures gives a clear picture of the flow of migrant labor and highlights the existing phenomenon of migrant smuggling which was another contentious topic during the pandemic. The frequency of these topics might reflect the Thai audience's fear and preoccupation of irregular migration, especially when it was viewed as a health risk. According to the migration expert, journalists often base border frames on the nation-state's idea of border, which emphasizes the illegality of border crossing, while they can offer more diverse perspectives, including exploring the complexities of migration and reasons behind migrants' decision to become illegal, which could lead to better and more rounded understanding of migration situations.

Economy being another notable theme present in news articles on CLM migrants during the pandemic is not unexpected, since migrants are often viewed through economic lenses. These news articles can raise awareness of the importance of CLM migrants in Thailand and the contributions they have made towards the country's economy. In addition, it might reflect a common sentiment within the private sectors that advocate for migrants' right to work and call for better migrant labor management from the authorities.

In the study, the researcher found a lack of humanitarian frames which suggests that the public awareness of issues surrounding CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic, such as the language barrier that makes the migrants unable to access public healthcare and difficulties resulting from unemployment, was low. However, it is important to note that the absence of explicit humanitarian frames does not necessarily indicate a lack of concern or empathy towards migrants. Instead, it may indicate a focus on other aspects of the migrant issue, such as regulations, health, border control, and crime. While these topics address the practical and policy dimensions of the migrant situation, the absence of explicit humanitarian frames may indicate a need for increased attention to the human rights and welfare of CLM migrants.

4.3 Sources of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

	Printed						
	Gov	Police	Org	Humanitarian	Individual	Author (Opinion)	N/A
P ₁	18	5	2	2	6	1	7
P ₂	28	12	10	3	7	40	6
P ₃	12	7	3	1	2	2	5
Total	58	24	15	6	15	43	18
	Online						
	Gov	Police	Org	Humanitarian	Individual	Author (Opinion)	N/A
P ₁	10	8	0	0	6	0	5
P ₂	20	14	1	1	7	0	3
P ₃	3	7	1	0	2	0	0
Total	33	29	2	1	15	0	8

Table 8 Sources of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

The most frequently used sources of news related to CLM migrants during COVID-19 in Thairath were representatives from the government or governmental agencies, as presented in Table 8. These sources include the Prime Minister, spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister, Ministers, and representatives from Ministries of Public Health, Labour, and Transport. These government sources provide trustworthiness to the news, enabling journalists to present accurate and reliable information. Statistics on new COVID-19 cases and updates on migrant regulations are directly sourced from these reliable governmental sources, lending credibility to the news. News articles originating from governmental sources usually focus on policy decisions and their impact on people's lives, such as border closure and health screening measures.

The second most popular sources found in this study were the police, particularly immigration police. Police sources offer timely, straightforward, and detailed information on breaking news events, including crimes and accidents. Police sources are commonly featured in news stories related to border control and crime, as they provide journalists with firsthand information. News reports on arrested criminals, for instance, often use solely a police source to give information on the case.

Furthermore, Thairath utilized sources from organizations, institutions, and enterprises. For topics concerning the economy and labor, sources from the Federation of Thai Industries, the Thai Chamber of Commerce, and the Employer Federation of Thailand, among others, are used to provide specific economic insights related to the COVID-19 situation. Academic institutions are also consulted as sources in some instances, adding varied perspectives and expertise to the news.

Additionally, humanitarian organizations, such as the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the Labour Protection Network (LPN), and the Migrant Working Group (MWG), were also sources of information. These organizations lend a humanitarian perspective to the stories, offering a diverse news angle.

For example, one news article (Figure 3) used sources from the Migrant Workers Rights Network (MRWN) to introduce a right-based perspective on the impacts of the pandemic on the livelihood of migrants, diverging from the usual law- or economic-related perspective provided by sources the government or the private sector.

Figure 3 News clipping from *Thairath* (printed, 6 January 2021) Scoop titled “The other side of the coin, alien workers” used sources from humanitarian organizations.

Using such a human-rights-based source in journalism reports about migrants during COVID-19 is crucial, as they provide accurate information, diverse perspectives, and uphold ethical principles. This type of source can enhance the credibility of news reports and promote a nuanced understanding of migrant-related issues. By citing reliable and relevant sources, journalists ensure transparency and accountability, contributing to responsible reporting that respects the human rights and dignity of migrants.

Lastly, individual sources, including local people, internet influencers, and CLM migrants themselves, were occasionally featured in news articles. Local voices help identify trends and topics of concern within communities, while internet influencers reflect social trends and contribute an additional layer of trust. To illustrate, the inclusion of migrant voices in some articles (1 printed and 6 online) demonstrates Thairath's effort to provide space for migrants to express their grievances, adding emotional impact to their reporting, such as the news clipping below (Figure 4) in which a migrant source talked about their inability to live in Bangkok after being left without a job.



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ข่าว > กว๊าก > เหนือ | ไทยรัฐออนไลน์

แรงงานพม่าเข่ารถจาก กทม. มาไม่ทันปิดด่านแม่สาย บอกอยู่ต่อก็กลัวอดตาย



แรงงานพม่า เข่ารถเดินทางจากกทม. จะข้ามแดนไปจ.ท่าขี้เหล็ก หลังทางการไทยประกาศปิดด่านพรมแดนตั้งแต่วันที่ 23 มี.ค. มีจำนวนมากที่มาไม่ทัน ตกค้างอยู่ที่แม่สาย ต้องประสานพววจ. เชียงราย ขอข้ามแดน



1 ใกล้เคียงกว่าคือเป็นกิ่ง

2 ประการค่า AQI ส่วนเกณฑ์ PM 2.5 ไม่มาจาก 50 มก. เป็น 37...

3 กรมสวัสดิการและคุ้มครองแรงงาน เร่งสอบสวนเหตุ...

4 รายได้บางกอกหนึ่งจะเต็มใจใช้ความสุข?

เวลา 07.30 น. วันที่ 23 มี.ค.63 ที่บริเวณหน้าด่านพรมแดนสะพานที่ 1 อ.แม่สาย-ท่าขี้เหล็ก อ.แม่สาย จ.เชียงราย ได้มีแรงงานชาวเมียนมามากกว่า 100 คน นั่งรอโดยสารจากกรุงเทพฯ ไปขึ้นรถกันที่บริเวณหน้าช่องทางออกหน้าด่าน ตม.แม่สาย แม้ว่านายประจักษ์ ชาญสุกุล พววจ.เชียงราย ได้ออกประกาศสั่งปิดด่านพรมแดนสะพานที่ 1 แม่สาย-ท่าขี้เหล็ก ทั้งทางรถและทางเดินเท้าตั้งแต่วันที่ 23 มี.ค. เป็นต้นไป เพื่อป้องกันการแพร่ระบาดของโรคโควิด-19

เวลาต่อมา มีเจ้าหน้าที่ ตม.ท่าขี้เหล็ก ฝั่งเมียนมา เข้ามาประสาน ตม.แม่สาย ขออนุญาตนายประจักษ์ ชาญสุกุล พววจ.เชียงราย เปิดช่องทางเดินเท้าระบายแรงงานเมียนมามากกลับ จ.ท่าขี้เหล็กโดยเจ้าหน้าที่ ตม.แม่สาย ได้ตรวจสอบเอกสาร ส่วนสาธารณสุขแม่สายตรวจวัดไข้คัดกรองแรงงานเมียนมาทุกคน มี ตม.เมียนมา และสามเมียนมา มาช่วยอำนวยความสะดวก ให้การเดินทางข้ามด่านสะดวกรวดเร็วขึ้น

นายสายเสน อายุ 28 ปี บ้านตองจ.จ.ท่าขี้เหล็ก เผยว่า แรงงานที่กลับมามีหลายอาชีพ ทั้งร้านอาหาร ในห้าง ซ่างก่อสร้าง เมื่อนายจ้างเลิกจ้างตนมีเงินเหลืออยู่หมิ่นกว่าบาท ไม่มีงานทำถ้าให้อยู่กรุงเทพฯ ต้องกินต้องใช้ ค่าเช่าบ้าน ค่าน้ำค่าไฟ จะอยู่ไม่ได้ ทุกคนจึงชวนกันกลับบ้านฝั่งเมียนมาดีกว่าอดตายในกรุงเทพฯ

Figure 4 News clipping from Thairath (online, 23 March 2020)

The interviewed Myanmar migrant said many migrants could not afford to live in Bangkok and “would rather go back to Myanmar than starve to death in Bangkok”.

In short, using migrants as individual sources in reports about migrants during COVID-19 offers the benefits of providing authentic firsthand insights, empowering migrants to share their perspectives, promoting inclusivity in media coverage, enhancing accuracy by incorporating unique insights, and fostering empathy and understanding among audiences.

Interpretation of Table 8 Sources of news articles

Results	Interpretation
Government Most common, 58 printed, 33 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proximity to journalists - Routinely hold press conferences - Official and trustworthy
Police Second-most common, 24 printed, 29 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proximity to journalists - Routinely hold press conferences - Official and trustworthy
Organizations, institutions, or enterprises 15 printed, 2 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can offer diverse perspectives (economic, health, academic, etc.) - Information gained from academic sources might be more difficult to digest
Humanitarian organizations 6 printed, 1 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can offer diverse perspectives (humanitarian, right based) - Might not be close to mainstream media - Conflicting agenda with the government's
Individuals 15 printed, 15 online* *among them, 1 printed, 6 online with a CLM migrant source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migrant sources can be difficult to access - Migrants might have difficulties expressing their thoughts - Existing conflicts among migrant

	groups - Existing bias against migrants
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Table 9 Interpretation of sources of news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study

From this result, it is apparent that official sources—the government and the police—are Thairath preferred sources. According to media experts and journalists, these official sources have a close relationship with journalists and actively distribute information to them, allowing the journalists to access information without having to put in a lot of work. For instance, the Center for COVID-19 Situation Administration (CCSA) routinely held press conferences which allowed journalists to access official information and learn of latest updates without having to proactively reach out to different sources. On one hand, information from governmental and police sources tends to be more credible due to the official status of the source and institutional backing. But on the other hand, these sources also have their own agenda. By choosing mostly governmental and police sources, Thairath may not be able to present a comprehensive picture of the situations surrounding CLM migrants.

Meanwhile, sources from organizations, institutions, and enterprises sometimes were cited. These sources can offer more diverse perspectives to the news, though they can be more difficult to reach by the journalist and might add to many complexities to the story than the journalist intend. Academic sources, for example, can provide useful insights to the topics, but might not be appropriate for general news but more for scoops. Similarly, sources from humanitarian NGOs were used less frequently. This might be due to the distrust between mainstream media and NGOs or due to the NGOs' agenda that might contradicts the government's view.

While representatives from the government and the police were often cited and sources from the private sector were used occasionally, the inclusion of migrant voices is relatively limited. This absence suggests a lack of diversity of perspectives in the news and indicates a power imbalance in the flow of information. According to the migration expert and the journalist interviewed, there are many challenges involved in accessing migrant sources. From the migrants' side, they might not be

willing to talk to journalists or might not be able to express their thoughts due to fear of retribution, internal conflicts among migrants, the language barrier, or the lack of human rights awareness. From the journalists' side, there might be some existing bias against CLM migrants which makes them hesitant to use them as a news source.

However, allowing migrants to share their experiences and concerns firsthand can add authenticity and provide a more nuanced understanding of the challenges they face during the pandemic and contribute to more inclusive journalism. Migrant voices can be readily found outside of mainstream media if one knows where to locate them. By making such content more accessible, journalists have the opportunity to discover migrant voices that are well-equipped to serve as news sources.

“I found a lot of migrant voices on TikTok. Once there is a platform for the migrants to tell their own story, to create their own story, there are a lot of varieties.” (Journalist, June 29, 2023)

Migrants can provide unique insights into the specific challenges they face, cultural nuances, and community dynamics that may be overlooked by external sources. By incorporating their perspectives, journalists can present a more comprehensive and authentic account of the impact of COVID-19 on migrant populations.

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4.4 Media portrayal of CLM migrants in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

	Printed					
	Passive stakeholder	Passive beneficiary	Victim	Advocator	Problem-solver	Wrongdoer
P ₁	19	5	6	0	0	5
P ₂	67	4	10	1	1	18
P ₃	19	3	4	0	1	4
Total	105	12	20	1	2	27

	Online					
	Passive stakeholder	Passive beneficiary	Victim	Advocator	Problem-solver	Wrongdoer
P ₁	11	3	5	1	0	5
P ₂	26	2	6	1	0	7
P ₃	3	2	3	0	0	6
Total	40	7	14	2	0	18

Table 10 Media portrayal of CLM migrants in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic

Table 10 provides insights into how CLM migrants were portrayed in news articles during the COVID-19 pandemic, revealing a notable disparity in the representation of their roles. CLM migrants were predominantly portrayed as passive stakeholders (145 articles) whose interested are affected by the issue at hand, but who are not actively engaged in it. For instance, in the context of COVID-19 screening in migrant clusters or travel bans, migrants are portrayed as passive participants whose lives are impacted by these measures.

The second-most common media portrayal of the migrants was wrongdoer (45 articles) or someone who commits a crime or an unfavorable action. These instances include their involvement in migrant smuggling schemes or violations of travel bans, among other unlawful activities. Unfortunately, this portrayal can perpetuate negative stereotypes and emphasized the criminalization of migrants.

Additionally, migrant workers were often portrayed as victims (34 articles) when they suffer from the wrongdoing of others, and as beneficiaries (18 articles) who wait to receive assistance, highlighting their dependence on external support.

However, it is worth noting that there were a few instances where migrants were depicted as in a positive and active light. Three articles showcased migrants as advocates, actively speaking out about their problems or expressing their objections to certain issues. These instances provide a platform for migrants to raise their voices and advocate for their rights. Additionally, there were two articles that portrayed the migrants as problem-solver, where migrants were shown to take proactive steps to

improve their overall situation and advocate for their rights, demonstrating their agency and resilience in the face of challenges.

Interpretation of Table 10 Media portrayal of CLM migrants in news articles

Results	Interpretation
Passive stakeholder Most common, 105 printed, 40 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neutral portrayal - Objective but distant
Passive beneficiary 12 printed, 7 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neutral portrayal - Migrants can be viewed as inferior and helpless
Victim 20 printed, 14 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Negative portrayal - Can give emotional impacts - Audience feeling sorry or pity can lead to increased support - Migrants viewed as inferior
Advocator 1 printed, 2 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive portrayal - More empowering for migrants
Problem-solver 2 printed, 0 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive portrayal - More empowering for migrants
Wrongdoer 27 printed, 18 online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Negative portrayal - Add to negative perception of migrants

Table 11 Interpretation of media portrayal of migrants in news articles on the topic of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic found in the study

The findings highlight that CLM migrants were often portrayed as passive stakeholders during the COVID-19 pandemic, which can contribute to a perception of their passivity and voicelessness. This media portrayal, while not explicitly negative, may further reinforce the sense of otherness and marginalization experienced by CLM migrants.

Meanwhile, the portrayal of CLM migrants as passive beneficiaries and as victims may reflect the common perception that society has of the migrants that they depend on external assistance and need help. On the one hand, these depictions of migrants can raise awareness of the challenges and vulnerabilities that they face, evoking empathy and support from readers, and can prompt discussions about social justice and human rights issues, pushing decisionmakers and policymakers to step up to fix problems related to the livelihood of CLM migrants. On the other hand, they might also reinforce stereotypes of migrants as helpless and dependent, overlooking their agency, resilience, and contributions to society and making empowerment and social inclusion of migrants more difficult. Increased media portrayal of migrants as advocates and as problem-solver may be beneficial to raising public awareness of human rights issues surrounding the migrants and changing the public perception of the migrants from being inferior to being equal.

In this study, many articles portrayed the migrants as malicious actors or criminals when they violate laws and regulations, which might perpetuate negative stereotypes and stigmatization of CLM migrants. By emphasizing their involvement in illegal activities, such as migrant smuggling or violating travel bans, these media portrayals reinforce the criminalization of migrants and create a perception of them as a threat to societal order. Even though these occurrences may be newsworthy and are of public interest, it is crucial to not generalize these actions to the entire migrant group so as to not give a distorted perception of CLM migrants as a whole. While journalists can and should present facts to the public, it is important to give a comprehensive overview of the situation and explore the root causes when possible.

The findings reveal that Thairath's news frames and topics regarding CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic predominantly revolve around official regulations related to health and borders, presenting migrants as passive recipients of actions taken by authorities. Despite increased coverage on migrant-related topics, CLM migrants remain largely voiceless. Empathetic portrayals of migrants in the news often come from a top-down perspective that portrays migrants as helpless and inferior. To foster a deeper understanding of the complexities and challenges faced

by this vulnerable group and promote social inclusion, it is crucial to incorporate more migrant sources, employ humanitarian frames, and portray migrants as active and resilient citizens. These approaches can help shift the narrative, empower migrants, and encourage society to recognize and address the systemic issues faced by CLM migrants during the pandemic.

In short, it can be seen in this chapter that general news was the most common news type used by Thairath, providing more timeliness and objectiveness but less comprehensiveness. Topics most frequently found were regulations, followed by health and border, then crime, possibly reflecting public concerns regarding migrants as health threats and illegal, though topics related to economy were somewhat common, showing recognition of migrants' economic contribution. The majority of news sources used by Thairath were the government or the police, due to their trustworthiness and proximity to the journalists, giving a top-down angle to the news. Migrant sources were scarce, possibly due to the language barrier and difficulties in accessing migrant communities, among other factors. Lastly, media portrayals of migrants were mostly as passive stakeholders, emphasizing their voicelessness and otherness, and as wrongdoers, possibly perpetuating the negative stereotypes. Recommendations on how to improve the news coverage can be found in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the study and provides some recommendations for further research in journalistic reporting on CLM migrants in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic or other pandemic crisis in the future. The findings of the study have implications about various aspects of society, policy, and the representation of migrant workers. It is essential to address the imbalances in news frames, news gathering practices, and fair representation to promote responsible and inclusive reporting.

This study's findings highlight the need for improvements in news reporting on CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic. To address the imbalanced news frames and representation, and to promote a more inclusive and responsible approach, the following discussions are addressed in two major threads of thought: journalistic practices and human-right-based concern.

5.1 Journalistic practices can be reviewed in order to give inclusivity to CLM migrant workers.

The findings raise a few questions regarding the useful journalistic practices in three aspects:

5.1.1 Frames may vary, mostly focusing on regulatory topics related to health and border and less on migrants as an individual.

From a journalistic aspect, the results show that news frames varied, with a predominant focus on regulations and CLM migrants as a group, rather than as individual persons with unique experiences.

This finding aligns with previous research on agenda setting, news framing, and representation discussed in Chapter 2. It was suggested that the media has the ability to set an agenda or tell the public what issues are important and, through news frames, tell them how to think about the issues. However, from previous research, it is evident that the news coverage of migrant

workers does not portray migrant in a rounded way and contributes to the negative perception of migrants.

The finding highlights the continued prevalence of these patterns in the coverage of CLM migrants. The frames that Thairath chose to present related to CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic did not provide a comprehensive picture of migrant issues. A lot of the frames came from the authorities, giving a top-down angle to the news articles, which can perpetuate power imbalances and reinforce the passiveness and voicelessness of migrants.

Moreover, the results emphasize the need to move beyond surface-level coverage and delve into the complexities of migration issues. Most of the articles can be categorized as general news, presenting information from official sources without providing a different angle or voices. By publishing stories mostly as general news, while objective, journalists may be unable to present a comprehensive and complex picture of migration issues during the pandemic.

5.1.2 There was a lack of migrant sources in the news gathering process. Journalists should incorporate migrant voices to provide a more balanced perspective.

The findings in Chapter 4 show that migrant voices were missing in the reporting of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic, indicating a need for greater inclusivity. The analysis reveals a lack of diverse sources, especially from migrant communities and the prevalence of political sources, which corresponds with the research by Brown et al. (1987) cited in Chapter 2. Sources used by the journalists were mostly from the government or the police, likely due to their official position which gives the authority more trustworthiness and due to the close relationship between these sources and the journalists, while migrant sources can be more difficult to access and might not be able to provide consistent information for journalists, due to the language barrier and existing bias against migrants, among other factors.

The lack of migrant voices poses a challenge in providing a comprehensive and fair representation of the migrant experience during the COVID-19 pandemic. Without direct testimonies and experiences from migrants, it may be difficult to give depth and a comprehensive picture of the challenges, struggles, and resilience of migrant communities in a health crisis. By relying on official narratives from government sources or law enforcement agencies, journalists are at risk of giving a one-sided perspective that may not fully capture the ground realities and issues faced by migrants.

It is essential to address this gap by actively seeking migrant sources and including their perspectives in news reporting. This inclusion can provide a more diverse and accurate representation of the challenges, aspirations, and contributions of CLM migrants.

To provide an overview of the issues and contribute to a better public understanding, journalists should strive to include different perspectives in their stories. This can be achieved by incorporating migrant sources, humanitarian sources, and other stakeholders beyond government and police sources. By doing so, readers can gain a broader and more balanced perspective on the issues.

Also, training programs and resources should be provided to journalists to enhance their understanding of migrant issues and foster a more inclusive approach in their reporting. Journalist associations and migration NGOs can play a vital role in providing such training and facilitating engagement between journalists and migrant communities.

Lastly, building relationships between journalists and migrants is crucial. Collaborations with migrant organizations, community engagement initiatives, and media training for migrants can help establish trust and provide opportunities for migrants to share their stories directly, ensuring their voices are heard and represented in the media.

5.1.3 CLM migrants were predominantly portrayed as passive stakeholders and wrongdoers, perpetuating negative stigma against migrants and preventing social inclusion.

The portrayal and representation of CLM migrants were predominantly characterized by passive or criminal roles. This adds to the framing and representation studies discussed in Chapter 2, further emphasizing the dehumanization and stigmatization of migrants.

The portrayal of migrants as passive stakeholders might be due to the lack of inputs from the migrants' voice as mentioned above, including humanitarian organizations and the migrants themselves. While not inherently negative, by emphasizing the passiveness of migrants through their portrayal in the news, their agency and resilience is taken away and their otherness is increased.

Negative portrayals of migrants, especially as wrongdoers or criminals, according to previous studies, were also prevalent before the pandemic. This may be due to the public interest in negative stories which may reflect public safety concerns, as well as journalists' ease of access to news sources such as police reports and official statements. While this type of portrayal might be factual, avoiding the generalization of individual actions to the entire migrant group is crucial as it can impede empathy and understanding, perpetuating negative stereotypes and biases. It is essential to challenge these negative narratives and cultivate a more empathetic and nuanced portrayal of CLM migrants. Responsible reporting demands that journalists acknowledge migrants' agency, resilience, and contributions, countering the negative stereotypes that contribute to their marginalization.

5.2 Human rights and social inclusion aspect can be integrated in the newsgathering process.

This can be discussed in two aspects as follows:

5.2.1 CLM migrants are still underrepresented in the news report, which may result in a lack of understanding of migration issues from the public.

The results suggest that CLM migrants were often underrepresented in the media, with their issues receiving less attention unless they had a direct impact on Thai society. This implies that migrant issues may be treated as mere news fads, rather than being consistently addressed and integrated into media coverage.

According to the interviews with experts, CLM migrants who were underrepresented in the media came into the spotlight during the COVID-19 pandemic. While this increased visibility shed light on the complexities surrounding migrants, it also made them more vulnerable to alienation and stigmatization, especially due to negative portrayals in the news. Furthermore, biases rooted in historical narratives and perceptions of neighboring countries may influence media representation, further exacerbating marginalization.

The underrepresentation of CLM (Cambodian, Lao, and Myanmar) migrants in news reports raises concerns regarding the lack of visibility, missed opportunities for empowerment, reinforcement of stereotypes, imbalanced reporting, and the potential for hindered social cohesion. When CLM migrants are not adequately represented, their experiences and perspectives are marginalized, limiting their ability to advocate for their rights and contribute to shaping public discourse. This perpetuates stereotypes, hampers efforts to address systemic issues, and impedes social inclusion. Media outlets should actively seek out and amplify the voices of CLM migrants to address these concerns and foster a more inclusive representation.

5.2.2 News frames during the COVID-19 pandemic may perpetuate stigmatization against migrants more than promoting equality and social inclusion.

As the COVID-19 pandemic diversified frames that were present in news stories related to CLM migrants, this also gives some spaces to topics that have been ignored by the mainstream media before the pandemic, namely migrants' health, human-rights threats during the pandemic. Nevertheless, Thairath did not feature these frames as much. When migrant problems were highlighted, the coverage often seemed to focus more on trauma and perceived helplessness and inferiority of the group. This approach missed the chance to present a more nuanced and humanizing image of migrants. There is a room for improvement in Thairath's coverage of migrant issues, with a need to approach reporting with greater sensitivity and understanding.

Previous research discovered that CLM migrants were portrayed mostly negatively in the news, as illegal or threatening, which could add to the sense of otherness, emphasizing the division between Thai people and CLM migrants (Harkins & Ali, 2017). This research shows that this sentiment was echoed during the COVID-19 pandemic, where migrants' otherness was reinforced through negative frames such as the health threat frame and where their illegality was emphasized through the border frames, which mostly focused on illegal border crossing and migrant smuggling operations.

In light of this human-right-based aspect, journalists need to be made aware of the consequences of biased reporting and the potential for stigmatization in media coverage. By raising awareness about the impact of their work, journalists can take greater responsibility in their reporting and strive to mitigate harm.

While journalistic objectivity is important, the paramount goal when reporting on vulnerable groups like CLM migrants should be to "do no harm". The code of ethics of the National Press Council of Thailand emphasizes the protection of human rights for vulnerable groups and avoiding adding to their suffering. Therefore, responsible journalism should be implemented in future coverage of CLM migrant workers.

Journalists and editors should work together to select balanced news frames with nuances, being mindful of potential stigmatization effects and refraining from using charged or discriminatory language in their reporting. Reporting on CLM migrants should highlight their agency, resilience, and contributions to society, countering negative stereotypes and narratives that perpetuate their marginalization. This approach will promote ethical and responsible coverage of CLM migrant issues, fostering a more accurate and empathetic understanding among the audience and challenging societal biases.

By implementing these recommendations, news reporting on CLM migrants can become more inclusive, balanced, and respectful of human rights. It will promote a better understanding among the public and contribute to the empowerment and improved representation of CLM migrant workers in the media.

In short, this study's findings emphasize the need for improved news reporting on CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic, addressing imbalanced news frames and promoting inclusivity and responsibility. Journalistic practices reveal a predominant focus on regulatory topics related to health and border, with limited inclusion of migrants' individual experiences, and a lack of migrant sources in the news gathering process. The portrayal of CLM migrants as passive stakeholders or wrongdoers perpetuates negative stigma and reinforces marginalization. On the human rights aspect, the underrepresentation of migrants in news reports raises concerns regarding missed opportunities for empowerment, hindering social cohesion. News frames still perpetuated negative stereotypes more than promoting equality. Responsible reporting and human rights-centered considerations are crucial to foster a more accurate and empathetic representation of CLM migrant workers in the media, addressing the challenges they face during the pandemic.

These discussions successfully address the objectives of the study, identifying topical themes that appeared in the coverage of CLM migrants during the pandemic, analyzing the news frames, and explored factors that may have affected the news

framing process of Thairath. Ultimately, this research intends to to deepen understanding of news framing and media representation of CLM migrants during the pandemic in the context of Thailand, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the role media plays in shaping public perceptions and policies related to migrant workers in times of crisis.

In conclusion, responsible and inclusive reporting on CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic is crucial for promoting social inclusion, challenging stereotypes, and advocating for the rights and well-being of migrants. By implementing the recommendations provided, news media can contribute to a more accurate, empathetic, and nuanced understanding of migrant experiences. Efforts to improve journalistic practices, foster inclusivity, and adhere to human-rights-based ethical guidelines will lead to more balanced and respectful coverage of CLM migrant issues. Such efforts are essential for promoting social inclusion, challenging stereotypes, and advocating for the rights and well-being of CLM migrants during times of crisis.

5.3 Limitations and restrictions of the study

While this study gave insights to news frames related to CLM migrants present in Thairath newspaper during the COVID-19 pandemic, there were some limitations.

1. While the study analyzed news articles from the entire length of the pandemic, the selection is limited to certain three periods of time with high volume of news reporting about CLM migrants in Thairath newspaper. It did not cover the entire coverage on the issues in order to set a compact scope of study; therefore, it might not entirely reflect the continuity of news frames on this issue.
2. The lack of interviews with Thairath journalists, due to their personal and professional restrictions, hampers the opportunity to gain insights and perspectives from their practices. Therefore, it is unfortunate that this research could not provide a definitive information on the Thairath's internal frame-building process. However, the interviews with academic experts and one journalist who has worked on migration news can give some relevant

thoughts and insights to help illustrate the practice of journalism on this issue, though not specific to Thairath.

3. The coding sheets covered only news types, news topics, news sources, and portrayals of CLM migrants, but did not cover other variables such as sentiments of the report or images published. Therefore, future research may study other variables to give a better understanding on the issue with more comprehensive analysis.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

1. Future research can change or expand the sample to include other news agencies, both in Thai and in English, in order to see differences in journalistic practice. Researcher may conduct more extensive and in-depth investigations with journalists to gain practical insights into news framing process and comprehensive understanding of news reporting on CLM migrants during crises.
2. Future research can benefit from incorporating textual analysis and the study of images in news coverage of CLM migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic. By examining the language choices, metaphors, and narratives, researchers can uncover implicit biases and dominant ideologies that shape the representation of CLM migrants. By exploring the visual representation of CLM migrants as seen in photography or illustrations, researchers can explore whether certain visual stereotypes are perpetuated or challenged in the portrayal of migrants.
3. Future studies may look at the impact of news frames on the audience, another part in news framing research according to Scheufele (1999), specifically in terms of public perception and attitudes towards CLM migrants. Understanding how media coverage influences public opinion and policy-making processes can inform efforts to improve the representation of migrants and address the challenges they face.
4. Future studies can also explore the experiences and perspectives of CLM migrants themselves in news coverage, allowing for a more comprehensive

understanding of their needs and concerns, through focus groups and individual interviews with migrants to explore their experiences with news coverage.



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Annex 1. Coding sheet

Clipping no.	Date _____ Month _____ Year _____	Page.
Type	<input type="checkbox"/> General news <input type="checkbox"/> Scoop <input type="checkbox"/> Opinion	
Topic/Theme	<input type="checkbox"/> Health <input type="checkbox"/> Border <input type="checkbox"/> Crime <input type="checkbox"/> Economy <input type="checkbox"/> Regulations	Details:
News source	<input type="checkbox"/> Government <input type="checkbox"/> Police <input type="checkbox"/> Organization/Institution/Enterprise <input type="checkbox"/> Humanitarian organization <input type="checkbox"/> General public <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____	
Portrayal of migrants	<input type="checkbox"/> Passive stakeholder <input type="checkbox"/> Passive beneficiary <input type="checkbox"/> Victim <input type="checkbox"/> Advocator <input type="checkbox"/> Problem-solver <input type="checkbox"/> Wrongdoer	
Remarks:		

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