

Governing Political Communication? Exploring Japan's Response To COVID-19 Through Policy, Communication, And Political Capital Toru Oga
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### INTRODUCTION

- ■Our research focuses on political logic that has been exploited to promote technological innovation to contain Covid-19.
- ■Both Japan and Korea are using technology to create a political environment that will contain COVID-19.
- ■Deregulation and quick decision making are necessary for technology utilization,
- ■Utilization of technology is expected for hygiene management.

### INTRODUCTION

- ■Korea has been successful, whereas Japan has not.
- In Korea, the failure to respond to MERS in 2015 led to the establishment of a top-down vertical cooperation system and the construction of a control tower to prevent infection.
- ■With the public support for the government, technological innovation has been exploited to contain Covid-19 as well as to ensure public health policies.
- ■The people recognize that the public interest is more important than the invasion of privacy and personal freedom.

## INTRODUCTION

- In Japan, no clear control tower is evident, and a horizontal cooperation system operates among the different government agencies.
- For example, the government wanted to push ahead with the Olympics; therefore, the initial quarantine measures failed.
- ■Furthermore, the government delayed the disclosure of information, and mistrust of information causes mistrust of the government.
- Consequently, countermeasures against infectious diseases using technology are delayed.
- ■This paper compares the difference between the measures taken against infectious diseases and their effects in Japan and Korea

RQ: What political logic is required to contain Covid-19.

- ■Technological innovation
- ☐ Safety vs Privacy

#### **H1: Securitization**

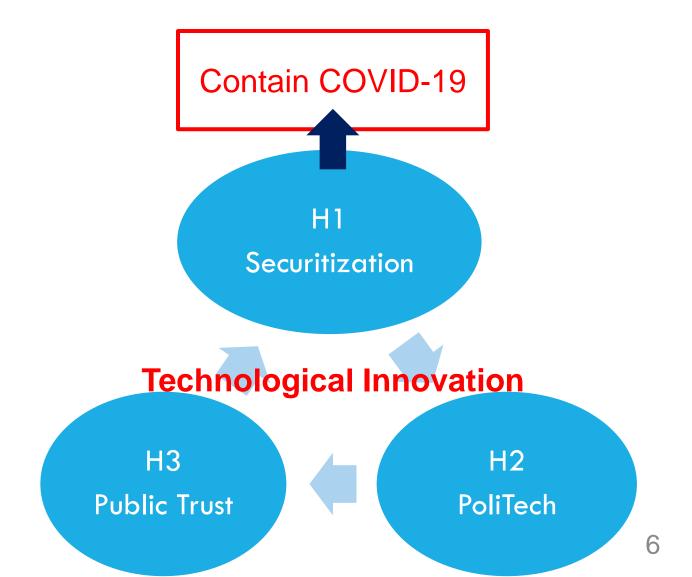
Securitization promotes PoliTech

#### **H2: PoliTech**

PoliTech promotes Public trust

#### **H3: Public Trust**

Public Trust promotes securitization



#### **Securitization**

- How threat perceptions have been produced
- How society has perceived them as a security issue
- what mechanisms have been realized to allow quick and effective political decisions (for employing technological innovation).

#### **PoliTech**

- The term coined by Japanese politician KOIZUMI Shinjiro
- Technology for Politics
- Politics for Technology

#### **Public Trust**

- Public trust in the government, or what we call "political capital," is extremely significant in the practice of securitization.
- This is because only trumpeting a threat is insufficient.
- The public needs to understand that a threat exists and accept the painful measures necessary to contain it.
- Therefore, trust in the government is essential.

### PREVIOUS STUDIES

- Focuses on differences in governance (democracy versus authoritarianism) (Alon, Farell & Li 2020).
- ■Significance in accountability in democracies; more rapid countermeasures from authoritarian regimes (ibid).
- ■relative success in blocking the spread of the coronavirus in introducing authoritarian elements (Stasavage 2020)
- ■the increase of its political capacity that occurred when the government gained approval from citizens (Stasavage 2020)

### PREVIOUS STUDIES

- ■State's political capacity as a possible variable in diversifying states' responses to the coronavirus (Kavanagh 2020)
- ■Coercion can be accepted well at an early stage, it would not work on the medium term (ibid).
- Singapore was able to block the spread of infection because coercive political capacity and legitimation capacity were compatible (Woo 2020).

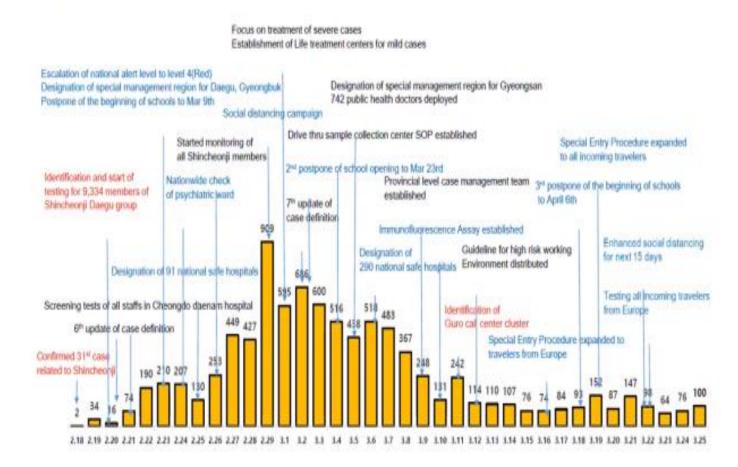
### PREVIOUS STUDIES

#### **Originality**

- ■Coercive elements and political capacity are significantly important, question is where these political capacities come from.
- Focus on triangular relations among poli-tech (political capacity), securitization, and public trust.
- ■By securitization, coercive measures are possible to implement, but it requires public trust.

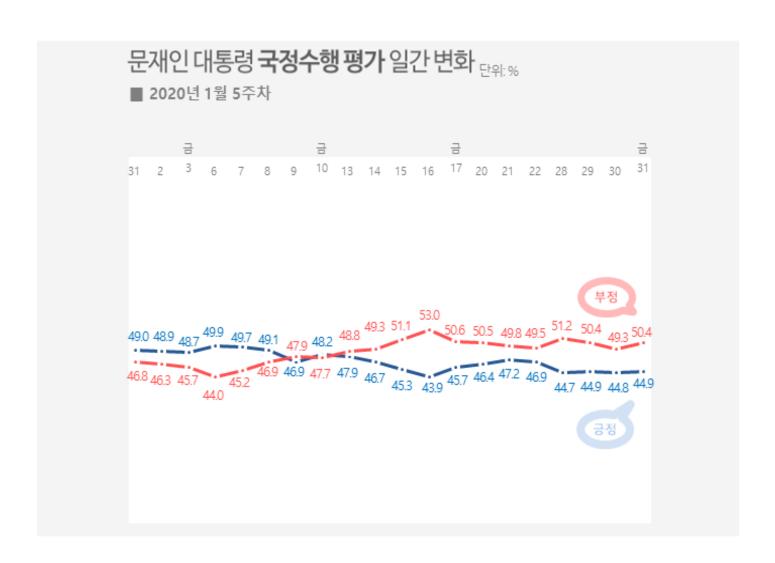
- a state-centered approach is highly required to preve nt the spread of the virus, so a state's political capacity
- ■Korea's success is attributed to a top-down system of the government and the horizontal collaborative relation between the government and the ministry of health, by which the political capacity was increased.
- ■Korea was able to respond efficiently to the pandemic since cutting edge technologies were actively adopted under the integrated strong leadership of the government from the initial stage.

#### Figure 1 New case of COVID-19 and speedy response of Korean authority



ICT builds a relationship of cooperation between the government and individuals played a vital role.

- (1) emergency broadcasting service
- (2) self-diagnosis APP
- (3) self-quarantine safety APP
- (4) a) data based epidemiological investigation:
  - b) epidemiological investigation support system

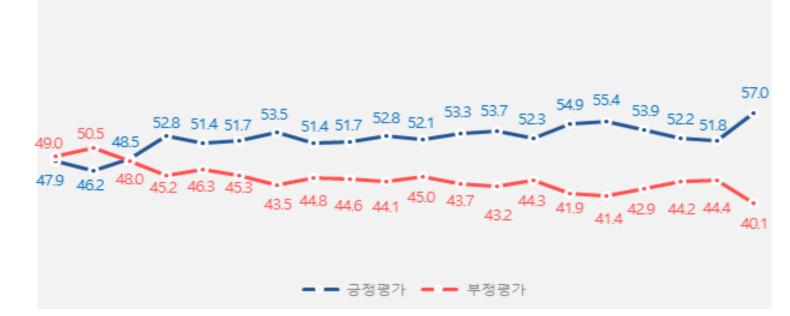


#### 문재인 대통령 국정수행 평가 일간 변화

단위: %

■ 2020년 4월 2주차

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#### In summary,

- ■the government is employing various politics to prevent the coronavirus from spreading and its success has been highly evaluated in the world.
- The government gained nations' trust by which the ruling party secured 3/5 of the total seats in the national assembly.
- ■Koreans are still considering the coronavirus a serious threat by which the government could take countermeasures more aggressively.
- ■What can be inferred from that is the fact that securitization has been facilitated in South Korea.

#### Why PoliTech has not progressed well in Japan

The Japanese government's measures to prevent the spread of the disease did not actively utilize personal data such as GPS, but rather called for the voluntary cooperation of the public through "requests" and "support" that did not have the power of coercion.

- ■COVID-19 Contact Confirming Application (COCOA) provided by Japan's Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, which detects and records contact between users via Bluetooth in their smartphones.
- ■The first version of COCOA was released on June 19, 2020. COCOA was concerned with protecting privacy in
- 1) utilizing Bluetooth instead of using location data,
- 2) not identifying individuals,
- 3) keeping the data on an individual's device instead of accumulating it on a central server.

### Japanese App.

Typologies	Location Information	Bluetooth		
		Identified	Anonymous(pr	oposed by EU)
		Processed by Central Server		Processed by Each Smartphone
Characteristics	Authorities identify app users who have been in contact with infected people using location data. Bluetooth is also used together in some coutries, such as India.	Personal information, such as phone number, allows the authority to identify and contact the high-risk person.	data is managed on a server held by the	Each user's contactor data is managed at each user's devices.
Countries	India, Israel etc.	Singapore, Australia	British(considering), France	Germany(considering), Swizzerland, Estonia etc.
the relationships with the API of Google/Apple	No Use	Unknown	Considering	Use

- (1) Tools for restricting access to facilities and areas depending on the level of contact and quarantine of infected persons (obtaining personal information in a form that allows identification of infected persons and other personal trends)
  - China (No entry)
  - Korea, Taiwan (infected person isolation)
- (2) Complementary tools for public health authorities to identify high-risk contacts (privacy-conscious but necessary personal information is obtained)
  - India, Iceland, Ghana, etc. (location information)
  - Singapore, Australia, UK, France (Bluetooth)
- (3) Tools for individuals to prevent the spread of infection by changing the behavior of notified contacts (in consideration of privacy, the authorities do not identify the concentrated contact person)
  - Germany, Switzerland, Estonia (fully anonymous)
  - Israel (only location information)

- ■The dichotomy between safety and privacy was first apparent in Japanese society during this period.
- Instead of picking up the authoritarian PoliTech in some countries, including China and Israel, it should be questioned, "Surveillance society or privacy?"

#### Asahi NP, Opinion Poll (March to mid-April 2020)

"Do you feel uneasy about the invasion of privacy in the society using big data, or not?"

73% "uneasy"

23% "not uneasy"

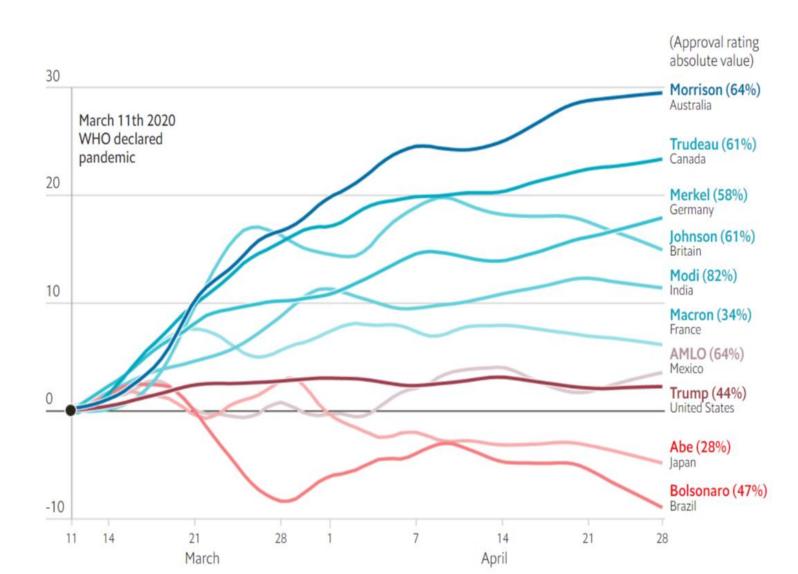
"Do you expect further use of big data, or not?", 39% "Expect"

52% "Don't expect".

Japanese public opinion is sensitive to privacy and has a creepy feeling about the use of big data.

- Before the spread of the novel coronavirus, PM Abe saw "the loss of confidence of the Japanese people" in the prolonged economic slump as "the greatest crisis facing Japan" and called for "restoring our pride and confidence".
- ■Even after the recognition of COVID-19, PM Abe emphasized the importance of hosting the Olympics in Japan.

- In addition, the situation in which the accountability of the Japanese government has always been questioned has created a sense that the government-led corona contact confirming application is "somehow untrustworthy".
- ■In light of the above, it can be said that PolitTech would not be successfully promoted without trust in the government, even if the coronavirus is sorely perceived as a threat.



### CONCLUSION

#### Why Korea succeeded while Japan failed?

- ■Korea is succeeded in securitization, poliTech (Political capacity in mobilize technological innovation) and public trust.
- ■Problem in Japan is securitization. There was a strong belief that surveillance has been a threat rather than safety: PoliTech hasn't worked well.
- ■Since the low levels of Public trust, threat of government surveillance is greater than the threat of infectious diseases.

## CONCLUSION

### Why Korea succeeded while Japan failed?

	Securitization	PoliTech	Public Trust
Korea	0	0	0
Japan	$\triangle$	$\triangle$	×



# THANKS FOR LISTENING!!