International Conference on Covid-19 in East Asia and Aftermath: **Re-globalization, Democracy, and Civil Society** February 18th, 2022, SNU Asia Center, Seoul Korea

Reclaiming Democratic Citizenship in Coping with the COVID-19 in South Korea

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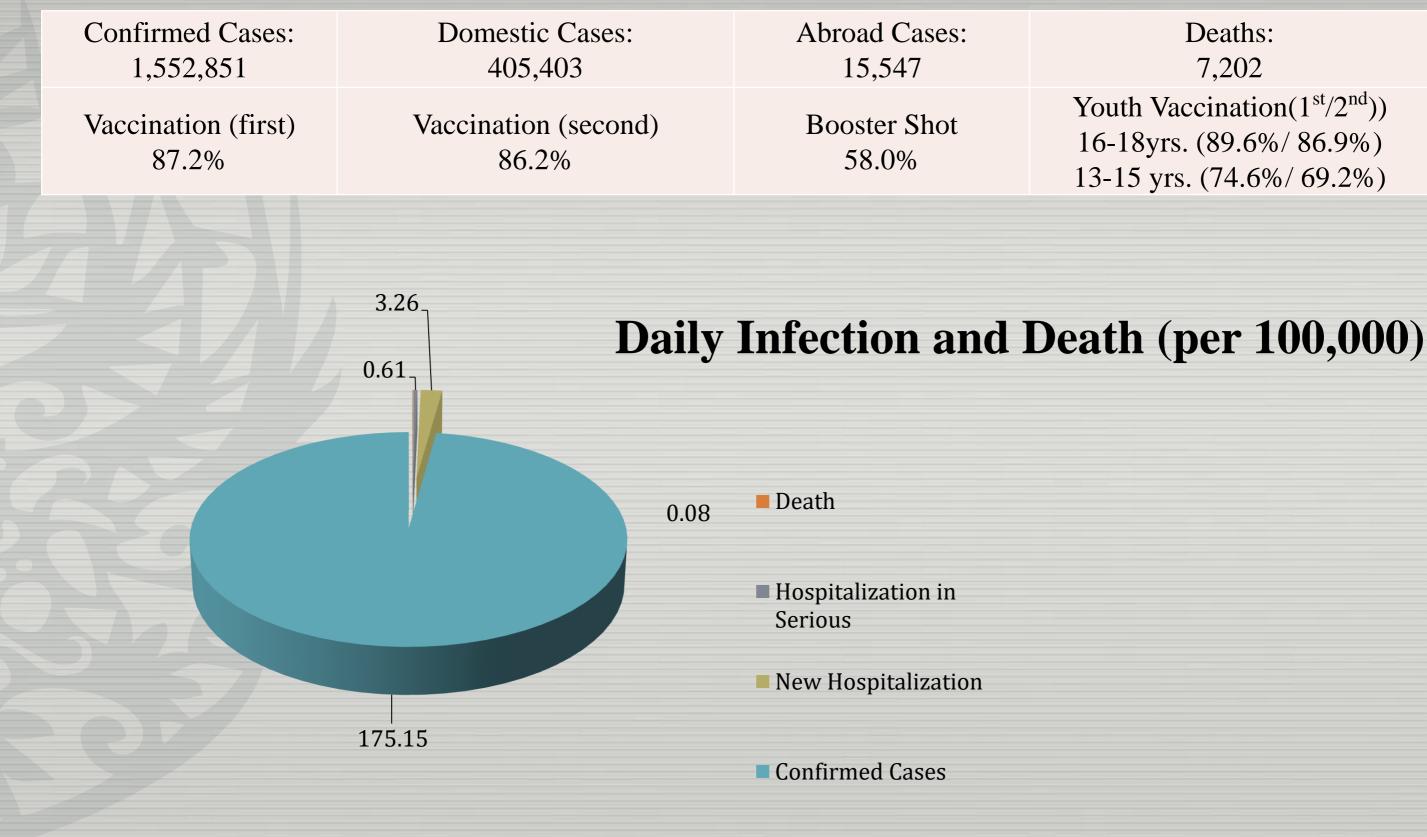
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1. Glimpse of Korean Reaction to the Covid-19 and its Aftermath

Top-down Reaction and Return of State

- Fear and Hatred to migrant workers, foreign students & International travelers
- Public release information on routes of confirmed cases and negative impact on all the related shops and restaurants
- Safety Band Requirement for Self-quarantine vs. Human rights violation (freedom and privacy issues)
- K-Model (Prevention Strategy, 3-Ts)
 - Quick Test, Tracking, and Treatment
 - Medical staff, volunteers sacrifice and commitment
 - Collaboration among experts, company, and KCDC.
 - Civic Collaboration and observance of social distancing and wearing mask
- **Risk & Vulnerable Society Revisited**
 - Social Divide and Social Stigma for minorities
 - Struggling with Trust building vs. political polarization
 - Self-confirmation with Fake News based on SNS
- Vaccination in South Korea
 - Political vaccination and lacking deliberation and transparency
 - Prevention First and anti-human rights performance
- Living with Covid-19

Covid-19 and Vaccination in S. Korea



Source: http://ncov.mohw.go.kr/ (accessed on Feb. 16th, 2022)



Deaths: 7,202 Youth Vaccination $(1^{st}/2^{nd})$ 16-18yrs. (89.6%/86.9%) 13-15 yrs. (74.6%/ 69.2%)

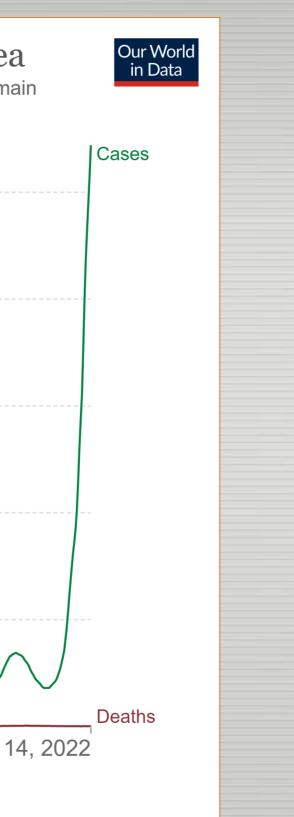
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Covid-19 in South Korea

Daily new confirmed COVID-19 cases and deaths, South Korea Shown are 7 day rolling averages. The confirmed counts shown here are lower than the total counts. The main reason for this is limited testing and challenges in the attribution of the cause of death.

50,000			
40,000			
30,000			
20,000			
10,000			(
0 – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –	Aug 8, 2020	Feb 24, 2021	Feb 1

Source: Johns Hopkins University CSSE COVID-19 Data – Last updated 16 February, 01:05 (London time) OurWorldInData.org/coronavirus • CC BY



Waves of Covid-19 Worldwide in a Comparative Context

Biweekly confirmed COVID-19 cases per million people

Biweekly confirmed cases refers to the cumulative number of cases over the previous two weeks.

70,	70,000	
60,	60,000	
50,	50,000	
40,	40,000	
30,	30,000	
20,	20,000	
10,	10,000 Man Market Marke	
	0 Mar 1, 2020 Aug 8, 2020 Feb 24, 2021	Feb 14, 202

Source: Johns Hopkins University CSSE COVID-19 Data – Last updated 16 February, 01:05 (London time) OurWorldInData.org/coronavirus • CC BY









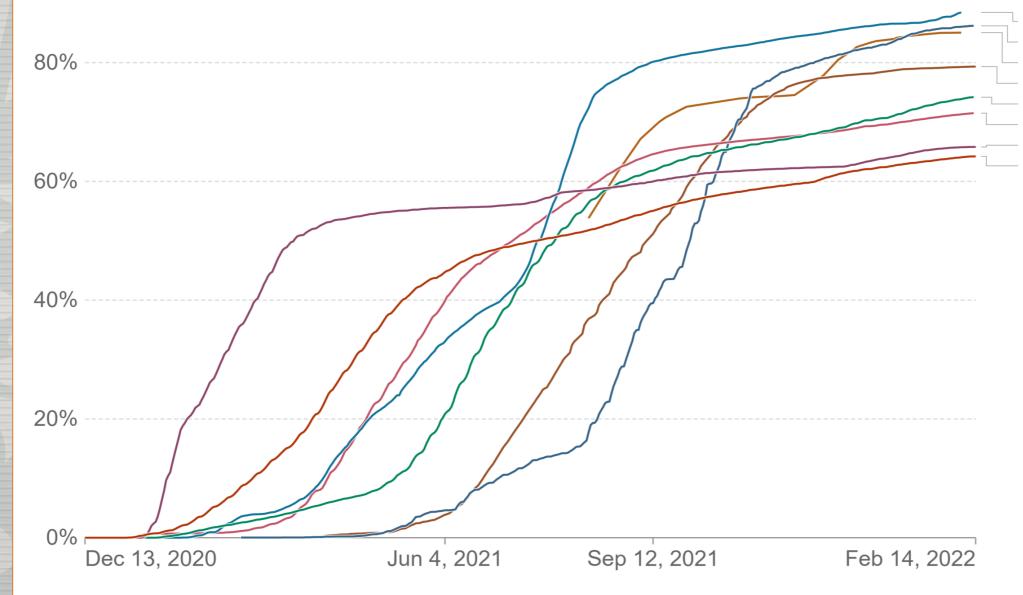
United Kingdom Australia South Korea Japan **United States**

6



Vaccination Process in South Korea (Comparison with Key States)

Share of people who completed the initial COVID-19 vaccination protocol Total number of people who received all doses prescribed by the initial vaccination protocol, divided by the total population of the country.



Source: Official data collated by Our World in Data – Last updated 15 February 2022, 08:30 (London time) Note: Alternative definitions of a full vaccination, e.g. having been infected with SARS-CoV-2 and having 1 dose of a 2-dose protocol, are ignored to maximize comparability between countries. OurWorldInData.org/coronavirus • CC BY

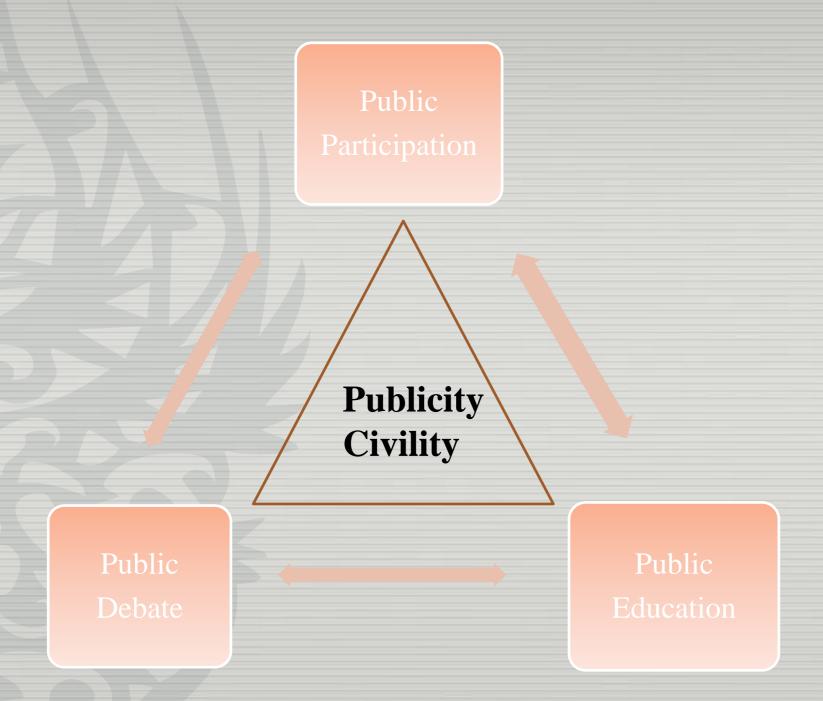




Singapore South Korea China Japan Germany **United Kingdom** Israel **United States**

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2. Framework: **Citizen's Engagement in the Pandemic Era**



- solidarity

Source: Scholte, 2003

• Too early to evaluate K-Quarantine Model; Exploring the effective mechanism and its obstacles in terms of Civic Engagement

• Jan A. Scholte 2003. Trilateral approach-Public education, debate, and participationto promoting publicity. It can facilitates mutual recognition, communication, and trust and

Throughout responding to Covid-19, Korean civil society has to tackle three processes including cognitive process(learning), *deliberation process(debating), and engaging* process(discipline and collaboration).

Public Education on Pandemic and Public Health

- Citizen engagement in public health governance
- Distinction, discrimination, divisiveness, hatred, stigmatization in early infection response
- Democratic civility vs. group divide, segregation, selfishness
- Fake news and self-confirmation through social media vs. digital literacy
- Basic income, Disaster Support fund, Good landlord rent, protecting unfair dismissal, digital panopticon, and gig laborer

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Public Debate on K-Prevention Model

- K-Prevention model aims at straddling life, safety, public health between individual freedom and privacy
- Bracketing key social values such as safety, life, welfare of social minority into the master frame of K-model
- Piggyback on the return of state: Local interest groups heavily dominated by construction company
- Speedy response approach: 3 Ts (Test-Track-Treatment) might be distorted into digital surveillance system (ex) digital Panopticon
- Building public sphere to advocate preventive measures of social minorities as well as to strengthen public health system



Public Participation

- Citizen's Observance of CDCK Guideline align to Infectious Disease Control and Prevention Act (ex) Enforcement Decree of the Infectious Disease Control and **Prevention Act**
- Social Distancing and Physical Distancing (WHO) from close contact at dense, close & closed place.
- Understanding and following the 'five-day rotation face mask distribution system' as well as mask supply and demand stabilization policy (ex) No panic hoarding or stockpiling in S. Korea
- Fundraising, donating and volunteering (medical doctor, nurse and related staff and volunteers)
- Psychological support: supporting message and touching story sharing through SNS
- Move on to social and economic prevention activities by embracing social minorities into local community
 - Joining Social solidarity and economy organizations such as coop, social enterprise, local community business, and the related shops.

3. K-Model Revisited

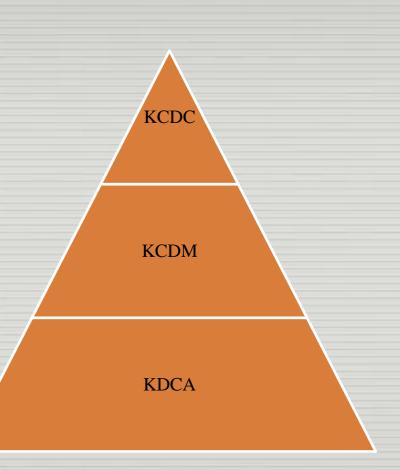
A. Group learning prior to Covid-19

In 2003, SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) In 2014, Leadership crisis for national disaster (ex) Sewol ferry incident In 2015, MERS (Middle East Respiratory Syndrome) In 2016, Lawsuit on Deaths caused by Humidifier disinfectant In 2017, Threat of Fine dust and face mask preparation and distribution Threatened by infectious disease, fine dust, nuclear plants beyond border. Significance of National Risk Management and Governance Capacity to prevent all the threats.

B. Government Leadership: Quick Response and Effective Management

K-Model, How Effective?

- Korea Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (KCDCP), upgraded into Korea Disease Control and Prevention Agency (KDCA)
- 2 Central Disaster Management Headquarters (KCDM)
- 3 Central Disease Control Headquarters (KCDC)
- Collaborative system with experts: Quick developing diagnostic test kit
- Massive test and open and transparent information sharing on pandemic
- Providing publicly-distributed face mask
- Creative innovation (ex) drive through testing, Mobile app for active monitoring, KI-PASS (Digital customer register/ QR code based entry logs)



C. Civic Engagement: Mask Wearing and Social Distancing

"The best vaccine is correctly wearing mask and social distancing."

- February 18th, Mass infection at New Heaven and Earth Church February 23rd, Infection Crisis Level 3, 'Severe' level, with intensive social distancing advisory
- May 6th, the advisory changed down to level 1, social distancing everyday. Mass infection in Seoul Metropolitan area during the golden weekend in May 3-5.
- Nationwide resurgence and cluster infection with increasing asymptomatic cases and confirmed cases without knowing the infection route.
- Meanwhile, discrimination, hatred, and stigmatization for super spreader with misinformation.
- Not person but environment (causing super-spreading) "Anyone can be a superspreader." Cf. digital literacy

Increased Fatigue and Burn-out "We are getting Exhausted with Prolonged Covid-19"

- Increased confirmed cases without knowing infection route
- Medical staff and government official and field supporters are drained and burnt out.
- The goal of K-Prevention model is not to reduce the number of confirmed cases but to keep public health system sustainable until the vaccine is available.
- Not lockdown but economic activities with Covid-19
- The only government cannot manage all the crises caused by Pandemic for a long time.
- The democratic governance should be working with civic volunteering and engagement.



With Covid-19 Policy in South Korea (since Nov. 1st, 2021)

- **Step-wised Normalization Process of Daily Life**
- Suppressing the occurrence of severe and death
 - Gradual recovery of daily life centered on those vaccinated
 - Protection of not vaccinated and vulnerable people
 - Strengthening daily practice, such as indoor and outdoor mask wearing and QR code authentication
- **Digital Vaccine Pass**
 - Digital ID: Smartphone App. COOV, Covid Overcome
 - QR Code based on public Infra Blockchain
 - **DID**, Decentralized Identity







4. Covid-19 and Unjust Social Impacts

Hatred, Discrimination, and Stigmatization: Public Education

- Human rights groups and National Human Rights Commission Korea's criticism on • over-release on personal information and its route. (privacy issue)
- **Conservative Media Extremely biased reporting** •
 - Highlighting the origin of Covid-19 by naming Wuhan virus.
 - Blocking the entry of Chinese travelers and students as a potential spreader.
 - In 2019, Foreign students(160,165), Chinese students (71,067, 44.4%)
- Distinction, Segregation, Discrimination, Hatred, and stigmatization of Chinatown • residents
- Mass infection through New heaven and Earth Church at Daegu. Cluster and local • community infection. Stigmatizing the church members as criminals.
- Right-based Public education. Infectious diseases can never be solved with our own • protection net like lockdown. As a community member, what is for others is for oneself.

Unequal Impacts

Untact Labor: The Social Distance and Filling the gap with platform workers' efforts

During the COVID-19 pandemic, workers are losing their lives every day at work from overwork or accidents. In 2020, while more than 2,000 people lost their lives due to COVID-19, 2,062 workers died from industrial accidents.

Aging Society: No country for sick and poor old people.

□ It is difficult for the poor and sick elderly to practice physical and social distancing. It is vain to cry out for their unconditional practice of this principle through the eyes of the average person.

Migrants and Migrant workers: Indifferent Virus but Discriminated Support (ex) face-mask, urgent financial aid

• After paying high health insurance premiums, there is no co-payment, so even if migrant workers are sick, they cannot receive medical treatment. The right to health should be guaranteed by lowering their burden and increasing their accessibility to medical services.

Deepening the marginalization

Women, Gender Equality: 36.1 Years, Gender Equality time lost by COVID-19 - Among the confirmed cases, there are slightly more males, but there are more females who have died. Women are more likely to lose their jobs and suffer from domestic/care work.

Sexual minorities: People die with exclusion and hatred

It is ironic that promiscuity of sexual minorities is a target of repression, and promiscuity of heterosexuals is permitted for the reason of revitalizing the local economy.

Mental disorder: canaries in the coal mines, freedom is the cure. - If Korean society does not overcome the social stigma and hatred of "the weakest among us," the tragedy of the mentally disabled will continue even after the COVID-19 pandemic is over.



Public Debate on K-Model

K-Model, a Master Frame?

- On March 14, the KCDC decided not to disclose the detailed address and company name of the confirmed cases. However, the risk of personal information mining still remains.
- Local government's rush-to collecting information on confirmed cases. Recklessly releasing their routes with arguing transparency, openness, and sharing.
- As criticism increased, it gradually shifted to protecting personal and mutual information rather than information disclosure.
- **Public Debate:**
 - Local government's obsession of active monitoring self-quarantine people.
 - Digital monitoring system can not solve infectious disease control.
- Premature evaluation of K-Quarantine model as successful due to IT and bio-digital technology. - The most important factor should be voluntary participation among citizens. - Without civil society's deliberation process, the sustainability and applicability of K-quarantine model will inevitably become very slim.

Barriers to Public Health

Religion, Cluster infection

Church (confirmed cases): Shincheonji (5213), Sarang First Church (1173), InterCP (808), IM Mission (420), Youngsaenggyo (179), and numerous small churches across the country were infected.

Communication Crisis

- Despite the vaccine for COVID-19, people will not be vaccinated without trust. The most important thing in responding to the pandemic is trust, that is, social capital.
- The reason for failing to build the trust lies in the communication crisis.

Fake News

- An info-demic as scary as a pandemic
- It is appropriate to address the best evidence and open information rather than facts. Be wary of emphasizing assertiveness and certainty.

(ex) President's announcement of 'early end of COVID-19', Unclear guidelines for 'wearing a mask'

Politics of Covid-19

Civic Engagement into Publicity

- Be wary of taking the short-term effectiveness of the quarantine model and neglecting the tasks encountered in the mid- to long-term. To reduce socio-economic impacts in the long term, policy support for the elderly, children, and social minorities including the disabled, migrants and specially employed workers at gig and platform sector should be provided first.
- Reclaiming Publicity as well as Civility
 - Citizens must start with observing the basic principles for safety, and public health.
 - Citizenship should be guaranteed regardless of nationality, race, religion, region, gender, educational background, socio-economic background. We must admit that anyone can get infectious diseases.
 - The state cannot continue to impose on its citizens a strategy of endurance. At the same time, citizens must also move away from the passive attitude of wanting the government to solve all problems and seek alternatives.

5. Challenges to Korean Civil Society in Pandemic Era

Repurposing Mission of Korean Civil Society and NGOs

- Service provider Α.
- Coordinators: communication facilitator, collaboration mediators **B**.
- Advocates for the minorities C.
- NGOs are Missing during the early response to Covid-19
- NGOs need to revise its goals, that is, repurposing.
- NGOs need to jointly promote the cooperation among themselves for infectious disease prevention, quarantine, volunteer participation and resource mobilization.



Accountable Service Provider (Volunteer at Local Community)

Collaborative Coordinating Volunteers

Fundraising and Support to Covid-19 (April 30th, 2020)

Fund raising (Total)	107,981,329,580 KRW		
Allocation (distribution)			
Infectious Disease Control/ Public Hygiene	40,104,054,321 KRW		
Financial Support for Social Minorities	22,188,615,056 KRW		
Support for Welfare Service Gap	7,734,759,130 KRW		
Support for Medical staff, Volunteers, and Confirmed cases	10,709,047,451 KRW		

Source: Community Chest of Korea, https://eng.chest.or.kr/html/main/main.html

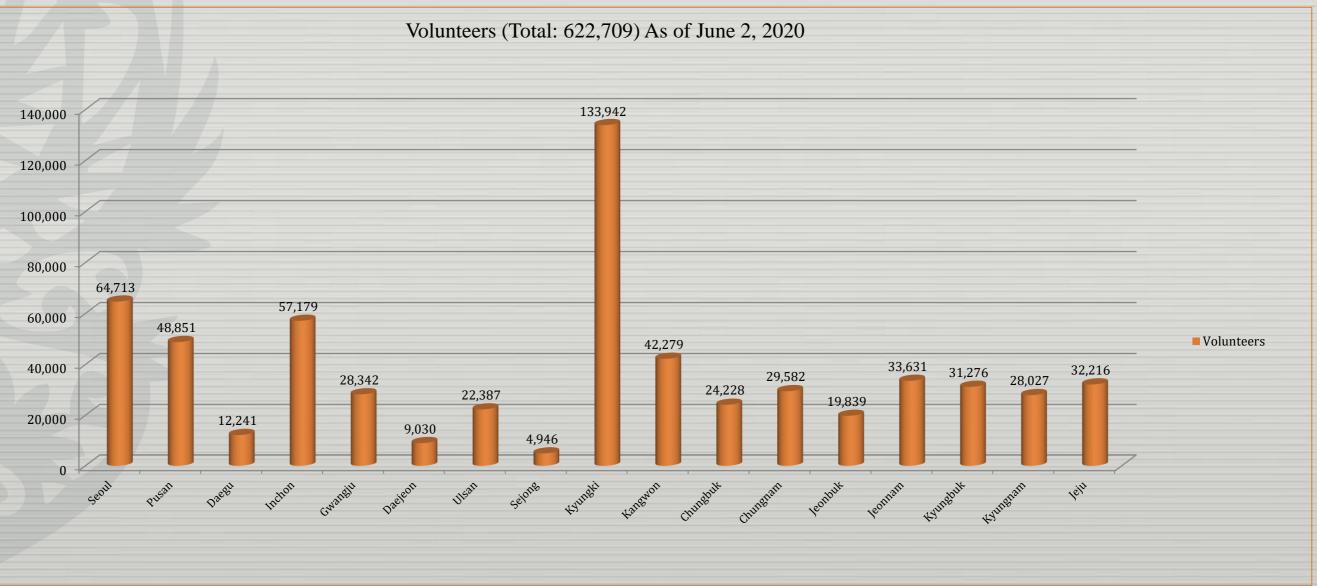




Volunteering as an early reaction to Covid-19

Various services: disinfection, PR campaign, counseling, support for isolated people, distribution of goods, pharmacy support, volunteer work at rural area etc.

Volunteer centers at local level provide various social services and develop ٠ solidarity activities, but the issue of sustainability still remain.



Source: Seoul Volunteer Center, http://volunteer.seoul.go.kr/



Advocacy for the right to be healthy (vs. discrimination, hatred & interest group politics)

Infected patients, stigma: the pain left where the virus disappeared

- Even if the virus infection stops, if those who have had the infection and their families are still struggling with discrimination, is the virus the only thing we have to fight against?
- China: Hating the Chinese is not prevention but domestic politics.
 - Among those arriving from China, the number of confirmed cases was so small that it accounted for less than 1% of the total number of inbound patients.

Nurses: half of licensees do not work as a nurse.

■ K-Quarantine was made possible by the sacrifice of the nurses. In Korea, more than 400,000 people have a nurse's license, but 49.3% of nurses are estimated to be working in the field. Creating conditions for nurses to live first is to promote the health of all.

6. Implications for the Next Pandemic: Reclaiming Democratic Citizenship

- The long-term success of K-Prevention model depends on public learning mechanisms for citizens.
- The government should provide open public sphere in which they can get accurate, and transparent information and then debate responsible policies.
- The government should be careful not to mobilize all possible regulations aimed at controlling infection. Citizens also need to engage in various spaces where they learn, discuss, and participate to enhance citizenship and publicity.

Until the Next Pandemic

Travel, environment and social capital

- South Korea ranks 3rd in the world for carbon emissions and plastic use.
- Rebuilding Trust by revisiting local community

Tackling Covid-19 Blue

- Are depression and helplessness contagious?
- Mental health is the most concerned in near future.
- The number of psychiatric treatment among young people in 2030 has been increasing since Covid-19.
- This is because the job openings are narrower and people are under a lot of stress due to the reduced interpersonal relationships.

Value Shift in the Pandemic Era

- Promoting the K-quarantine Model as a Diplomatic Tool.
 - Reflecting developmentalism by focusing on value shift toward publicity.

Value Conflict and Frame Competition and War

 Development, growth, industrialization, urbanization vs. Safety, life, welfare, safety net, publicity

Nationalism.

Return of State with discipline and control will foster 'compliant citizens.'

Democratic citizenship

"recognizing others as a person, protects their privacy, and respects open spaces where they can participate creatively in local communities."



Reclaiming Democratic Citizenship

	Diversity/Inclusion:	 Recognition and respect for social minority
	Deliberation	• Talking politics: listening and persuasion, commu
	Participation	 Agenda setting, decision-making, and imsteps)
2	Accountability	• Responsibility for publicity, community and solid
	Transparency	• Openness, professionality, humble (predictability
5	Independency	 Civil and political rights; non-intervention, bottog creative



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