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Strong government responses? Reflections on the management of COVID-19 in Hong Kong and Taiwan

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Abstract

Purpose - A debate emerged among members of public administration academia soon after COVID-19 appeared on the roles and measures that governments ought to deploy to prevent infection. One prevalent discourse is the strength of "strong government" in the fight against the virus-the administrative capacity to launch prompt, appropriate and effective actions that entail collaboration with citizens. A notable development in governance is that new public management (NPM) principles, such as the value of money and the pluralisation of service delivery, are gradually put aside when governments urgently need to curb the spread of infection. The roles of bureaucracy and centralised action are re-emphasised in the policymaking and implementation of anti-epidemic measures. Such a trend allows us to examine if the COVID-19 public health crisis has fundamentally reversed the trend of government retreat in public service within neoliberal regimes since the 1980s.

Design/methodology/approach - For this research, the authors selected two "strong governments" in Asia-Hong Kong and Taiwan-by showing how administrators outline their anti-pandemic strategies, examining the role of government in coordinating responses and how bureaucracy interacts with the other two key domains of the governance mechanism: civil society and the market. These two offshore Chinese capitalist economies and pluralistic societies are perceived to have "strong government capacity" in the fight against COVID-19, presumably as a key attribute to their success confining the spread of infection during the early stages of the first outbreak. Both societies reported low infection rates and low mortality rates until September 2020. The authors browsed databases developed by scholars (Cheng et al., 2020; Hale et al., 2020) and referred to two "rubrics" to assess and compare government actions in both places in response to COVID-19. The authors itemised, categorised and counted the policy actions in both places according to the rubrics, noticed that the policy footprint appeared in over two-thirds of indicators of proactive government interventions and identified double-digit counts in nearly half of the categories.

Findings - The authors found that both governments attempted to establish strong stewardship and quick measures to contain the infection. The pattern of "strong government" is, however, not the same as that superficially exhibited. Taiwan took limited steps to regulate business activities but proactively intervened and coordinated the supply of hygienic utilities. Hong Kong launched aggressive attempts to reduce human mobility but remained non-active despite the "face mask run" in society. The "strong government" aspect also received divergent reactions from society. There was extensive cross-sectoral collaboration under the centralised "National Team" advocacy in Taiwan, and there has been no record of local infection for over 10 months. The Hong Kong government was repeatedly doubted for its undesirable stewardship in antiepidemic measures, the effectiveness of policy interventions and the impartiality of law enforcement.

The author thanks the anonymous reviewers for their comments.

social mobilization Hong Kong



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ARTICLE INFO ABSTRACT

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The globalized world economy has been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic since early February 2020. In the midst of this global public health crisis, a prompt review of the counterinsurgencies that have occurred in different iurisdictions is helpful. This article examines the experience of Hong Kong (HKSAR), which successfully limited its number of confirmed cases to approximately 1100 until early June 2020. Considering the limited actions that the government has taken against the pandemic, we emphasize the prominent role of Hong Kong's civil society through highlighting the strong and spontaneous mobilization of its local communities originating from their experiences during the SARS outbreak in 2003 and the social unrest in 2019, as well as their doubts regarding the pandemic assessments and recommendations of the HKSAR and WHO authorities. This article suggests that the influence of civil society should not be overlooked in the context of pandemic managen

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Special Issue: The Political Ramifications of COVID 19

A whole-of-nation approach to **COVID-19: Taiwan's National Epidemic Prevention Team**

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Upcoming: Digital divide in Hong Kong during COVID-19 pandemic

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Abstract

This article analyzes Taiwan's National Epidemic Prevention Team, a collective synergy between government and society in fighting COVID-19. We draw on a model of collaborative governance to dissect the collaboration between National Epidemic Prevention Team members; that is, central government, local governments, private enterprises and citizens. We argue that the 2003 severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) outbreak, democratic deepening and continual diplomatic isolation despite the global health crisis contributed to Taiwan's National Epidemic Prevention Team capacity and cohesiveness. Our analysis contributes to the heated discourse on democratic resilience in these turbulent times, suggesting that outbreak control can succeed only if there is an integrated system of interdepartmental, central-local, intersectoral and citizen-state collaboration. Overall, this article shows how liberal democracies can control and counteract COVID-19 without resorting to authoritarian methods of containment.



Research puzzles

- Has the pandemic pushed leaders in democratic regimes to review their pluralisation strategies (such as PPP), which have been developing for 30 years (particularly under conditions of austerity due to the financial crises of 1997 and 2008 and the increasing outcry for managerial accountability in public service delivery)?
- Have governments become increasingly involved in public service delivery, whether in a traditional or "new and innovative" form, given the "market failure" during the public health crisis?
- Does this mean the declining trend of decentralisation, out-sourcing (but reemphasising) the centralised coordination of public service delivery?



- Debates over the roles and measures that governments ought to deploy to contain infection in the COVID-19 pandemic.
- One prevalent discourse is the strength of a "strong government" in the fight against the virus: the administrative capacity to launch prompt, appropriate, effective actions that entail collaboration with citizens.
- A notable development in governance is that new public management (NPM) principles, such as the value of money and the pluralisation of service delivery, are gradually put aside when governments rush to curb the spread of infection.
- The roles of bureaucracy and centralised actions are re-emphasised in the policymaking and implementation of anti-epidemic measures.
- However, the experiences of managing the pandemic have been fragile and may erode public trust in governments.

Background (Con't)

- Experiences in Asia have drawn special attention from both scholars and political leaders, highlighting the relative effectiveness in the fight against the pandemic, as shown by the limited number of deaths, collaborative attitudes from the public regarding lockdown and quarantine policies and rare outcries of human rights infringement.
- This pandemic seems to have been controlled generally better in Asia.

Research Design & Rationales

- In the paper, Taiwan and Hong Kong were selected to study how administrators outline their anti-pandemic strategies, examining the role of government in coordinating responses, and how bureaucracy interacts with the other two key domains of the governance mechanism: civil society and the market.
- Rubrics developed by Cheng et al. (2020)

Number of cases and death in Taiwan and

Hong Kong

(Source: Johns Hopkins University & Medicine; Our World in Data)

	7-day rolling average. Limited testing and challenges in the attribution of cause of death means the cases and deaths counts may not be accurate.
All Time Past Day Past Week Past Month Confirmed Cases Deaths 20,582 B53	LINEAR LOG Uniform y-axis Hong Kong New cases (per 1M) 4,000 3.500
DATA TIMELINE	3,000 2,500 2,000 1,500
DATA TIMELINE Explore the most vital information about how COVID-19 has affected your state since the pandemic first officially arrived in the United States in January 2020 – cases, de positivity, hospitalizations, and vaccinations. Cases Deaths Timeline Comparisons	1000
600 400 200 200 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	14
20 0 Apr 1, 2020 Jul 1, 2020 Oct 1, 2021 Jan 1, 2021 Apr 1, 2021 Jul 1, 2021 Jun 1, 2022	6 4 2 0 Jan 29, 2020 Aug 8, 2020 Nov 16, 2020 Feb 24, 2021 Jun 4, 2021 Sep 12, 2021 Mar 2, 2022
Data Sources: Cases and deaths data from JHU CSSE; testing and vaccine data from JHU CCI; and hospitalization data from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Sr	Infees. Source: Johns Hopkins University CSSE COVID-19 Data CC BN

How have Taiwan and Hong Kong governments encounted with COVID-19 in 2020?

The experiences of SARS in 2003

• What have both governments done in the COVID-19 pandemics?



State capacity in recentralising public service delivery

Strong stewardship of the governments

 Using the framework developed by Christensen and Lægreid(2020), we compared three aspects of governance capacity—analytical capacity, coordination capacity and the delivery of regulatory capacity—between Taiwan and Hong Kong.

1) Analytical capacity: were authorities well-prepared?

Taiwan	Hong Kong
 "Whole government approach" (Hsieh et al 2021) CECC to supervise and coordinate horizontal and vertical communications across government organisations 	 A steering committee The government defined a three-tiered response system in which each level represents a graded risk of novel infectious disease affecting Hong Kong and its health impact on the community. Government departments/agencies were involved at each level. The plan includes three response levels: alert, serious and emergency, which is based on risk assessment of the disease that may affect the community. In general, the response measures include surveillance, investigation and control actions, laboratory support, medical services provision, port health measures and communication

2) Coordination capacity: decision-making and collaboration among units

 Decision-making process has been manipulated by governments under the condition of urgency, and the leading role of government can be seen in collaboration with non-government sectors in public service deliveries.

Taiwan	Hong Kong
 Disposal Surgical Masks Masks inventory Ethanol production Designated taxi/ rental cars Developing test kits and treatment drugs Requisitioned hotels for quarantine Telecom companies for "QR code" 	 Reusable masks Requisitioned hotels and AsiaWorld Expo for quarantine Private Lab for testing service Techology Company for "Leave Home Safe" App

(3) Delivery and regulatory capacity

 Both TW and HK governments imposed penalties for non-compliance with the law, such as violating social distancing measures, wearing disposable surgical masks and breaking quarantine.

Legitimacy to the governments

- Democratic value may be overridden by authorities' manipulation of (and even disregard for) public value assessment, which putspublic trust in the government at risk (Bekker et al., 2020).
- "rallying around the flag" effect (Bækgaard et al., 2020; Flinders, 2021; Mueller, 1973)



Conclusion – Recall to the research puzzles

- We studied whether COVID-19 has challenged the apparently irreversible trend of pluralisation of public service delivery:
- Has the pandemic pushed leaders in democratic regimes to review their pluralisation strategies (such as PPP), which have been developing for 30 years (particularly under conditions of austerity due to the financial crises of 1997 and 2008 and the increasing outcry for managerial accountability in public service delivery)?
- Have governments become increasingly involved in public service delivery, whether in a traditional or "new and innovative" form, given the "market failure" during the public health crisis?
- Does this mean the declining trend of decentralisation, out-sourcing (but reemphasising) the centralised coordination of public service delivery?

Conclusion (Con't)

- Taiwan and Hong Kong have exhibited a "re-expansion" of their public sectors during theCOVID-19 public health crisis. Their governments have reassumed command in a top-downmanner in the fight against this unprecedented pandemic.
- The pandemic is not the turning point, but is instead a catalyst, a trigger pushing both regimes back to their original track of public administration.
- Path dependency

Conclusion (Con't) - Path dependency

- HK: we can observe the increasing "pluralisation" of public sector management during the pandemic crisis; that is, the expansion of government authority and jurisdiction, but not confined to the extension of bureaucracy.
- TW: COVID-19 has exhibited the characteristics of Taiwan's public administration system; it is highly centralised, top-down and hierarchical.
- Emphasising top-down government command, with collaboration and voluntary assistance from the community. There is notable, spontaneous mobilisation from frontline local units to villages, cities and district governments.
- Intensified collaboration among citizens, civil society and bureaucrats can be seen, which effectively curbed the waves of the pandemic outbreak, as well as successfully maintaining a zero-infection record between early 2020 and April 2021.

End Q&A