

Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

The International Cooperation of Sciences and the Political World. The case of Covid-19. Comparative International Analysis

Dr Francis Espinoza F.¹

Abstract.

This paper is placed in Science, Technology and Society of International Relations studies, considering the scientific and social (political) areas. It researches the global governance and international coordination of the pandemic. It is a preliminary draft as part of the project VRIDT Thematic Seed Contest COVID-19 2020 called "The International Cooperation of Sciences and the Political World. The case of Covid-19. Comparative Internacional Analysis.

International Geopolitics or Global Politics in Science and Technology (Mayer et al., 2019) studies diverse approaches through different issues such as security, information and communication technologies, diplomacy, war conflicts and intelligence gathering, among others (Weiss, 2005). However, Covid - 19 pandemic changed the world order because competition for knowledge drives the global race for talent (Chou, 2016). Thus, the search for optimisation of global responses to Covid - 19 is impacting both the scientific world and the political and decision-making arena.

This paper studies the impact of the scientific world on the response systems and crisis management of the pandemic in public policies through a comparative analysis between successful cases such as Germany, China, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, and New Zealand. (BBC, 03/29/2020)² and some not so successful Latin American countries, including Chile. For this purpose, geopolitical cartography of the confrontation of the pandemic is drawn up by the scientific-academic coordination and the political sphere.

¹ Dr. **Francis Espinoza Figueroa** is an Associate Professor/Researcher at the Catholic University of the North, Antofagasta. Chile.

² https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-52194942



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Introduction.

In international relations, significant events have impacted a new world order. The two Great Conflicts, the Cold War, economic crises, terrorist attacks, social movements, and natural disasters, probably caused by climate change, have caused a reordering of power on the planet. They have been called the 'dashboard of chess' by realist academia or referred as the 'pool table' by the English School (Bull & Wright, 1950 in Thompson, 2018). However, the game of political geography has highly been impacted in recent decades by the restructuring of international security mechanisms due to the attack on the Twin Towers in New York and other terrorist actions. Today, one sees several signs of global reorganisation resulting from a new threat, Covid - 19.

In 2020, the World Health Organization declared a pandemic to the new coronavirus (COVID – 19, SARS-CoV-2) outbreak in Wuhan, China. *The Economist*³ wondered if China would be the great geopolitical winner from the pandemic during the same year. According to *El Pais*⁴, the superpowers, United States, Europe, Russia, and China, are currently fighting for world supremacy through health response to Covid-19 and its propaganda machinery. It was the neorealist academy that advanced in the analysis of world hegemony, based not only on the possession of a powerful army such as the USA (or technological, for example, Israel), or a mega economy, for instance, the Asian tigers but more through the importance of strategic instruments, focused on the development of nuclear defence and against chemical and biological weapons.

In this analysis of international politics, one should add the fight to obtain the miracle cure, the definitive vaccine that destroys the 'powerful enemy' of the coronavirus. Furthermore, globalised disputes over the provision of medical supplements suggest that, as the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1976) says, the bio-politics of power is in the domain of knowledge. A final blow to the chair is dealt by the so-called 'destroyer' of the international order, President Donald Trump, when he withdrew funding from the World Health Organisation (WHO), shattering all hope of multilateralism (or joint action of several countries), which the European Union or China offered by sharing practices of facing with the pandemic.

³ https://www.economist.com/leaders/2020/04/16/is-china-winning?cid1=cust/ednew/n/bl/n/2020/04/16n/owned/n/n/nwl/n/LA/452381/n

⁴ https://www.elpais.cr/2020/04/30/covid-19-la-muerte-que-anuncia-el-fin-de-la-geopolitica-actual/



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

However, Margaret Macmillan (2010) says that in politics everything is facts. One can still have hopes for good global governance, beyond neoliberalism and the exercise of power to be seen as a 'jungle' The historic turnout in South Korea's legislative elections was an interesting thermometer on the Covid-19. The campaign was described as unprecedented, full of virtual speeches, no street demonstrations and candidates wearing masks. Under strict sanitary control, voters had to wear masks, plastic gloves and social proxemic (distance) of at least one meter. A whole exercise in civic behaviour and culture, which was repeated in different countries afterwards. Also noteworthy is the speech of the German president, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, who pointed out that after 30 years of reunification and 75 of the Second World War, Germany must "come out of the crisis healthy and strong" together with the rest of Europe. There are many lessons to be learned from the geopolitics of the coronavirus, and one must channel a 'high policy' from a responsible and supportive personal attitude towards intelligent and ethical governance of public policies in favour of the health of all citizens in the world.

Covid-19 and International Relations.

For International Relations, the 21st century constitutes a complex challenge to analyse the new international order. From the bipolarity of the Cold War and post-Cold War, we are faced with new power structures such as China, India, Japan, Russia, and the European Union, which have configured a significant multipolarity in the International Society⁶. These powers do not explicitly exercise a 'hard power', but they constitute an essential pivot in the extension of influences in various areas of the international system (Pardo, 2012). It is also possible to understand the configuration of the contemporary world order based on the multipolarity offered by regional or medium powers whose constitution began in the 70s (Bernal-Meza, 2009). In Latin America, due to the concentration of power, an example of these characteristics is undoubtedly Brazil. With more scepticisms, countries such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela (Haas, 2008) are seen as 'minor relatives', who present some attractive economic traits, but politico-social instabilities.

⁵ https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/jul/02/global-politics-is-basically-anarchic-were-ruled-by-the-law-of-the-jungle

⁶ We are referring to the English School of International Relations.



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

The case of Chile is worthy of discussion because from a neo-liberal epistemological position, it is emerging as one of the most important copper producers worldwide, and the country is even spoken of as a 'future food power', using an exercise of a kind of hard power. However, a small and almost ageing population, medium-sized geography (and in many parts practically depopulated), and limitations in natural and productive resources suggest that the country still plays in the 'second league'.

The most contemporary literature talks about a fall in post-globalisation paradigms and the progressive death of neoliberalism. However, Alberto Larraín⁹ clearly illustrates that nation-states that are handling the crisis in the best way have implemented structural measures of solidarity more associated with Asian socialist regimes of totalitarian models, in contrast with liberal capitalist democracies such as European or North American ones. Here, the questioning could be whether western democracies are giving sufficient guarantees of forming a responsible and disciplined citizenry that maturely takes on a situation as delicate as the expansion of Covid-19. To this, I add an interesting discussion that has always prevailed in international relations, the excessive presence of neo-realist theory justifying, for example, during 2018, the average world investment in arms of 240 dollars versus health spending of \$ 60 in low- and middle-income countries and slightly higher in high-income countries¹⁰.

Dr Samia Saad of the Gates Foundation points out, "pathogens do not respect borders" or diplomatic relations. Asian countries are ahead, exercising 'soft power' by teaching how to face the pandemic through 'pedagogical' public policies differentiated from the West. Here we observe:

- (1) The early detection of infections through tests. South Korea, for example, started to take about 10,000 tests a day, testing more people than US does in a month.
- (2) The Beijing government has been hyper-vigilant in detecting new potential cases, and not only the most severe patients, but also people who were in contact with infected people

 9 https://anchor.fm/podcast-radio-usach/episodes/ENTREVISTA-A-ALBERTO-LARRAN--ESTACIN-CENTRAL--15-04-21-euvop4

⁷ http://www.slideshare.net/BoDoQuE/es-chile-una-potencia-regional-editado

⁸ Ibídem.

¹⁰ According to the International Institute for Peace Studies in Stockholm, SIPRI

¹¹ Data provided by WHO



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

through exhaustive monitoring through interviews, review of security cameras, hotel, and transport records.

(3) The early reaction began in mid-January 2020 when Taiwan began testing all passengers from Wuhan. Hong Kong also implemented temperature measurement stations at its ports of entry, quarantining all those who entered its country. To this must be added the speed with which Hong Kong and Taiwan have enacted rules of social distancing and the promotion of hygiene measures.

Therefore, the soft power of the coronavirus forces us to learn from the Asian measures of 'suppression' and flattening of the growth curve of infections, leaving behind the British model of mitigation that isolates only infected people and does not worry about the fundamental problem: the spread of the virus. While the whole world eagerly awaits the vaccine's arrival against the virus, science has acquired a leading political role, an international actor, who has already been seen since the Cold War with the development of international cooperation and science diplomacy¹².

According to Deutsche Welle¹³, the coronavirus will not only strongly impact health and healthcare systems in Latin America. Still, it hits hardly economies and precarious social assistance systems, causing political and social tensions in the region. In this battle for international supremacy, developing countries such as Chile only have crisis management experience in natural disasters, but they have never dealt with a pandemic phenomenon. Therefore, the informative systematisation of comparative analysis of international affairs of scientific-political cooperation will help to improve decision-making in both worlds (science and politics) in the country.

¹² Scientific diplomacy is understood as the use of international cooperation in science between nations, the State and other international actors to address common problems and seek virtuous international partnerships.

¹³ https://www.dw.com/es/qu%C3%A9-significar%C3%A1-el-covid-19-para-la-pol%C3%ADtica-latinoamericana/a-52905605



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

The approach to the Covid 19 crisis from International Relations has shown how countries that are better facing the pandemic have achieved efficient coordination between the scientific world and decision-making spheres. Asian countries, for example, are exercising 'soft power' (Nye, 2016) by teaching how to deal with the pandemic through 'pedagogical' public policies differentiated from the West. Other practices of multilateralism are observed. As President pro tempore of the G20, Saudi Arabia convened an Extraordinary Virtual Summit of Leaders to coordinate responses to the pandemic¹⁴. For its part, the African Union launched the 'African Open Science Platform' to end inequalities in management and knowledge of border information¹⁵.

Soft Power.

In conceptual terms, an influential actor could also be called 'soft power'. The idea of 'soft power' refers to the ability of an international actor to transform what others do or form in others what he/she wants through the cooperation of people rather than coercion (Nye, 2004). This notion is already observed in Edward Carr's 'power over opinion' (1954) and Steven Lukes' (1974) third dimension of power, the latter defined based on the effects of culture, education, and diplomacy, promoting political, economic, and cultural interests (Fraser, 1965; Saul nd quoted by Desai Trilokekar, 2009). In both perspectives, there would be a capacity to persuade other nation-states to voluntarily adopt the same goals, for we would not be talking of coercion but instead attracting a nation's culture, ideas, and policies. From an epistemological basis and including especially the third dimension of Luke's power, Nye associates the whole range of the exercise of power concerning to its sources and the range of behaviours that go from the mandate that represents the hard power until the integration as the base of the soft power (see box below).

	Hard Power		Soft Power		
Range of behaviours		Coercion	Induction	Agenda Setting	Attraction
benaviours	•	•	•		→
	Mandate			1	Co-optation
Most probable		Force	Payments	Institutions	Values
resources		Sanctions	Bribes		Culture
					Policies

Figure 1: Source: Nye 2004, 8; William 2011, 214

¹⁴ https://www.cenital.com/frente-al-covid-19-mas-multilateralismo-y-cooperacion-internacional/

¹⁵ https://www.bbva.com/es/open-science-frente-al-covid-19-la-transformacion-del-metodo-cientifico/



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Another fascinating insight into the exercise of 'soft power' is provided by William Yat Wai Lo (2011), who addresses how global hegemonies are manifested in regional/local agendas. Finally, a thought-provoking approach to the development of soft power is given by Ian Manners (2001), creator of Normative Power Europe Theory (NPE). This theoretical construct represents an amalgam of different meanings, visions, theories, and areas of development that allow analysing ideational or ideological aspects of the European Union (EU).

NPE literature incorporates a vast and complex group of scholars working together around European Studies, the Foreign Policy of the EU, and European Integration theories. Certainly, NPE is a very European sort of scholarship, led by Ian Manners and an elite cluster of researchers analysing and exploring theoretical and empirical aspects of the nature of the 'European beast' (Risse-Kappen 1996b).

Therefore, the process as a normative phenomenon allows analysis of the construction of identity discourses to follow European models. For example, when the parties (the EU, Chile, and Mexico) speak about political dialogue, what entails 'social cohesion' within cooperation and dialogue fields. The concept of 'social cohesion' implies that the EU is exporting its 'civilian model' to demonstrate that in democratic societies, the values of transparency and equality are fundamental to develop good political and social practices.

Therefore, soft/normative power can be seen as a logic that combines discursive processes (like identity processes) with normative processes (agreements), which constitute models of learning practices, because the European Union as a system has "... the capacity to make and implement policies abroad that promote the domestic values, interests, and policies of the European" (Smith, 2002: 8). In that respect, Raul Allard Neuman (2003) argues that the European Union has a high level of institutionalisation. Countries have consented to transfer determined degrees of 'supra nationality' authorities of the community.



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Research Design.

Given the complexity of access and verification of the variables of this research, this project is working with mixed nature research, considering an action-research approach. Methodologically, qualitative-quantitative cartography was constructed to analyse scientific-political coordination models based on the information collected internationally. These analyses also intersect with the information gathered on implementing institutional (universities, study groups and other scientific-academic actors) and public policies at the country level through the various national agencies and international actors. This information collection is also supported by analysing the press and social networks from the Busszumo and other digital platforms.

The methodology was chosen since Political Science represents the main field of study, mainly focused on the disciplines of Global Governance of scientific knowledge and International Relations. Likewise, this research is descriptive - comprehensive. It is descriptive because it describes representative events and situations of a phenomenon or unit of analysis. It is comprehensive because it contributes to understanding the facts through a specific and rigorous scientific method such as Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 27). Additionally, from an action-research perspective, it potentially aims to contribute to the formulation of public policies through the project's products.

The study's design is cross-sectional, also called a sectional study, because it constitutes a piece of research carried out each time, not over the course of time. The abstract procedure of this investigation necessarily considers relationships between causal generative mechanisms and concrete produced phenomena. The formal data collection and analysis process is a triangulation process, using the following study instruments: surveys, in-depth interviews and analysis of documents, media, and social networks.

On the one hand, this research bases its fieldwork on a quali-quantitative triangulation of 100 surveys of type subjects and experts, 50 semi-structured interviews with subjects and experts, and document analysis. On the other hand, the corpus of study comprises expert subjects and representatives of regions to know their evaluation on the subject, recommending action plans from successful international/national policies. That information is crossed with the critical analysis of more than 100 documents in English and Spanish and the approach to the subject from Social Networks.



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

The research of documents and social media is developed through two stages: (1) a volumetric analysis (Kayser, 1974) of that relevant news related to the subject to quantify the space that the media dedicated to the study subjects, and subsequently (2) an analysis of journalistic discourse based on a model that combines the aspects of Maribel Quezada (1992) and Teun van Dijk (2012) to reveal the media strategies used by the international/national press to characterise, in turn, contribute to the formation of public opinion.

- 1. Collection of the articles that makes up the corpus. These are compiled from a selection of national and international traditional (online) media and official sources. To standardise the sample, the criteria of the articles will be based on the following criteria:
- a.) Content: the central focus of the news should be the thematic journalistic coverage of the Covid-19 Pandemic. That event must be the protagonist of the news or share this protagonism with other agents.
- b.) Genre: to unify the sample, only news reports of recent events are included ('hard news' described by Bell, 1991; White, 1998). Editorials, opinion columns and other forms of factual analysis are excluded.
- c.) Relevance: the news must appear/have coverage in a considerable number of the selected media.
- 2. Analysis. The quantitative analysis accounts for the number of appearances and the most recurrent themes. The second stage of the study contemplates a qualitative coding strategy based on Grounded Theory. Here, a code identification matrix is used after the analysis categories have been raised to select those key concepts and discourses that allow the personification of the actors, actions, and associations. Finally, an analysis of journalistic discourse will be carried out based on a model that combines Maribel Quezada (1992) and Teun van Dijk (2012).
- 3. Integration of both analyses. Crossing of analysis results, description of the texts in the sample from both perspectives and comparison of approaches from different media.



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Preliminary Results.

After the preliminary analysis of national and Latin-American mass media, one can observe the following findings divided in three main areas:

1. Political Pandemic.

Chile and almost all Latin American countries suffer from a new, long-standing disease, what I call a 'political pandemic'. Chilean ambassador in Italy, Sergio Romero, says¹⁶ this global threat has two phases, one economic and another one of a political character.

In March 2020, the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Real Instituto Elcano, of the University of Alcalá de Henares, already warned about the profound weakness that most of the governments of the region and have not been able to "channel, appropriately, in recent years, the social demands of the emerging middle-classes" (Malamud & Núñez, 2021)¹⁷ in areas that the pandemic is putting to the test, such as public services, especially health.

According to the Spanish Institute, some nation-states suffer from the second symptomatology, a real loss of 'social and institutional leadership', or trust in governments and political actors:

- a.) The case of Chile with levels of approval towards the president Sebastián Piñera (between 23 to 25%).
- b.) A new economic crisis in Argentina and the government's debut in 'pandemic mode'.
- c.) The terminal phase of the mandates of Peru and Ecuador and new governments from left and right wings, respectively.
- d.) The confrontation of polarised electoral campaigns in Bolivia.
- e.) The presence of weak public administrations in Central America and the Caribbean.

¹⁶ In the webinar "La Unión Europe in the face of the crisis", 04/23/2020

¹⁷http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_es/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/america+latina/ari57-2021-malamud-nunez-gobiernos-gobernabilidad-y-pandemia-en-america-latina



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

- f.) The institutional and economic deterioration in Nicaragua and Venezuela.
- g.) The existence of failed countries as Haiti, unable to diagnose Covid 19 and provide health responses.

Here, the relationship between the number of cases¹⁸ and levels of citizen perception about the handling of the crisis¹⁹ offers an interesting analysis: Brazil (30% perception), Peru (73%), Chile (19%) and Mexico (54%). In a first reading, there would be a direct relationship between infected cases and crisis governance.

A third sign, the scarce political multilateralism observed in Latin America, poor supranational coordination, but seen in Africa where the Pan-African Parliament met to evaluate the response of each of the African countries to the pandemic. In Latin America, the South American Defence Council dies with the disintegration of Unasur. The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) is playing a limited role. However, it has sent support missions to nations with more risk, such as Haiti and Venezuela, and other actors like the OAS (Organización de los Estados Americanos) have only remained in the informational prevention spaces.

2. Smart Cities.

In March 2020, the Forum World Economic specified that open, transparent, collaborative cities and adopt comprehensive responses to the environment are better equipped to handle pandemics, especially those with adequate governance and health infrastructure robust.

There is a generalised discourse on international organisations and media that Asian cities are managing the crisis better, as they have adopted a combination of super-surveillance proactive, routine, and centralised communication, rapid isolation, and protective measures personal and community, such as social distancing. In addition, to this 'checklist' of smart cities, the pandemic has added other factors such as the quantity, the quality, and the access (also considering the overvoltage capacity) to the hospital premises, ICUs and hospital beds, and the number of ventilators available. In contrast, Western cities show a waste of governance, poor planning, and decentralised health care systems.

_

¹⁸ Diario Financiero, 05/20/2020.

¹⁹ "Imagen del Poder, Poder de la Imagen", Fundación Directorio Legislativo, 2020.



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

An interesting example is Chinese city of Hangzhou, which adopted many of these decisions within days of virus discovery. Another curious case was the town Vo 'Euganeus from the Veneto region (3,300 inhabitants). It was left at the centre of the pandemic in Italy and conducted a unique experiment in the world. The municipality applied a radical strategy to combat Covid-19 by installing an analysis centre in the town school. In addition, they have carried out contagion tests to all the neighbours, thus achieving a diagnosis of the entire population. This conclusion led them to scientifically understand that the virus has a period of incubation of two weeks and that any containment strategy must necessarily consider the high number of asymptomatic positives.

Again, the World Economic Forum invites authorities to review hard data on countries and cities that are better able to cope with pandemics in general, not necessarily the Coronavirus According to the Global Health Security Index (GHS Index), in South America, Chile is ranked 27th out of 195 countries, competing with Argentina (25th) and Brazil (22nd). Universities are contributing to the fight: while the scientific world relies on information delivered by the John Hopkins University Study Centre, Georgetown University has created a rapid urban health safety check instrument (RUHSA) to measure the preparedness and response attitudes of the local public health. This system constitutes an updated platform that tracks the city's capabilities to manage pandemics to identify city planning gaps, building urban centres safer that minimise community spread.



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

3. Governance of data.

The confrontation between scientific power and the political world is nothing new. However, the political turn could mean that we are governed by a 'scientiocracy' in this pandemic crisis.

The Joint Research Centre (JRC) offers independent scientific information based on empirical evidence to the European Commission to formulate new regulations, as the JRC's motto is "Offering tangible results for the citizen". Also, the European Parliament requests technical reports from agencies and think tanks to carry out a good policy based on the objectivity of the evidence and the hard data. Generally, scientific reports are not binding, but the laws include technical information for approval. Likewise, in this pandemic, an interesting 'pairing' is observable between the impact of the scientific world on response systems and the crisis management of the pandemic in public policies in successful cases such as Germany, China, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, and New Zealand²¹.

From the international actor, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Representative for Freedom of the Media of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe issued a statement urging governments to provide reliable information in accessible formats to all based on international human rights regulations²².

Although it was not easy to find comparative information on data transparency in this pandemic, an international actor such as the Open Government Partnership (OGP) analyses the most important strategies of 78 member countries of this organisation, many of which work with the concept of 'open government' (Canada and Italy), providing geo-referencing of confirmed COVID-19 cases by zip code, age groups and possible sources of infection (Australia, Ivory Coast, Ecuador, El Salvador, Philippines). Another interesting experience of what I call 'data democracy' is that offered by France, which generated an open-source platform for remote monitoring of suspected or real cases at home by doctors and hospitals. In addition, Lithuania has developed a set of virtual maps that allow the analysis of various statistical data such as quarantine places, number of sick and recovered people, the number of medical personnel in each municipality, affected businesses, etc. Nepal monitors critical points such as the status of those infected at the local level, isolation and quarantine centres, health facilities, ambulances, government committees and other relevant information.

²¹ BBC, 03/29/2020

²⁰ ABC Cambio, 10/14/2013.

²² Here we could cite Article 3: Right to life, liberty, and security.



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Data governance is a political concept that is part of International Relations and associated with the Rational Action (Choice) Theory. It is used to, for example, take a probabilistic decision to intervene or not in a war conflict. Along the same lines, but from the economy, the human being seeks the maximisation of his utilities-benefits, and the reduction of the costs-risks. The market can be privileged to the detriment of human needs and social, something Amartya Sen calls 'the Rational Fools' (1976).

During the Covid 19 health crisis, the 'tyranny of data' was already being used since March by international media such as The Economist, The New York Times, and the Financial Times, which denounce the existence of sub-reports of infections and deaths in several countries, especially in Latin America. Added to this, recognised Chilean universities and Espacio Público Research Centre have pointed out that through delivery of numerical reports, some entities have already become important lobbyists for the government and its handling of the pandemic.

Therefore, it is an international race against time to show the most successful governance of the pandemic crisis in detecting new cases (including potential), taking the tests, several hospital beds, mechanical ventilators, and medical supplies. In addition, unfortunately, one must consider the figures for deaths and infections.

In terms of comparative politics, the 'oppression of numbers' gave countries the winners Asians and New Zealand, but both South Korea, Beijing, and the New Zealand country have registered cases again because 'pathogens do not respect borders' (Dr Samia Saad, Gates Foundation), nor diplomatic relations. In summary, democracies that open their governments have generated a series of platforms with online technology to carry out projective analysis of the behaviour of the viral spread, shaping or simulating scenarios to make all kinds of decisions, both health and governance of other public policies.

Nevertheless, English sociologist Terry Johnson (1995), taking the Theory of Professions from the French philosopher Michel Foucault, postulates that the importance of the knowledge of the experts constitutes a condition of possibility of the modern State. Alma Maldonado (2005) argues that the epistemic community, especially in the scientific area, has given content to politics. In the 70s of the last century, the social sciences began to study the role of these communities in the economy and social policies. The development of welfare models in the states and the advancement of modern bureaucracies gave significant influence and political legitimacy to the 'connoisseurs' (Belmartino, 2011: 25; Wilding, 1982, en Parsons, 2007: 185; Nelkin, 1975, 1979, en Haas, 1992: 4).



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

However, the failure of Modernity's dreams of growth and progress brought criticism and distrust towards the role of science in the spaces of political and public governance, given that science has become an untouchable god to whom only some elected as can access, forcing societies to revolve around it (Bensaya, 2015).

As Karl Popper (1992) believed, the 'quantifications' lead us to the 'falsification' of generalisations and theories to disprove, for example, the success or failure of a health strategy. There is no doubt that the pandemic is showing not only the need for a data democracy to geo-reference the crisis in all senses. The Covid- 19 also pushes us to cope with this tyranny of data by giving it a face as The New York²³ did when it filled its cover with a thousand obituaries of those killed by coronavirus. A special mention also deserves the Ecuadorian site that created a virtual memorial to say goodbye to the victims of Covid 19 (Voices for Memory); or in Brazil, the project collaborative of volunteer journalists called 'Innumerable', about profiles of victims of the pandemic. The tyranny of data is fought with public policies for human beings with names and surnames.

Conclusions.

International geopolitics or Global Politics in Science and Technology (Mayer et al., 2019) has been approached through security issues, information and communication technologies, diplomacy, war conflicts and intelligence gathering, among others (Weiss, 2005). However, the Covid - 19 pandemic is changing the world order, as competition for knowledge drives the global race for talent (Chou, 2016), and now the search for optimisation of global responses to the Covid - 19 outbreak both in the scientific world and in the political and decision-making arena.

The proposal raises the need to address the Covid 19 crisis from International Relations. A global comparative study shows how the countries that are better facing the pandemic have achieved efficient coordination between the scientific world and the spheres of decision making. Asian countries, for example, are exercising 'soft power' (Nye, 2016) by teaching how to deal with the pandemic through 'pedagogical' public policies differentiated from the West. Other practices of multilateralism are observed. For example, Saudi Arabia, in its capacity as president pro tempore of the G20, convened an Extraordinary Virtual Summit of Leaders to coordinate responses to the pandemic. For its part, the African Union launched the 'African Open Science Platform' to end inequalities in the management and knowledge of border information.

^{23 05/24/2020}



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

The research provides answers about the impact of the scientific world on the response systems and the crisis management of the pandemic in public policies, as has been done in successful cases such as Germany, China, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, and New Zealand²⁴. For this purpose, the comparative study between the media and official communication will allow the creation of geopolitical cartography of the confrontation of the pandemic by the scientific-academic coordination and the political sphere.

References:

Allard Neumann, Raul. (2003): "Política Internacional, Regionalismo y el Rol de las Aduanas. Aspectos Teóricos y Prácticos". *Revista de Derecho de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso XXIV* (Valparaíso, Chile, 2003). Pp. 15 – 27.

Bell, A. (1991). The language of news media. Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.

Belmartino, S. (2011): Desarrollo metodológico para una historia comparada de la profesión médica. Documento de trabajo No80. Centro Interdisciplinario para el estudio de políticas públicas (CIEPP). Buenos Aires.

Bensaya, Pablo. (2015): "Cuando la ciencia se desmerece a sí misma. Análisis y documentos educativos", INTERNET, presencias.net, R. Argentina, NOV-2015. Original. http://presencias.net/cantos/CuandoLaCienciaSeDesmereceASiMisma.html

Bernal-Meza R. (2009): "México: de la autonomista "potencia media" al socio subordinado de Estados Unidos". Estudios Latinoamericanos, Año 1, (1), pp. 2 – 43.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1991): Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Carr, Edward Hallet. (1962): What Is History? Random House Inc., US.

Chou, Meng-Hsuan. (2016): "Mapping the terrains of the Europe of Knowledge: an analytical framework of ideas, institutions, instruments, and interests". European Journal of Higher Education, 6:3, 197-216, DOI: 10.1080/21568235.2016.1164610.

²⁴BBC, 03/29/2020 https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-52194942



Miami, FL - May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Desai Trilokekar, Roopa. (2010): "International education as soft power? The contributios and challenges of Canadian foreign policy to the internationalization of higher education". Higher Education 59: 131 – 147. DOI 10.1007/s10734-009-9240-y.

Dijk van, T. (2012): Discurso y contexto un enfoque sociocognitivo. Barcelona. Editorial Gedisa.

____ (1996): Malvinas: el gran relato. Fuentes y rumores en la información de guerra. Barcelona, Gedisa.

Foucault, Michelle. (1976): Vigilar y Castigar. Nacimiento de la Prisión. Siglo xxi editores, s.a. México. D.F.

Haas, P. (1992) (coord.): "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination". *International Organization* 46, (1) 1-35 Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination. Published by: The MIT Press Stable URL. Consultado en http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706951

Haas, R.N. (2008): "La era de la no popularidad: lo que seguirá al dominio de los Estados Unidos". Foreign Affairs. Mayo/Junio, Volumen 87 (3), 66 – 77.

Johnson, Terry. (1995): Health Professions and the State in Europe. Routledge

Kayser, Jacques (1974): *El Diario Francés*. Foundation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, París. A.T.E., Barcelona – España.

Lukes, Steven. (1974): Power: A Radical View. London: Macmillan.

Macmillan, Margaret. (2010): Juegos Peligrosos. Editorial Ariel.

Maldonado-Maldonado, Alma. (2005): Comunidades Epistémicas: una propuesta para estudiar el papel de los expertos en la definición de políticas en Educación Superior en México Revista de la Educación Superior, vol. XXXIV (2), núm. 134, abril-junio, 2005, pp. 107-122 Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior Distrito Federal, México.

Manners, Ian. (2001): "Normative Power Europe: the international role of the EU". Paper for the European Community Studies Association Biennial Conference.



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Mayer, M. et al. (eds.) (2019): The Global Politics of Science and Technology - Vol. 1, Global Power Shift, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-55007-2 1.

Nye, Joseph S. (2016): China Power Team. "Is China's soft power strategy working?" China Power. February 27, 2016. https://chinapower.csis.org/is-chinas-soft-power-strategy-working/

Nye, Joseph S. (2004): Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization. London, New York: Routledge.

Pardo B., Miguel Ángel. (2012): "Chile: ¿potencia regional? http://es.scribd.com/doc/49163214/Chile Potencia-regional.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. (1996a): "Collective identity in a democratic community: the case of NATO", in Katzenstein, Peter (editor), (1996), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Parsons, W. (2007): Política públicas: una introducción a la teoría y a la practica del análisis de políticas públicas. México: FLACSO. Sede académica de México. 1a ed.

Popper, Karl (1992): *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. Routledge Classics 2002 Routledge. London.

Quezada, Maribel (1992): El mensaje medio a medio. Qué encierran los diarios, la radio y la TV. Editorial Universitaria S.A. Santiago de Chile.

Smith, Hazel. (2002): European Union Foreign Policy. What it is and what it Does, Pluto Press.

Sen, Amartya. (1976): "Poverty: An Ordinal Approach to Measurement". *Econometrica*, 1976, vol. 44, issue 2, 219-31

Strauss, A. Corbin, J. (2002): Bases de la investigación cualitativa. Técnicas y procedimientos para desarrollar la teoría fundamentada. Colombia. Contus editorial. Universidad de Antioquia.

Thompson, William (ed.). (2018): "The English School: History and Primary Institutions as Empirical International Relations Theory?" (with Barry Buzan). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of*



Miami, FL – May 19-21, 2022

Politics of Covid-19 panel

Empirical International Relations Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018): 783–799.

Weiss, C. (2015): "How Do Science and Technology Affect International Affairs?" *Minerva* 53, 411–430 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1007/s11024-015-9286-1

White, P. R. R. (1998): 'Telling Media Tales: the News Story As Rhetoric'. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sydney.

William Yat Wai Lo. (2011): Soft power, university rankings and knowledge production: distinctions between hegemony and self-determination in Higher Education, Comparative Education, 47: 2, 209 – 222, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2011.554092.